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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

VOLUME I.

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v. 1

To his most eminent Highness

Don Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena,

GRAND MASTER

Of the ORDER of

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

S I R,

**I** Have the honour to lay before your Highness a work, which is most properly yours, as it contains the history of your order. You have here an account of the glorious actions which have been wrought by your predecessors, in different ages, for the defence of the altars and estates of Christendom. Those great men, who filled the world with the reputation of their arms, and the fame of their valour, were no less distinguished by their firm adherence to the observation of a religious discipline.

As you, Sir, have been justly raised to the same high employment, you place your sole glory in the imitation of their virtues. Like them, you secure to Christians the liberty of navigation, at the same time that you labour to make justice and unity, peace and piety to

## DEDICATION.

flourish in your order. 'Tis these qualifications which have drawn upon you the unanimous prayers of all your bretheren, for the long continuance of so happy a government. Accept, Sir, of my ardent wishes in particular for your preservation, and of the profound respect, with which I am,

S I R,

Your Eminency's

most humble and

most obedient servant,

L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

## P R E F A C E.

**I** AM at a loss to know what sort of reception this history will meet with from the public; for tho' I have been flattered with the hopes of success, by the kind encouragement my friends have given me, to proceed in so laborious an undertaking, I am but too well acquainted with my own inabilities, and the difficulties of the work itself, to place any great confidence in the too good-natured judgments which have been formed already in my favour. For to pass by the necessity I have been under of looking back into ages above six hundred years distant from us, I have been farther obliged, even in times so remote, to trace out only the faint glimmerings of a dark original, which must of consequence be the less likely to give a just satisfaction to the reader's curiosity. And besides, after all the pains I have taken, and the many years I have been employed upon this subject, I cannot but own at last, that, till I had finished it, I was not sensible how far I had fallen short of that perfection, which the nature of such a work requires.

'Tis true indeed, that if we can stand the shock of so obscure a beginning, and overlook the first facts, wherein we have so small a share of concern, the succeeding ages will furnish us with such extraordinary examples of piety and courage, as will sufficiently make amends for the barrenness of the former, and abundantly supply, by the choice of matter, any defects in form, which may have arose from my manner of writing. We shall there read of an illustrious body of monks, confined at first to the narrow bounds of an hospital, who, amidst the humiliations of a careful attendance upon the sick, and provision for the poor, extended their zeal and their power so far, as to take up arms against the infidels, the professed enemies of the Christian religion, and united in one the differing virtues of two distinct professions, so seemingly opposite in their nature.

## The P R E F A C E.

The garb of these military monks was plain and modest; they reserved magnificence for the ornament of their altars; and the poor and the pilgrim reaped the advantage of the frugality of their tables. They never left the apartments of the sick, but to give themselves up to prayer, or to take the field against the enemies of the cross, which was at once their standard and their habit. No ambition could fire the breasts of our noble warriors, where virtue was the only road that could lead to advancement; whilst their charity, their first engagement, and the very bond of all Christian virtues, did not forsake them, even in their conflicts with the infidels; for notwithstanding all the advantages they gained over them in battle, they were satisfied with disarming the Barbarians, and, amidst the triumphs of a victory, sought only to convert the enemy, or at least to disable them from doing mischief.

Such was the golden age of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. In after-times indeed, it must be owned, the knights grew more remiss in the severe practice of so many different virtues; and 'tis but too notorious, that the religious character was often lost in the soldier. The reader will easily observe, that this change of manners has cast a shade upon some parts of my narration. And yet, notwithstanding this effect of human frailty, unless I am misled by a too partial regard for my own performance, I cannot but be of opinion, that the like spirit of disinterestedness and zeal, the like purity of manners, and intrepidity in the midst of the greatest dangers, was never kept up, through so long a succession of so many ages, in any one of the military orders, which have been dispersed throughout the several countries of Christendom; nor has there been any where luxury and an over-earnest pursuit after wealth and pleasures, have obtained so late an admission.

I have purposely omitted, in this history, some surprizing accounts, which are to be met with in the annals of the order; and in particular the conversion of Armenia, a Saracen princess of most exquisite beauty, as are all the heroines in the ancient chronicles, whom the author has conveyed in one night from Egypt into Picardy, in company with three knights of the order, who were all of them brothers,

and



## The P R E F A C E.

*and had each a great share in the lady's conversion; a pious fable, which may justly deserve to be rejected with the rest of the old legendary stories, that are rather calculated to raise the mirth of libertines, than promote the edification of pious and well-disposed persons.*

*The first thirteen books of this history are wrote in the way of narrative, and conclude with the death of the grand master John de la Valette in 1568. The fourteenth is drawn up in form of annals, and give a succinct account of the most considerable transactions from 1568, to the present time. And the fourteenth treats of the government of the order.*

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B O O K I.

**T**HE history I have taken upon me to write is that of a fraternity of Hospitallers, which afterwards became a military society, and at last a sovereign order; instituted upon the motives of charity, and prompted by a zeal for the defence of the holy land, to take up arms against the infidels; an order, which, amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joining the peacable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field.

THIS union of two professions so remote and distant from each other, 'till then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of these military Friars, their zeal for the defence of the Christians, the numerous

fight and battles, in which they have been engaged for near seven hundred years, and the various success of their arms; all these particulars seem to me an object worthy the regard and consideration of mankind; and possibly the publick will not look upon the history of these soldiers of Jesus Christ without surprize and admiration, who, like a second race of Maccabees, have constantly opposed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.

BUT before we enter upon the institution of this order, I think it necessary to acquaint the reader with the state of Asia at that time; to inform him from what country the first infidels they made war upon came; to lay before him the religion, the power and the forces of those Barbarians, and especially their declared hatred to the Christians: all which circumstances, tho' indeed prior to the foundation of this order, yet seem to have some connection with the history, as a preliminary and introduction to it, and the knowledge of which will serve to clear up the particulars related to the course of it.

THAT part of Asia, which lyes between the Euxine or Black sea and the Euphrates, was, in the beginning of the seventh century, still under the dominion of the Romans, whose vast empire had swallowed up the most puissant states of our continent. But after the death of Theodosius the Great, this formidable empire began to decline, being *Anno* weaken'd, either by the incursions of the Bar- 395. barians, or perhaps likewise by the division and dismembring of it by his sons the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, princes of a weak and unenterprising spirit, who only lent their names to the transactions of their reigns, and were both governed by imperious ministers, who had made themselves the tyrants and lords of their masters.

MOST of the eastern emperors that succeeded Arcadius, either for fear of being dethroned by usurpers, or being such themselves, were less solicitous of a military name and reputation, and of putting a stop to the

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the inroads of the Barbarians, than of maintaining themselves upon the throne. Being always upon their guard against their own subjects, they durst not turn their backs upon the capital of the empire, or venture beyond the bounds of their palace, for fear some rebel should seize them; and the utmost happiness they aim'd at, was to enjoy the charms of sovereign power in a slothful and unactive magnificence. Those famous Cæsars, the masters of the world, were no more to be found under the imperial purple: these later emperors had nothing but the name; and the majesty of the empire was now no more to be seen, but in the vain ornaments, with which they covered their weakness and cowardice.

RELIGION was no less a sufferer than the state by so wretched an administration. The east was at that time infected with several heresies, the offspring and effect of the warm imagination and too refining disposition of the Greeks. Some bishops and monks, attempting to explain the various mysteries of the incarnation after a manner too much adapted to human capacity, had involved themselves in error; and to compleat the misfortune, they had found out means to engage several emperors in their party, who, instead of opposing the incursions of the Barbarians, thought they had no other enemies but such as declared against their errors.

THE empire however, in the midst of all these confusions, still supported itself by the weight of its own grandeur, and about the beginning of the seventh century; the Emperor Heraclius had gained some advantages over the Scythians and Persians. But while that prince was engaged with these Barbarians, and employed in revenging the ravages they had committed upon the empire, there appeared in the desarts of Arabia one of those restless and ambitious mortals, which seem to be born only to change the face of the universe; and whose followers having wrested the most beautiful provinces of the east out of the hands of the

Greeks, at length gave the last and fatal blow to this empire, and buried it in its own ruins.

THE reader will easily perceive that I am speaking of Mahomet, the most crafty and dangerous impostor, that had ever appeared in Asia. He was born at Mecca, a city of Arabia Petræa, about the 568 or end of the sixth century, of idolatrous parents of the tribe of the Corashites or Corifians, the best family in the nation, and who, according to the usual vaunt of most of the Arabians, boasted themselves to be the progeny of Abraham, by Kedar, the son of Ishmael. By his <sup>a</sup> father's death, Mahomet became an orphan in his early years, and was left without any patrimony or subsistence. However, one of his <sup>b</sup> uncles took upon himself the care of his education, and for several years employed him in trade and commerce. From him he went into the service of a rich widow named Cadigha, who at first took him for her factor, and afterwards made him her husband. A match so greatly to his advantage, and so much above his hopes, the plentiful estate of his wife, and the improvements made to it by his own industry, filled his mind with the thoughts of grandeur and independency. His ambition increased with his fortune, and scarce was he free from a state of baseness and servitude, when riches without dominion were too little to satisfy his vast desires, and he carried his aims to so daring a pitch, as to aspire to the sovereign authority over his country.

OF the various methods he pitched upon for the accomplishment of this great design, none appeared more feasible to him than the establishment of a new religion, an engine which many of his predecessors in imposture had already made use of. Arabia was at that time peopled by Idolaters, Jews and Christians, by Catholicks and Schismaticks. The inhabitants of Mecca were all idolaters, and so very ignorant, that, excepting <sup>b</sup> one single man, that had travelled, they could none of them either read or write. This ignorance

<sup>a</sup> Abdollah.

<sup>b</sup> Abu-taleb.

<sup>c</sup> Waraka.-

rance and diversity of worship seemed a favourable circumstance to Mahomet; and though he was no better a scholar than his neighbours, though he could neither write nor read, and was besides esteemed a man of bad morals, yet he had the assurance to form a design of setting up for a prophet in his own country, and in the very face of those who were eye-witnesses of his incontinence.

BUT as this transition, from a voluptuous life to so intimate a communication with heaven, would not easily find credit in the world, he quitted the companions and ministers of his pleasures, under the pretence of an entire change in his manners; and to put a better countenance upon his pretended reformation, for two years-together the hypocrite frequently retired to a cave in mount Hira, about a league from Mecca, where he only meditated upon ways and means to bring his project to execution. At the end of this term, and under colour of being wearied with the pressing instances of his wife, to dissuade him from so melancholy a way of living, he pretended to intrust her with the fictitious revelations, which he said he had received from heaven by the ministry of one of the highest order of spirits, whom he called the angel Gabriel. And being subject to the falling sickness, he interpreted the fits of that distemper as extasies, caused, as he said, by the apparition of the celestial minister, whose presence he was not able to endure; and to spread the same of these revelations insensibly among the people, he imparted the secret, as a matter of the utmost privacy, to his wife. To be the wife of a prophet was a privilege too great for her vanity to conceal. Cadigha soon run to acquaint her best friends with it, and the matter was no longer a secret, as Mahomet had plainly foreseen. After this he opened himself to some citizens of Mecca, whom he thought credulous enough to be persuaded into it, and whom he actually seduced by his art and address.



IF we may believe \* Elmacin, the Arabian historiographer, Mahomet had a noble air and deportment, a sweet and a modest countenance, a docile and ready wit, a courteous and obliging manner, and an insinuating conversation. Besides, he had all the necessary qualifications for the head of a party: profusely liberal, ready in discerning, and exact in disposing of men according to their talents. He had all the art and reserve for acting without umbrage or discovery; and in the management and conduct of his designs afterwards, he shewed a constancy and courage superior to the greatest dangers. Having soon got some disciples to countenance and support him, he made a secret of his doctrine no longer, and taking his mission from himself, he set up for a preacher; and though he was a man of no learning, yet he gained access to the ears of his country-men, by the purity of his language, and the noble tour of his expressions. He excelled especially in a certain oriental eloquence, consisting in parables and allegories, with which he clothed and involved his discourses.

BUT as he was by no means ignorant, that every appearance of novelty in religion is always suspected, he declared that his design was not so much to found a new religion, as to revive the ancient laws, which God had given to men, and to purge them from the fables and superstitions with which they had been blended afterwards. He added, that Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, had successively preached a doctrine, truly holy to the world; a doctrine, says he, which these two great prophets confirmed by notable and signal miracles, but that the Jews and Christians had equally altered and corrupted it by human traditions; and lastly, that God had sent him, as his last and greatest prophet, even greater than Moses and Jesus, to purify religion from the fables, which, under the notion of mysteries, men had obtruded upon it, and, if possible, to reduce all mankind to an agreement in opinion, and to the profession of one and the same faith.

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\* L. 1. c. 1. Hotting. hist. orient. l. 2. c. 4.



The cunning impostor, having, by such discourses as these, prepared the minds of the people, proceeded to form his system upon two different models, which he borrowed from the Jewish and Christian religion; and to proceed with the better success, he had privately, in his retreat, called in the assistance of a Persian <sup>a</sup> Jew, and a <sup>b</sup> Nestorian monk, both apostates, very well skilled in their respective religions, and who had several times read over to him the Old and New Testament, out of <sup>c</sup> which, he afterwards took several passages; and adapted them to his new plan; and when, by the help of these two renegadoes, he had finished any article, he clothed it in a pompous and figurative style, endeavouring to imitate, sometimes the sublime in the beginning of Genesis, and sometimes the pathetick in the true prophets. Then he declared that he had received that article from heaven; and under pretence of being only the messenger and herald of this celestial doctrine, he referred his objectors to the pretended author of his revelations, and appealed even to his ignorance itself, as a proof of the little share he had in this new religion.

FROM the Jews he borrowed the principle relating to the existence and unity of one only God, without multiplication of the divine persons; and at the same time he pressed the belief of a resurrection, of the universal judgment, and of the rewards and punishments of another life. The Christians furnished him with the example of a lent-fast, which he prescribed to his followers, of the frequent use of prayer, which he fixed to five times in a day, of charity towards the poor, and the forgiveness of enemies. And in regard to the pagans, he admitted an odd kind of predestination, which the ancient idolaters generally called destiny, a decree, which they believed eternal and uncontrollable, even by the will of their Gods.

THIS medley of different religions, in which every one imagined he saw the traces of his former belief; missed

<sup>a</sup> Abdias Benfalon.

<sup>b</sup> Sergius, aliter Bahira.

<sup>c</sup> See the discourse upon the Alcoran, at the end of the fourth volume.

misled several citizens of Mecca ; and such was the art and contrivance of the impostor, that he endeavoured to establish his errors by the profession of some great truths, and the seeming practice of as great virtues. The magistrate of Mecca being alarmed at the progress of this sect, proscribed the author and all that adhered to him ; upon which the false prophet fled to another city of Arabia Petræa, called Yatrib, which he afterwards named Medina-al-nabi, or the city of the prophet. This flight, so famous among the Mahometans, and called in their language the Hegira, served their historians afterwards for the æra of their chronology. And the first year of the \* Musulman

622. period, according to the most received opinion, falls upon the twenty second year of the Heg. 1. seventh century.

MAHOMET being convinced, by the risk he had run at Mecca, that persuasion alone was not the way to accomplish his ambitious designs, resolved to have recourse to arms. The impostor did not fail to summon heaven to his assistance ; and it was not long before he gave out, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a sword from God, with orders to subdue all such as should refuse to embrace his new religion.

WE are not to look elsewhere for the cause of that astonishing progress, which, in so short a time, this impious sect made in Arabia, and afterwards in the greatest part of the lesser Asia. And it is highly probable, that if Mahomet could have foreseen as much, he would have spared himself the pains of forging so many revelations, and adjusting so great a number of materials, borrowed from other religions. This armed apostle began this new kind of mission with invading his neighbours. The lure of plunder, which has so many charms in the eyes of the Arabians, drew a great number to his standard. No caravan could pass near his quarters without being exposed to pillage ; and by acting

\* Note, the Musulman year consists of twelve lunar months, which is only three hundred and fifty four days ; so that thirty three of our years is very near thirty four of theirs.

ting the robber, he insensibly attained to the fortune of a conqueror. Of his soldiers and vanquished enemies he made new disciples, whom he called Musulmen, that is to say, Believers, or such as are entered into the way of salvation. Being now as great a soldier, as he was an eloquent preacher, he soon made himself master of Mecca, and most of the fortified towns and castles of Arabia yielded to the force of his arms.\* He was seconded in these wars by Abubekre his father-in-law, by Aly his cousin and son-in-law, and by Omar and Otman, all four his apostles and principal officers, fanaticks in good earnest, and who became the willing subjects of an impostor, to whom they had at first been only disciples. Mahomet, by his courage and conduct, was enabled to unite the sacerdotal with the imperial authority in his own person, and in the space of twenty three years of his pretended 645 or apostolate, others say in ten, almost all Ara- 632. bia was reduced under his dominion, and at the same time had embraced his new religion.

THE false prophet, at his death, had nominated Aly, his daughter Fatima's husband, for his successor: but Mahomet's son-in-law found, by experience, that the last wills of the most absolute princes are generally buried in their graves. Abubekre, being much older than Aly, was preferred before him by the interest of Omar and Otman, who, by making choice of a man in years, opened themselves a passage in their turn to the same dignity. This election of Abubekre gave rise afterwards to schisms and civil wars among the Mahometans. The successors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, i. e. vicars of the prophet, or of Almoumenians, i. e. princes or commanders of the faithful. These first successors, full of that fire and zeal which a new religion always inspires, spread the doctrine of their master, and extended their own dominion into different countries, the one not advancing a step without the other. It was not long before they finished the conquest of Arabia, and drove out the Persians

\* Alc. c. 4. Cantacuzeni erat. 1. sect. 12.

fians and Greeks. From the latter, they afterwards took Damascus, Antioch, and all Syria, invaded Palestine, carried Jerusalem, marched into Egypt and subdued it, absolutely destroyed the Persian monarchy, and made themselves masters of Media, Corassan or Bactriana, Diarbeick or Mesopotamia. Then they carried the War into Africa, where they made as surprising a progress as ever, and subdued all the country that lies west of Egypt.

NOT to mention the isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, Malta and Goza, which they either ravaged or made themselves masters of, nor Spain, where the Arabians, in the beginning of the eighth century, founded a new empire upon the ruins of the Gothick monarchy; great provinces of France, situated beyond the Loire, were exposed to the fury of their arms; and if it had not been for the incomparable bravery and valour of Charles Martel, the fate and fortune of this kingdom would have been no better than that of Spain. In a word, they threatned the whole world with their chains. And the miserable remains of the Greek empire would not at that time have been able to hold out against so formidable a power, if the heads of that nation had not quarrelled among themselves. But the governors of provinces being too powerful for private men, assumed a sovereign authority over them. We have seen, in different parts of Asia and Africa, and at different times, no less than five caliphs, all pretending to be the off-spring of Mahomet, and the genuine interpreters of the law. Again, most of these caliphs being buried afterwards in luxury and effeminacy, left the civil and military government of their states to emirs or sultans, a sort of mayors of the palace, who, in a short time, made themselves absolute masters of them, and for the most part left the caliphs nothing but the inspection of religious affairs, the privilege of being named first in the public prayers, and some other ceremonial honours, without any power or authority.

OF all the conquests gained by these infidels, none more sensibly affected the Christians, than that of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. From the time of Constantine the Great, when christianity became the religion of the empire, that was the most noted pilgrimage of all christendom. The Greek and Latin Christians, out of a pious persuasion that their greatest sins would be remitted at the feet of Christ's tomb, were, with equal eagerness, continually flocking to Jerusalem; and the rather, in that there was till then a secure and easy access to it through the territories of the empire. The revolution which had lately happened altered the case exceedingly; and the infidels, though they revered Jesus Christ as a great prophet, yet, to raise their revenues, they laid a sort of tribute upon all foreign pilgrims, that came out of devotion to the holy sepulchre. But this oppression was not sufficient to cool the zeal of the Christians of that age: there was for near three hundred years the same resort of the Christian nations, even from the remotest parts of the west. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, the caliphs or sultans of Egypt, who were then masters of Palestine, allowed the Greek Christians, who were their subjects, to settle in Jerusalem; and that they might not be intermixed with the Musulmen, the governor of that capital of Judea assigned them the quarter nearest the holy sepulchre for their abode.

THE renown of the emperor Charlemagne's conquest and power spreading from Europe into Asia, the caliph Aaron Raschid, one of the most potent princes of the east, permitted the French, out of regard to him, to have a house of their own in the holy city for the entertainment of such pilgrims as were of that nation. Eginard relates, that the patriarch of Jerusalem sent that great prince, in the caliph's name, the keys of the holy sepulchre, and of the church of mount Calvary, with a standard, which the famous Abbe Fleury, the late writer of ecclesiastical history, is of opinion was meant as a mark of the power and authority which Aaron had resigned to that christian prince. Another

modern



modern writer,<sup>a</sup> learned in our antiquities, in the thirty seventh book of the annals of his order, tells us of one Bernard, a French monk, who lived in A. D. 870, and who, in his account of a voyage made to Jerusalem, relates, that he found there an hospital for the Latins, and that in the same house was a library, collected by the care and at the expence of the emperor Charlemagne.

BUT after the death of the caliph Aaron and his first successors, as those of Carlemagne did not come up to him either in power or reputation, the French lost the regard that had been formerly paid them in Palestine. They were no longer allowed to have any house of entertainment in Jerusalem; and though, like the other nations of Europe, they had, by virtue of their money, admittance into the holy city, and in the day-time made their stations in all the places antiently honoured with the presence and mysteries of our divine Saviour; yet, in the evening and night-time, it was not without great difficulty as well as danger, that they could find any place to retire to in the city. The Musulmen had naturally too great an aversion for the Christians to receive them into their houses: and some disputes that had started up in relation to doctrines not rightly understood, as well as some differences in point of discipline, having, in a manner, put an end to all union between the Greek and Latin churches, our European Christians were scarce less odious to the Greeks than they were to the Arabians and Sarazens of the east.

IN the middle of the eleventh century, some Italian merchants, who had experienced the inhumanity of both the one and the other, undertook to procure an asylum for the European pilgrims, in the very city of Jerusalem, where they might have nothing to fear either from the the false zeal of the Mahometans, or the enmity and aversion of the schismatical Greeks. These pious merchants were of Amalphy, a city in the kingdom of Naples, but at that time subject to  
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<sup>a</sup> Dom. Mabillon.

the Greek emperors of Constantinople. Their affairs, in regard to trade and commerce, called them almost every year into Egypt, where, by means of their rich merchandizes, as well as some curious pieces of workmanship which they brought thither from Europe, they were introduced to the court of the caliph Monstafer-billah; and distributing some considerable presents among his domesticks and ministers, they obtained leave for the Latin Christians to build a house of entertainment near the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem.

THE governor, by that prince's order, assign-  
1048 ed them a piece of ground, on which they built a chapel, and dedicated it to the blessed virgin, by the name of St. Mary ad Latinos, to distinguish it from the churches where divine service was celebrated according to the Greek ritual; some monks of the Benedictine order officiated in it. Near their convent they built two houses of entertainment for the reception of pilgrims of both sexes, whether in health or sickness, which was the chief view in this foundation; and each house had afterwards a chapel in it, the one dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and the other to St. Magdalen.

SOME lay-persons from Europe, full of zeal and charity, renouncing the thoughts of returning into their own country, devoted themselves in this religious house to the service of the poor and pilgrims, and were subsisted by the monks above-mentioned: and the merchants of Amalphy, out of the alms which they collected in Italy, and either brought or sent regularly every year to the holy land, supplied the wants of the pilgrims or sick. That sacred trust of the charity of the faithful they remitted into the hands of persons, consecrated, as we have said, to the service of the Christians of the west. This holy house, governed by the Benedictine monks, and which may be looked upon as the cradle of the order of St. John, served afterwards for a place of security and retreat for pilgrims. The Latin Christians were there entertained and provided for, without any distinction of nation or condition. There

they cloathed again such as had been stripped by robbers; there the sick were treated with care, and every kind of misery found in the charity of these Hospital-  
lers, a new kind of mercy to relieve it.\*

YET this pious and useful foundation had like to have been ruined in its very infancy, and it had hardly subsisted seventeen years, when the Turcomans conquered Palestine, surprized the city of Jerusalem, and cut the caliph of Egypt's garrison in pieces. 1050

THESE Barbarians came out of the heart of Tartary. 'Tis said that they were originally inhabitants of that part of the Asiatick Sarmatia, which lies between mount Caucasus, the River Tanais, the Palus Mæotis, and the Caspian sea. They afterwards crossed the Wolga, traversed all the northern coast of the Caspian sea, and settled in that part of Tartary which runs between several branches of mount Imaus and along the side of the river Iaxartes; a country still called from them Turquestan. Historians are not agreed whether it was the Greek emperors, or the kings of Persia, that first brought them into that part of Asia, and called them in to their assistance. What appears more certain is, that some officers of that nation entered afterwards into the pay of the Arabians or Sarazens, who, to keep them in their service, after they had made themselves masters of Persia, assigned them lands in those great provinces, where they settled from that time with their families. It seems they had scarce any religion besides a confused notion of a first being, creator of heaven and earth, author, as they said, of life and death, who sent health or sickness to men according to his own good pleasure. No such thing as divine worship was known among them; only in their sickness they had recourse to some magicians, a sort of priests, who, after exacting presents from them, and using some senseless conjuring tricks, persuaded them that they appeased the angry deity for them. This colony, out of complaisance to their new masters, turned  
after-

\* Willielm. Tyrriensis. hist. l. 1.



afterwards Mahometans, and in time multiplying exceedingly, they shook off the yoke of the Arabians, but without quitting their religion, in which the greatest part of them had been bred. Other tribes and people of the same nation passing the Iaxartes, and traversing the Maura-nahar, joined themselves to these first comers, made their way to the banks of the Oxus, and advanced even into Corofan.

ALL these Turcomans thus re-united together, levied vast armies, and chose three gene- 1065.  
rals to command them, all taken out of the same family, and descended from one Salguez, whose memory they held in singular veneration. The first of these generals was Togrul-beg. Sprung as he was out of the midst of a savage nation, he had nothing of the barbarian in him, but boldness and ignorance, or a contempt of dangers. He was profuse in his recompences to his soldiers, cruel in his punishments of those who had shewed a want of courage, and was therefore revered by a nation, among whom the art of making one's self dreaded was of more weight than all the virtues put together. This was the prince, who in 1055, under the title of chief of the emirs, or sultan, made himself master of Bagdat, and of the great empire of the Arabian caliphs. Jafer-bei or Jafer-beg his cousin, chief of the second branch, seized on his side upon Quirman, and the vast tracts of country which lye towards the Persian sea and the Indies. Culumises, another cousin of Togrul-beg and Jafer, had advanced before them, and A. D. 1050, had made the greatest part of the lesser Asia or Anatolia acknowledge him for their sovereign, and fixed the seat of his empire at Iconium. Togrul-beg dying without issue about A. D. 1063, Alubarflan, his nephew and successor, kept up the dignity of sultan with no less valour than his uncle. This prince gaining a signal victory over the Greeks, took the emperor Diogenes prisoner upon that occasion. It is said, that the son of Alubarflan, called Gelaleddin, was the most powerful of these Selgeucidian princes, and that his empire ex-

tended from the farthest provinces of Turquestan to Jerusalem, and even to the borders of Arabia Felix: a new revolution this in Asia, carried on with a rapidity not inferior or less surprizing than that which the Arabians had brought about four hundred years before. It was the lieutenants of Gelaledin, surnamed Malefcha, who, after reducing Syria, chased the Sarazens out of Palestine, and in 1065 seized on the city of Jerusalem.

No description can reach all the cruelties which they committed there: the garrison of the caliph of Egypt was cut in pieces, as I said before. The inhabitants and the Christians scarce met with a better fate: numbers of them were butchered; the hospital of St. John was plundered, and these barbarians, fierce and cruel in their nature, would have destroyed the holy sepulchre, had not their avarice restrained their impiety. The fear of losing the revenues raised upon the pilgrims of the west, preserved the tomb of our Saviour<sup>a</sup>. But these infidels, to gratify at once their avarice and their hatred to every thing that bore the name of Christian, loaded them with heavier tributes; so that the pilgrims, after having spent all their money in the course of so long a voyage, or being stripped by robbers, and worn out with hunger and miseries of all sorts, at last, for want of ability to discharge such excessive tributes, perished at the gates of Jerusalem, without being able to obtain of these barbarians the consolation only of seeing, before they expired, the holy sepulchre, the only object of their vows, and the end of so tedious a pilgrimage.

SUCH as escaped from under these cruel oppressions, did not fail at their return to Europe to give sad descriptions of them. They represented in the most moving colours the indignity of suffering the holy places to remain under the dominion of infidels. But  
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<sup>a</sup> Soli etiam Dominici sepulcri templo, ejusque cultoribus christianis parcebant, propter tributa quæ ex oblatione fidelium assidue eis fideliterque solvebantur, unà cum ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ ad Latinos quæ etiam tributaria erat. Alb. Aqueñs. l. 6. p. 281.

the power of these Barbarians was so formidable, the Greek empire so weakened, and moreover the princes of Europe so remote and disunited among themselves, that the delivery of Jerusalem was looked upon as an impracticable attempt.

YET a single man called Peter the Hermit, of the diocess of Amiens, who had himself experienced part of the miseries before mentioned, formed the bold design of recovering the Holy Land into the hands of the Christian princes. He first addressed himself to Simeon the Greek patriarch, a prelate of great piety. And as the hermit founded part of his views upon the eastern Christians, and the power of the Greek empire, the patriarch replied, he saw plainly that he spoke of the forces of that empire as a stranger, and without knowing them; adding, that nothing was now left of that great title but an empty name, and a dignity without power; that the Turcomans, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperors, and of the divisions and intestine wars that were continually breaking out in the empire, had lately seized on most of the provinces situated upon the coast of the Euxine sea, and, as a monument of their victories, had given them the name of Turcomania; that the other provinces of the empire were ravaged in their turns, sometimes by the inroads of Barbarians, and frequently for want of pay, by the very Christian troops placed there for their defence; that the grandees of the empire, in hopes of mounting the throne, had most of them no other thought than how to raise seditions in the imperial city, or debauch the armies into rebellion; that the empresses, who never reckoned chastity among the virtues, had often made the imperial dignity serve as a recompence to their adulterers; that even the eunuchs of the palace, monsters that are neither men nor women, had, by their interest and intrigues, a great share in these revolutions, and that within thirty years past they had seen no less than ten emperors upon the throne of the great Constantine, most of whom ended their reign by a tragical death, or at least with the

*Peter the Hermit.*

loss of their eyes; and if any were suffered to live or enjoy the use of their sight, it was only because they were despised to such a degree, that being sent to a monastery, they were not reckoned any longer in the number of the living; that the emperor Michael Ducat, surnamed Parapinaces, had been dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates; and the usurper, to secure the crown to himself, had made prince Constantine Ducas (eldest son of Michael, and husband to Helena, daughter of Guiscard the Norman) an eunuch; that the emperor Alexis Comnenus, who was then upon the throne, had made his way to it by the like treacheries, and by rebelling against Botoniates, whom he had deposed in his turn; that this new emperor was indeed a man of capacity, but more feared by his subjects than by his neighbours; and that, after all, so far was any one from having reason to flatter himself with the sufficiency of this prince's power to settle the Christians again in Jerusalem, that he was hard put to it to stop the progress of the arms of the Turcomans, who had lately seized on Nice, which the Selgeucidians of the third dynasty had made the capital of that particular monarchy; that in another quarter, Alexis was engaged in war with Robert Guiscard, count or duke of Calabria, and Bohemund his son, Norman princes, and irreconcilable enemies to the Greeks; that they had taken the field and ravaged the territories of the empire, to revenge themselves on Alexis for his imprisonment and cruel usage of the princess Helena, daughter to Guiscard, and wife to Constantine Ducas; that these two Norman princes, enraged at his perfidiousness, and for the delivery of the princess, had invaded Thrace, cut Alexis's armies in pieces, and would have dethroned him in his turn, had not other affairs, which they were obliged to attend, called them back for a time into Italy; but that the emperor was in continual apprehensions that the thunderbolt to hurl him from his throne would be lanced from that house.

THE patriarch from this discourse concluded, that in order to deliver the Holy Land out of the hands of the

the infidels, no assistance was to be expected from the Greeks, and that nothing but a league of the Latin princes could make so difficult an enterprize succeed. This proposal startled the hermit; but far from abating his zeal, tho' he foresaw all the difficulties attending it, he still flattered himself that they might be got over with the assistance and protection of the pope. The patriarch by his advice wrote to the head of the church in the most moving terms. The hermit undertook to deliver his letters, took shipping at the port of Joppa or Jafa, arrived in Italy, presented the patriarch's letters to the pope, and laid before him, with tears in his eyes, the miserable condition that the Christians of Jerusalem were reduced to. He added, that the Arabians or Sarazens had built a mosque upon the old ruins of the famous temple of Solomon; that the venerable church of the holy sepulchre, under the dominion of the Turcomans, was every moment in danger of the like profanation; that the Christian women and virgins were often exposed to the brutality of those Barbarians; and if any youths fell into their power, they had reason to be afraid of infamies more insupportable than death itself; in fine, that the Holy Land, watered formerly with the precious blood of the Saviour of mankind, was entirely reduced under their tyranny; yet it was not impossible to rescue it from that scandalous slavery, would he but vouchsafe to engage most of the European princes in an enterprize so worthy of his zeal and piety.

THE pope that the hermit applied to was Urban II. a Frenchman by birth, and born at Chattillon on the Marne. Though the air and habit of a single hermit did not prepossess him in his favour; yet his holiness heard him out with much humanity, and was the less surprized at the greatness of his project, because pope Gregory VII. a pontiff who imagined himself the sovereign of kings, and whose vast attempts had no bounds, had likewise formed a design of obliging all the Christian princes by his authority to take up arms against the Mahometans. Urban, who, upon the death  
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of Victor III. had just succeeded him, had no less zeal than he ; but being more regular in his views, he did not think it proper to declare himself, till he had first founded the disposition, and examined into the forces of the princes of Europe. This prudent conduct was founded upon the general discontent which the emperors and monarchs of Christendom had shewn at the odious pretensions of Gregory, who, under colour of a spiritual authority, which they could not dispute, had attempted to reduce all sovereign Princes to the condition of his tributaries and vassals. Urban, it is likely, was very sensible, that at a time of so much uneasiness and discontent, when every thing that came from the court of Rome might be suspected of a secret ambition, it was not proper to make use of his own name and authority openly to oblige the Christian princes to take up arms, for fear the design should miscarry. He resolved therefore first to have only the necessity and merit of it recommended from the pulpit. With this view, calling the hermit, and extolling highly his zeal, he exhorted him to travel over most of the provinces of Christendom, and stir up sovereigns and their subjects to arm for rescuing the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels; and the pope, at taking leave, gave him to understand, that if his mission succeeded well, they might depend on the spiritual treasures of the church, and even powerful succours of men and money should not be wanting to those who would engage in so holy an enterprise.

THE hermit, dismissed with his holiness's blessing, traversed all Europe in less than a year's time. Wherever he went he put every thing in motion: the tragical descriptions that he gave of the profanation of the holy places; his lively and pathetick exhortations; his long and uncouth beard; his walking barefoot; his austere life; his excessive abstinence, and even the money which he received only to give away immediately to the poor; all this made him be regarded as a saint and a prophet, and the great world as well as the

the populace, burnt with impatience to go to the Holy Land to revenge the outrages of the infidels upon Jesus Christ.

THE pope having notice of this surprizing 1095. success, resolved to declare himself. He called two councils the same year, one at Placentia in Italy, the other at Clermont in Auvergne. At the council in Placentia there were no less than four thousand ecclesiasticks, and more than thirty thousand laity of different conditions; but what was still more extraordinary, was to see (during the schism) some Greek embassadors there. The emperor Alexis Comnenus had sent them to implore the assistance of the Latins against the Turcomans, who, after seizing on the city of Nice, threatned Calcedon, and even Constantinople itself, with a siege. The pope took occasion from this embassy to bewail the miseries of the east, and especially of Palestine, which was fallen under the slavery of those Barbarians. At the account given by these embassadors of their cruelties, the whole assembly rang with indignation and rage. A thousand confused voices were heard, crying out, that they must go and defend their brethren in Christ Jesus. The pope exhorted them to remember this their generous resolution when the proper time came for putting it in execution.

THE same zeal distinguished itself in the council of Clermont; where were present a great number of prelates, princes and nobility, most of them French, or vassals of the crown of France. After a discourse infinitely moving, made by the pope to persuade the Christians to an expedition for delivering the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Mahometans, the whole assembly cried out as it were by concert, *Dieu le veut, Dieu le veut*, [*God will have it so; God will have it so;*] and these three words served afterwards for a device and shout of war in the army: and for the distinguishing of such as engaged in this holy enterprize, it was ordered, that they should wear a red cross on their right shoulder.

- As soon as the council was broke up, the bishops who had assisted at it, returning to their diocesses, began to preach the croisade, and did it with such success, that all the world was for taking the voyage of Asia. It looked as if there had been no other way to heaven but this; they strove who should set out first; princes, lords, gentlemen, citizens and peasants, every one quitted with joy what he held most dear, wife, children and parents, so true is it, that men seem only made to imitate one another.

- IN truth, all that took upon them the crusade were not led by the same motives: several went into the east only out of interested views, and in hopes of settling there; some enrolled themselves in this holy militia, only to avoid the imputation of cowardice; others engaged in it out of levity, for company, and because they would not part with their relations and friends. The very women did the same, that they might not be separated from their lovers; in a word, the monk and the recluse tired out with their cells, the peasant weary of his labour, all blinded by the feeble glittering of a false zeal, abandoned their station and former calling; all which in truth formed a prodigious number of crusaders. But amidst this multitude of people of various conditions, there were men indeed in abundance, yet but few soldiers; and such an enterprize would have miscarried in its very infancy, even before the militia of the crusade had got out of Europe, had they not been sustained by great bodies of regular troops, commanded by princes and lords of consummate valour and experience, and animated by a pure zeal for delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels.

AMONG these lords were reckoned up <sup>a</sup> Raiment of St. Giles, count of Thoulouse, the first who took the cross, and who had already signalized himself in Spain, at the head of the armies of Alphonso VI. against the Arabians and Sarazens of Africa; Hugh surnamed the Great, brother to Philip I. king of France,

<sup>a</sup> Baldric,



and count of Vermandois in right of his Wife; Robert, Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus, king of England; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Charters and Blois; Godfrey of Boulogne, count of the lower Lorraine or Brabant, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Baldwin du Bourg their cousin, and son to the count of Retel, besides a great number of other lords and gentlemen, most of them subjects or vassals of the crown of France, who sold their cattle and lands on that occasion, to furnish the expence of this armament.

NONE of the kings of Europe appeared in this first expedition. Henry IV. son of Conrad II. surnamed the Salique, was at that time emperor of Germany: and whether we consider his dignity, or reflect upon his singular bravery, his great experience in the command of his armies and forces, there was not in all Christendom a prince more worthy to be at the head of the crusade. But in all appearance he was detained in his own dominions by the differences which had broke out between the popes and emperors, and had for more than fifty years been tearing the church and the empire in pieces. The form of giving investiture of the great ecclesiastical dignities was the pretence; but the sovereignty of Rome and Italy was the true reason of these differences. The popes, placed in that high degree of temporal power, to which the liberality of the kings of France had raised them, could not bear to hear speak of the rights which the kings of the Romans and the emperors of the west had exercised formerly in Rome, and over the rest of Italy. Hence arose schisms, wars and insurrections, which hindered the emperor from leaving Germany and the center of his dominions. The effeminacy and a criminal attachment which Philip I. king of France, had for Bertrade, wife of Fulk le Rechin, count of Anjou, detained him in his kingdom. To say nothing of William Rufus, king of England, son of William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, who had conquered the English, a haughty and restless nation,

tion, jealous of their liberty, and impatient of any government, more especially of a foreign one; so that to be absent at such a distance, in the beginning of a new reign, would have been contrary to all the rules of prudence. As for the kings of Castile, Arragon and Navarre, they were too much taken up in defending their own dominions from the Arabians and Sarazens of Spain, to dream of any other enterprizes.

SPAIN, since the invasion of the Sarazens, was become as it were the theatre of a continual crusade; and the bravest of all the European nobility repaired ordinarily thither, to make their first essay in arms against those infidels. In this armament therefore for the Holy Land, there were scarce any but private princes and French lords, whose fathers, or at most their grandfathers, taking advantage of the decline of the house of Charlemagne, and by virtue of their feoffments, had, from private governors of cities or provinces, erected themselves insensibly into sovereigns of their governments. Such was the origin of the many principalities, which at the end of the second, and beginning of the third race, had dismembered this powerful monarchy.

IN the mean time, the princes who had taken the cross began their march from all parts. 1096.  
The Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, commonwealths powerful at sea, transported part of them into Greece. The general rendezvous was in the plains near Constantinople. The famous Bohemund, who had already made war with such glorious success upon the Sarazens, and even upon the emperor Alexis, was at that time besieging a castle in the Terra di Lavoro with count Roger his uncle. No sooner did he receive the first news of the crusade, with the number and quality of the principal lords engaged in it, than, transported with zeal, and seized with a pious rage, he cut in pieces his coat of arms, and made it into crosses, taking the first himself, and distributing the rest to his principal officers. Among these lords were the brave Tancred his nephew, the counts Ranulph and Richard his

his cousins, Herman de Cani, Humfrey son of Rodolph, Robert de Sourdeval, and a great number of other gentlemen, all Normans by birth or descent, whose fathers or themselves had, at the expence of the Sarazens and Greeks, made considerable settlements in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. As these illustrious adventurers, or their descendants, will bear a great part in the course of this history, we think ourselves obliged to give a short account, on what occasion they transported themselves from the heart of Normandy, and settled in the lower Italy.

ABOUT the year 1000 or 1003, forty Nor- 1003.  
man gentlemen, all warriors, who had signalized themselves in the armies of the dukes of Normandy, returning from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, arrived in Italy without arms, and only with their staff and chaplet, the usual equipage of pilgrims, and which our kings themselves in the following crusades went to receive at St. Dennis. These Norman pilgrims hearing that the town of Salerno was besieged by the Sarazens, were prompted by a religious zeal to throw themselves into the place. Guimard was prince of it, and shut up in it. He furnished them with arms and horses; and these strangers made so many unexpected and vigorous sallies upon the infidels, that they obliged them to raise the siege. The prince of Salerno, admiring the bravery of these Normans, and their skill in the art of war, offered them rich presents, and made a proposal of considerable settlements, in order to retain them in his service. But those gentlemen, called home by the love we naturally bear to our country, refused every thing that was offered them; and told him, they had no other view in taking up arms but the glory of God and the defence of religion. Upon their departure, Guimard is said to have sent deputies after them, who, to excite the zeal and courage of the Norman gentry, and to engage them to come and settle in Italy, carried into that province stuffs of great value, magnificent furniture for horses, and even pomegranates, oranges, lemons and almonds,  
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which they presented to several gentlemen, as a proof of the mildness of their climate, and the goodness of the soil, wherein they had the offer of lands and Castles \*.

A GREAT number of the Normans, tempted by the promises of these envoys, took their wives and children, and bid adieu to their country; and during this whole century, some or other of that nation were continually passing into Italy. The most considerable of them were the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Coutance in the lower Normandy. He had twelve sons, all bearing arms: The eldest, who served as a leader to these adventurers, was called William, and surnamed Bras de fer, or Iron arm, on account of his great strength and valour. Drogon or Dreux was the second; Humfrey the third; Herman, Robert and Roger were the three last. History has not conveyed to us the names of the other sons of Tancred, and we do not so much as know, whether they passed into Italy.

THERE were in this country three sorts of governments, that of some little princes, the old remains of the Lombards, and independent one of another: A second canton was subject to the Greek emperors; but the Sarazens had usurped the greater part of it. The sons of Hauteville soon formed a third power, which swallowed up all the rest. The Italians and Greeks were, as we have observed, the people who had called them in to their succour against the Sarazens.

THE Normans of Italy, united together under the banner of the sons of Hauteville, entered into the service of the Greeks, carried towns, won battles, and by their heroick actions, drove the infidels out of most of the places which they were possessed of. But they were ill recompensed for it. The Greeks, who had called them in to their succour, inconstant and jealous of the power they insensibly acquired in the country, made use of the worst of treacheries to destroy the leaders of that nation. The sons of Hauteville were  
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\* Guill. Gemet, l. 7.

under a necessity of standing upon their defence against such scoundrel enemies, and did it with their usual valour, and such a train of success, that after numberless fatigues, dangers and engagements, they took Calabria, Apulia and Sicily from the Greeks; and perhaps were not sorry to have been furnished with the pretence of an advantageous vengeance, and the opportunity of seizing on those rich countries. Upon this they divided those great provinces between them: Robert Guiscard had the county of Calabria, and was afterwards the most powerful of all the brothers: He was called Guiscard, on account of his dexterity, and the stratagems that he used in war; and we are now going to see prince Bohemund his eldest son, so formidable already to the Greeks for his valour; distinguish himself as much against the infidels by his conduct and management, and acquire a new glory in the east.

THIS prince, before his departure, and in view of making a powerful acquisition in Asia, resigned his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, named Roger after his uncle; reserving to himself no other resource but the city of Tarento, and the hopes of making new conquests in the east. After this he crossed the sea, at the head of ten thousand horse, and a great body of foot, and upon his landing, advanced towards Constantinople, in order to join the other troops of the crusade. The pope wrote at the same time to the emperor of Constantinople, that above three hundred thousand men were marching to his succour, and to deliver the holy places out of the hands of the infidels. He mentioned to him the principal chieftains of the crusade, and exhorted him to be expeditious in giving the necessary orders for the subsistence of these troops. They arrived in rank and file successively from different places; and at a general review, made in the plains of Constantinople, they mustered an hundred thousand horse, and no less than six hundred thousand foot, including priests, monks, and an infinite number of women in mens cloaths, most of which, to the



scandal of Christianity, prostituted themselves to the soldiers.

THE Greek emperor, instead of a competent succour which he had asked, was strangely surprized to see his dominions over-run with such innumerable troops, as were in a condition to prescribe to him in the very capital of his own empire. Alexis was more particularly afraid of Bohemund, whose valour and conduct he had felt; and to get rid of these allies, more terrible to him than open enemies, he resolved to gain the chiefs by caresses and presents, and at the same time to leave no stone untried to cut off provisions from the soldiers, and destroy such as strolled from their colours in search of them. By this artful conduct, without declaring himself openly, he did the Latins more mischief, than all the forces of the Turcomans put together.

By his orders, they carried every day presents and refreshments to the princes of the crusade; nay, to remove all kind of suspicion, he would needs engage himself in it: he took the badge with great solemnity, and, by a treaty with the European princes, obliged himself to join his fleet with that of the Latins; to furnish them with provisions as far as Jerusalem, and to repair in person to the main body of the army, at the head of his troops, in order to act in concert against the infidels, whether Turcomans, Arabians or Sarazens.

THOSE of the crusade, blinded by these fine promises, agreed, on the other hand, to restore him Nice, which the Turcomans had lately seized, and such other places belonging to the empire as they should recover from the Barbarians; or at least, in case the Latins were for keeping them, it was agreed that they should do homage to him for them. In pursuance of this treaty, several western lords, hoping to make themselves masters of some principalities in the east, took the oath of fidelity to him beforehand.

THE emperor, notwithstanding these precautions, being still uneasy to see a formidable army at the  
gates

gates of his capital, and in a condition to prescribe to him what terms they pleased even in his own palace, was continually pressing the chiefs to lose no time in entering Bithynia, that, as he pretended, they might surprize and get the start of the infidels : he even furnished them with a great number of transports for that purpose. The princes, deceived by this appearance of zeal for the common cause, passed the Bosphorus, and, after some days march, invested Nice. Soliman the Turcoman of the May 14. Selgeucidian race, a relation of Togrul-beg, 1097. and sultan of Iconium, had thrown a strong garrison into Nice.\* The attack was brisk, and the defence very obstinate; the Turcomans disputed the ground inch by inch, and only yielded to a formidable power, which no place seemed able to hold out against it. The governor, after a siege of thirty four days, surrendered Nice to the Latin Christians, who, pursuant to their treaty with the Greek emperor, fairly delivered it up to the officers of that June 20. prince, with the wife and children of Soliman, who, by the capitulation, remained prisoners of war.

ALEXIS was not so much affected with the taking of Nice, as he was alarmed at the valour and courage which those of the crusade had shewn in the attack. He made no question but they would soon subdue the greater part of Asia; and were he to chuse his neighbours, he was for those that he thought the weakest, and no longer dreamed of any thing but making a secret alliance with the infidels, to traverse the conquests of the Latin Christians, which now appeared to him the more formidable of the two.

WITH this view, he restored Soliman his wife and children, as an earnest of the friendship he was desirous to contract with him. They entered into a strict alliance; and the perfidious Greek, in execution of this secret treaty, far from going in person to the Christian army, supplying it with provisions, or joining

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\* *Bibl. orient.* p. 822.



ing his fleet to that of the Latins, according to his engagements in the treaty of Constantinople, gave private orders to the generals of his army to keep close to that of the Latins; and his troops, in concert with those of Soliman, cut in pieces the soldiers that straggled, either to seek provisions, or to go a foraging.

THE sultan did not rely so entirely on the treaty he had just made with the emperor, but that he thought at the same time of procuring such succours as were more to be depended on. For this purpose he made application to the sultans of Antioch, Aleppo, Bagdat and Persia, all princes of his own nation, of the same house, and interested as neighbours to prevent his ruin. These princes immediately levied vast armies; and if, on the one hand, all France in a manner had passed into the east with those of the crusade, it looked on the other hand, as if the greatest part of Asia had taken up arms on this occasion.

So general and vast an armament alarmed the caliph of Egypt, whose empire extended into Syria, and as far as Laodicea. This prince, an Arabian by descent, and chief of the sect of Ali, fearing lest the Turcomans, who acknowledged the caliph of Bagdat for their head in spirituals, should, under pretence of opposing the Latin Christians, turn their arms against him, sent ambassadors to the princes of the crusade, to propose a league against all the Turcomans. And as he was sensible that the conquest of Jerusalem was the main view of the Christian army, it was stipulated by a treaty, that he should declare himself against their common enemies; that each of them should separately attack the Turcomans; that the capital of Judea should, with all its dependencies, be put into the hands of the Latin Christians; that for his part he should resume the possession of the other places which the Turcomans had taken from him; and if they extended their conquests to the territories of the enemy, they should be divided equally between them.\*

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\* Raymond d'Agil.

THE Christian princes having signed this treaty, sent it back to the caliph by his ambassadors, together with others from themselves, to assist in their name at the ratification of it.

BUT the politick caliph, who was for regulating his conduct by events, detained the ambassadors at his court upon various pretences, to see, before he declared himself more openly, on which side the victory would turn.

BY the treaty between the princes of the crusade and the emperor Alexis, they were obliged, as we have said, to put into his hands all such imperial towns as they should take from the infidels, or else to hold them of him as his vassals: and the emperor, for his part, was to send his troops to the main body of the army, and supply the Latins with provisions till the taking of Jerusalem.

BUT as the Greek prince openly broke his word, the princes of the crusade thought themselves discharged of their engagements. These princes, after the taking of Nice, continued their march and their conquests, dividing their troops for their more easy subsistence. Those who commanded these different bodies, seized on most of the towns in Anatolia. All Cilicia fell before them: Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, made himself master of the county of Edessa, the people whereof, though subject to the Turcomans, were most of them Christians; and, to strengthen himself against the infidels, he struck up an alliance with an Armenian prince, and married his niece.

THE main army of the Latins advancing Oct. 21. into Syria, marched up to Antioch, and invested it. There was in the city a compleat army for a garrison; and several bodies of Turks, coming up to relieve the place, kept the Christians themselves in a manner besieged. The siege of Antioch at the end of seven months was scarce farther advanced than it was the first day, and they would have been obliged to rise up, had it not been for the contrivance of Bohemund, who gained one of the chief inhabitants. By  
means

means of this intelligence, one of the gates was opened to him, and this prince, at the head of the troops which he commanded, first entered the place, and planted his standards on the towers of Antioch. The princes of the crusade in requital, granted him the sovereignty of it, and he preserved afterwards, by his valour, a principality that he had acquired by his management; a prince young and handsome, of a ready capacity and insinuating behaviour, as great a politician as he was a soldier, and of whom the princess Anna, in the history of her father the emperor Alexis, says so many good things, and at the same time so many bad ones; both perhaps because she liked him too well.

THE taking of Antioch, and a signal victory gained by Bohemund over Querbouca, June 28. 1098. general of Berearuc, sultan of Persia, and son of Gellaleden, opened a free passage to the conquest of Jerusalem. But the caliph of Egypt was beforehand with the Christians. That infidel prince, taking advantage of the confusion the Selgeucidians were in, took the field, and recovered the capital of Judea, which the Turcomans had seized about thirty eight years before.

THE caliph of Egypt, seeing the Christians and Turcomans equally weakened by such a number of sieges and engagements, found his interest had changed with his fortune. He sent their ambassadors back to the princes of the crusade, without thinking fit to ratify the treaty concluded with his ministers; and charged the Christian ambassadors to tell their masters, that having been happy enough to recover with his own forces alone a place which his predecessors were in possession of more than four hundred years, he knew very well how to keep it without any foreign succour; but the gates of it should be always open to Christian pilgrims, provided they came thither but in small numbers, and without arms.

THE princes of the crusade resenting this breach of faith, and giving themselves little disturbance about his power,

power, sent him word, that with the same keys with which they had opened the gates of Nice, Antioch, Tarsus and Edessa, they knew how to open those of Jerusalem: And after refreshing their troops during the winter-season and part of the spring, they marched straight to Jerusalem, and arrived there the seventh of June, A. D. 1099. June 7. 1099.

OF that infinite number of the crusade which set out from Europe, which amounted to near seven hundred thousand men, the greatest part had either perished in the field, were carried off by sickness, or had deserted their colours, without reckoning the garrisons they were obliged to leave in Cilicia, the county of Edessa, and principality of Antioch; so that there hardly remained twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse fit for service.

THE caliph, or rather Aladin, sultan and general of the caliph, had thrown forty thousand regular troops into the place, besides twenty thousand inhabitants, Mahometans by religion, whom he had obliged to take up arms. The governor of the city shut up the Christians he suspected in different prisons, and among the rest, the administrator of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

HE was a Frenchman, and named Gerard, born, as some historians relate, in the island of Martigues in Provence. A desire of visiting the holy places had brought him to Jerusalem, where seeing the charity exercised in the hospital of St. John, and being moved with so eminent an example, he had devoted himself long before to the service of the pilgrims, at the same time that Agnes, a Roman lady of illustrious birth, governed the house appointed for the reception of persons of her sex.

ALL pilgrims were admitted into the hospital of St. John without distinction of Greek and Latin; the very infidels received alms there; and the inhabitants in general, of what religion soever they were, looked upon

\* *Histoire de Provence par Bouche, t. 1. p. 32.*

upon the administrator of the hospital, as the common father of all the poor of the city.

'TWAS this general esteem, and the fear lest he should make use of it in favour of the besieged, that induced the governor to have him taken into custody. That commander, to render the siege more difficult, caused all the wells and cisterns for five or six miles round the city to be filled up: at the same time, he demolished the suburbs, and burnt all such timber belonging to the houses as might serve for making military engines. But all these precautions, the fortifications of the place, and a numerous garrison, did not hinder the Christians from sitting down before it.

*Jerusalem.* THIS city, one of the finest in the east, and ever famous for the mysteries of our redemption therein accomplished, had undergone several revolutions. No body can be ignorant of all the horrors of the siege laid to it by Titus Vespasian, who, without any such design, fulfilled the prophecies concerning it. The temple was entirely demolished, even in spite of the conqueror himself. The emperor Adrian, after destroying it a second time, rebuilt it again; but then he made it of less compass, and changed its name to *Ælia*, because he himself was called *Ælius*. Jerusalem recovered its name and its former glory under Constantine the first Christian emperor. Cosroes, grandson of another Cosroes, king of Persia, in the time of the emperor Phocas, laid the Holy City again desolate; thirty thousand inhabitants were put to the sword, and the famous church of St. Sepulchre was destroyed. Heraclius, successor to Phocas, recovered Jerusalem, and caused the churches to be rebuilt. About the middle of the seventh century it was taken, as we observed before, by the caliph Omar; and the Sarazen Mahometans had been masters of it for near four hundred years, when the Turcomans drove them thence. The sultan of Egypt had retaken it during the siege of Antioch. That which the princes of the crusade laid to it lasted only five weeks. Godfrey of Bouillon threw himself first into the city by means of a wooden tower  
which



which he clapped to the walls. The count of Thoulouse, who commanded at another attack, had the same advantage; the whole army crowded into the place; they put all that made any resistance to the sword; and not only so, but such also as threw down their arms. Above ten thousand inhabitants, who had been promised quarter, were massacred afterwards in cold blood; infants were inhumanly butchered at the breast, and in the arms of their mother; every thing swam in blood, and the conquerors, tired at last with slaughter, looked on it themselves with horror.

THIS military rage ceased at length, and gave way to more Christian sentiments. The chieftains, after the necessary precautions for the security of their conquest, laid aside their arms, and went barefoot, with their soldiers after them, to prostrate themselves before the holy sepulchre. Nothing was to be heard in that sacred place but sighs and groans. 'Twas a moving spectacle indeed to see with what devotion these soldiers of the crusade visited and kissed the memorials of our Saviour's sufferings; and, what is still more surprizing, these tears and sentiments of piety came from those very soldiers, who but a moment before had abandoned themselves to the most shocking cruelties: so true it is, that men are often led by principles entirely opposite.

THE next day the bishops and priests offered the holy sacrifice in the churches, to return thanks to God for their happy success. They gave immediate advice of it to pope Paschal II. who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and ordered the day of its reduction to be annually observed as a solemn festival for ever.

FROM the duties of religion, they passed next to the cares of government. The princes and lords assembled to determine who should be invested with the sovereignty of this conquest. Every one, according to his

\* Christiani cum paganis quinto bello conferto, tanta in eos cæde debacchati sunt, ut in sanguine occisorum equitarint usque ad genua equorum. Sig. Gemblac. p. 611.

his inclination or interests, proposed different persons to fill that great dignity. Some named Raimond, count of Tholouse; others Robert duke of Normandy; but at last all their votes united in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince still more illustrious for his piety than for his singular valour. The heads of the crusade conducted him in a solemn manner to the church of the holy sepulchre, in order to crown him there. But while the ceremony of inauguration was performing, the religious prince refused a crown of gold which they offered him, protesting loudly, that they should never see so magnificent a crown upon his head, in a place where the Saviour of the world was crowned with one of thorns. He likewise absolutely refused the august name of king, and took only the simple title of protector, or defender of the holy sepulchre.

IN the mean time, the caliph of Egypt's general, knowing nothing of the taking of Jerusalem, was marching at the head of his army to raise the siege; but Godfrey prevented him. He advanced to meet him, attacked him on the edge of the deserts which divide Palestine from Egypt, and beat and routed his army. In acknowledgement, and for a memorial of this new victory, he founded a chapter of Latin canons in the church of the holy sepulchre: he founded also another some time after in the church of the temple, which served before for a mosque to the infidels, and these canons in both churches followed the rule of St. Augustin, as cardinal James de Vitri, bishop of Acre, relates in his history,<sup>a</sup> an author, who, in respect of the affairs of the east, ought to be regarded as the original historian.

THE prince visited next the house of the hospitallers of St. John, the first which the Latin Christians ever had in the city of Jerusalem. He was received there by the pious Gerard, and the other administrators of the same fraternity; and there he found a great number of the soldiers of the crusade, who had been

wounded

<sup>a</sup> Chap. 50.



wounded in the siege and carried thither, after the taking of the place: all of them agreed in extolling the great charity of the hospitallers, who spared no pains for their relief.

THE cardinal de Vitri relates, that the bread of these hospitallers was made only of bran and the coarsest flower, whilst they reserved the finest part for the sustenance of the sick and wounded; a circumstance indeed inconsiderable enough, if any thing can be so that proceeds from an eminent fund of charity.

SEVERAL young gentlemen, who had just an happy experience of it, renounced all thoughts of returning into their own country, and devoted themselves in the house of St. John to the service of the poor and pilgrims. Among the illustrious persons of the crusade, who took the habit of hospitallers, were Raimond, deputy of the province of Dauphiny; Dudon de Comps, of the same province; Gastus or Castus, of the city of Berdeiz; Canon de Montaigu, of the province of Auvergne, and a great number besides.

THOUGH Godfrey by this means lost some gallant men who had done him great services, he could not but look upon their change with joy, and perhaps with a pious emulation. But if the interest and preservation of Jerusalem kept him still at the head of the army, he would at least contribute to the support of the house of St. John, and therefore annexed to it the lordship of Montboire, with all its dependencies, which was formerly part of his own demesne in Brabant.

MOST of the princes and lords of the crusade followed his example. The hospital was in a little time enriched with a great number of lands and manors, as well in Europe as in Palestine. This was in the hands of the pious Gerard, a sacred trust and certain fund for the relief of all the distressed. The holy man was as yet only a mere secular administrator; but after the taking of Jerusalem, the desire of greater perfection induced him to propose to the brothers and sisters of the hospital to take a regular habit, and dedicate their life in the hospital to the service of the poor and pilgrims.

GERARD  
Rector.

THE brothers and sisters of the fraternity of hospitallers, by his advice and example, renounced the world, and took the regular habit, which is a plain black robe, having a white linen cross of eight points fastened to it on the left side near the heart: And the patriarch of Jerusalem, after first clothing them with it, received from them three solemn vows of the order, which they made publickly at the foot of the holy sepulchre.

POPE Paschal II. some years after, confirmed this new institution, exempted the house of Jerusalem, and such as were dependent on it, from the payment of tithes, confirmed all endowments made or to be made in favour of the hospital, and granted, by a special order, that after the death of Gerard, the hospitallers should have the sole right of electing a new superior, without the interposition of any power, either secular or ecclesiastical.

IN the mean time the soldiers of the crusade, having rescued the Holy City from slavery, most of them prepared for their return to Europe. Of all that prodigious number that set out from thence, and entered Asia, there staid only with Godfrey two thousand foot and three hundred horse that were attached to his fortune, besides the brave Tancred, who would never abandon him. Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, retired to Edessa in Mesopotamia, of which he had made himself master; Eustace, another brother of Godfrey's, returned back to France; and Bohemund being made prince of Antioch, fixed his residence there.

EVERY one of these princes was attended with the lords, gentlemen, officers and soldiers, who had come to the Holy Land under their Banner, and in order to keep these gallant gentlemen with them, they procur'd them considerable settlements in their territories, as a testimony and recompense of their valour; and these several principalities may be said to be all inhabited by a nation of conquerors.

THE rest of the crusade, whom the love of their country called back into Europe, returning home, publish-

ed their conquests, and the wonders God had vouchsafed to work by their arms. There is no expressing the transport of the people, and the effect this extraordinary news had upon their minds. Of all the nations of christendom, and of all professions indifferently, there were forming continually as it were new brigades of pilgrims, who quitted their all to have the satisfaction of seeing the Holy City delivered from the tyranny of the infidels. They were entertained in the house of St. John, and found there a certain, and even an agreeable subsistence.

THIS flux and reflux of pilgrims, all of whom carried back into their country testimonies of the charity of the hospitallers, occasioned them new benefactions from most of the princes of the west; so that there was scarce a province in Christendom, where the house of St. John had not large estates, and very considerable settlements.

It was not long before the pious Gerard caused a magnificent temple to be erected in honour of St. John the Baptist, and in a place which, according to ancient tradition, had served for a retreat to Zacharias, father to that great saint. Near this church were built various apartments and vast buildings, some for the hospitallers to dwell in, and others to entertain the pilgrims, and lodge the poor and sick. The hospitallers treated them all with equal charity; they washed with pleasure the feet of the pilgrims, dressed the sores of the wounded, and attended the sick, whilst the holy priests belonging to the house administered to them the sacraments of the church.

THE zeal of the hospitallers was not confined within the city or territory of Jerusalem; the head and superior of this growing society extended his cares even into the west: Out of the estates, which he possessed by the liberality of Christian princes, he founded hospitals in the principal maritime provinces of Europe; and these houses, which were a sort of daughters to that of Jerusalem, and may be looked upon as the first commanderies of this order, served to collect the pil-

grims in a body, who had devoted themselves to the voyage of the Holy Land. Care was there taken for their embarkation; they found ships, guides and convoys; at the same time that other care was taken of such as fell sick, and were not in a condition to continue so long a voyage.

SUCH were the houses of St. Giles in Provence, Sevil in Andalusia, of Tarento in Apulia, Messina in Sicily, and abundance of others, which pope Paschal II. took afterwards, like that of Jerusalem, under the particular protection of the holy see, and which his successors honoured with various privileges.

WHILST this new order was thus recommending itself no less in Europe than in Asia, Godfrey of Bouillon, to reduce a confused military government to some form and regularity, called a kind of assembly of the estates of the kingdom, where he enacted new laws, the collection of which, commonly called the assize of Jerusalem, was signed by that prince, and sealed with his coat of arms; and because this collection was lodged in the church of the holy sepulchre, it was generally called the writings of the holy sepulchre. The prince, after cares so worthy of a sovereign, took the field again, and made himself master of Tiberias, and the other towns situated on the lake of Gennesareth, and of the greatest part of Galilee, the government of which he gave to Tancred.

GODFREY would have reduced all Palestine, if a contagious sickness had not stopped the progress of his arms. He died with the same sentiments of piety that had brought him to the Holy Land; and by  
 1100. his death the Sarazens were rid of a formidable enemy, and the Christians lost a noble  
 July 18. champion and great commander. He left two brothers behind him, whose names were Eustace and Baldwin; but as the eldest was returned into Europe, the younger, then count of Edessa, was sent for to succeed him; and this prince, before he went to Jerusalem, resigned that large territory to the count du Bourg his cousin.

BALDWIN

BALDWIN assumed the majeſtick title of king, which Godfrey of Bouillon, out of a ſpirit of piety, had reſuſed to accept. Baldwin was not perhaps inferior to his brother in valour; but his courage was not ſupported by an equal capacity in the conduct of an army. He was more a ſoldier than a general, and not very ſcrupulous in converſing with women; which laſt was the principal failing of this new ſucceſſor of David.

THIS prince, who is reckoned the firſt king of Jeruſalem, was in war all his reign, and engaged with various ſucceſs, often victorious, ſometimes beaten, but never diſcouraged from fighting. After a defeat, he returned the next day to attack the infidels, and never let either his own ſoldiers or his enemies reſt; he beſieged and took Ptolemais or Acre, a famous city and harbour.

DURING his reign the city of Tripoli in 1101. Syria, after a ſiege of four years, ſurrendered to Sourdain nephew to Raimond, count of Tholouſe, who delivered it up afterwards to Bertrand, the count's natural ſon. The king on his ſide took Sidon and Beytus; and all the places along the coaſt yielded to the force of his arms, except Tyre alone, which he was deſigning to beſiege; when after a reign of eighteen years, a dyſentery, occaſioned by the 1118. fatigues of war, carried him to his grave.

BALDWIN du Bourg, or Baldwin II. his couſin, count of Edeſſa, ſucceeded him in the crown of Jeruſalem, as he had done before in that county, which he reſigned likeways in his turn to Joſceline de Courtenay his kinfman. Baldwin, following the ſteps of the two princes his predeceſſors, thought only of preſerving by new conqueſts the crown which they had acquired for him. But whiſt this prince by his valour kept the infidels at a diſtance from the capital of Judea, the hoſpitaillers loſt the bleſſed Gerard, 1118. the father of the poor and pilgrims. That virtuous man, after having arrived to an exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren, almoſt with-

out any sickness, and fell, as we may say, like a fruit ripe for eternity.

THE hospitallers assembled after his death to chuse him a successor, pursuant to the bull of pope Paschal II. There was no division upon the point ; all their votes united in favour of brother Raimond Dupuy, a gentleman of the Province of Dauphiny, of an illustrious house, which after so many ages, is still subsisting at this day under the name of Dupuy Montbrun.

THE blessed Gerard, to engage the hospitallers in the service of the poor and pilgrims, contented himself with inspiring into them sentiments of charity and humility. His successor thought it necessary to enforce the duty by particular statutes ; and with the consent of the whole chapter, drew them up in such a manner, that they seemed to have been made only to secure in that holy house a more sure and strict observance of the solemn vows of their profession.

THE new master of the hospitallers formed a design of adding to these and the duties of hospitality, an obligation to take up arms for the defence of the holy places ; and he resolved to draw out of his house a military body, and a sort of a perpetual crusade, who were to be subject to the orders of the kings of Jerusalem, and to make a particular profession of fighting against the infidels.

FOR the clearing up of a fact so important to the Order whose history we write, it must be observed, that what was called at that time the kingdom of Jerusalem, consisted only of that capital, and some other cities, separated for the most part by places still in possession of the infidels, so that the Latins could not pass from one to the other without danger, or a large guard. The country too about these Christian towns was still inhabited by Mahometan peasants, who looking on the Christians as enemies to their religion, assassinated and robbed them, whenever they could surprize them with advantage and without danger of discovery. The Latins were scarce more secure in the boroughs and towns  
that



that were not walled; robbers entered them by night and cut the throats of the inhabitants; and what was yet more grievous, this little state was still in a manner besieged on all sides, either by the Turcomans or by the Sarazens of Egypt, two formidable powers, who, without acting in concert, had yet neither of them any other view but to drive the Christians out of Syria and Palestine. Thus were the Latins obliged to maintain an almost continual war: and in the winter season, when the armies were no longer able to keep the field, different parties of infidels were perpetually harassing the country; destroying all before them with fire and sword, massacring the men, and carrying the women and children away into an odious slavery.

THE master of the hospital, touched with these calamities, and seeing himself at the head of a great body of hospitallers, formed the most noble, and withal the most extraordinary design, that ever entered into the mind of a monk, tied down by his profession to the service of the poor and sick.

GOD, who had inspired Raimond with this noble project, had given him all the qualities proper to make it succeed; an illustrious birth, exalted sentiments, large and extended views, and an ardent zeal, which made him wish for an opportunity of sacrificing his own life to save that of a Christian.

HE was every moment representing to himself the great number of the inhabitants of Palestine surprized and murdered by the infidels, others of them groaning in irons, the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of robbers, and the debauches of these barbarians, yet more insupportable than their cruelties; in a word, the Christians in general, either to avoid torments, or to save their life or honour, exposed to the temptation of renouncing Jesus Christ. These dismal reflections, and the desire of preserving to the Saviour of the world, the souls which he had purchased with his blood, continually perplexed the master of the hospital: it was the ordinary subject of his meditations,



ons. He consulted every day at the foot of the altar the author and inspirer of this pious design. Pressed at last by a particular call, he summoned a chapter, and proposed to his brethren of the order, to resume, as being soldiers of Jesus Christ, the arms which most of them had quitted to serve him in the person of the poor, and in the hospital of St. John.

RAIMOND owed his dignity merely to the lustre of his virtues: his friars looked upon this proposal as a new instance of his zeal; and though it appeared not very compatible with their first engagement, and the functions of hospitality, yet the laudable desire of defending the holy places made them look over the difficulties that might arise in the exercise of two so different professions. The hospitallers, most of them the companions or soldiers of Godfrey de Bouillon, generously resumed their arms with the patriarch's permission. However, they agreed never to make use of them but against the infidels; and it was resolved, that without abandoning their first engagements, or the care of such as were sick or in poverty, part of these monks should be ready to mount on horseback whenever there was occasion, to oppose the incursions of the infidels. Besides, the order was by this time rich and powerful enough to hire forces upon pressing occasions: and it was afterwards by this succour that they supported with so much bravery the tottering throne of the kings of Jerusalem.

*Classes.* RAIMOND, having brought his brethren of the order into his project, is said to have distributed the whole body of the hospitallers into three classes. The first consisted of gentlemen of birth, who formerly held rank in the army; these were appointed to bear arms. In the second class were the priests and chaplains, who, besides the ordinary functions of their character, either in the church or in attendance upon the sick, were likewise obliged to serve by turns as chaplains in the camp: and as to such as were neither of noble families, nor ecclesiasticks, they were called *freres servans*, i. e. serving brothers, from the office assigned them by the knights,

knights, as well with regard to the sick as in the army; and they were distinguished afterwards by a coat of arms differing in colour from that of the knights. Notwithstanding this distinction, all these monks formed but one body, and shared equally in most of the rights and privileges of the order.

As this new order multiplied exceedingly in a little time, and most of the young gentry flocked from different parts of Europe to enrol themselves under its banner, they made a new distinction according to the country and nation of each knight, and divided them into seven languages, viz. these of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany and England. This division is at this day still subsisting in the same manner, excepting that in the first ages of the order, the priories, bailiwicks and commanderies were common to all the knights indifferently; whereas those dignities have been since annexed to each particular language and nation. The English are no longer reckoned among these languages, since heresy has infected that kingdom; and to that of Arragon they have added the languages of Castile and Portugal.

THE regular habit consisted of a black robe with a pointed mantle of the same colour, upon which was sowed a pointed cowl. This sort of garment was called *manteau a bec*, and had upon the left side a cross of white linen with eight points; a dress which in those first times was, as well as the name of hospitallers, common to all the monks of the order.

BUT after these hospitallers had taken upon them the military badge, persons of high birth being out of an idle punctilio shy of entering into an order where they were blended with serving brothers, Alexander IV. to remove this obstacle, thought fit to settle a proper distinction between the serving brothers and the knights. With this view, he ordered, that for the future none but the latter should wear in the house the black mantle, and in the camp a *sopra veste*, or coat of arms with a white cross upon a red field like the arms upon the standard of the order, which are *Gueules*

les à la croix pleine d'argent ; and by a particular statute it was provided, that such knights, as should in battle desert their rank and fly, should be deprived of the habit and cross of the order.

THE form of government in this order seems to have been at that time, as it is now, purely aristocratical. The supreme authority was vested in the council, of which the master of the hospitallers was president, and as such, he had two votes in case of a division. This council had the management of the great estates possessed by the order both in Asia and Europe.

To take care of these estates, they sent thither some old hospitallers with the title of preceptors, whose commission lasted only so long as the master and council thought fit ; so that these preceptors were looked upon at that time only as stewards and mere administrators of part of the estate of the order, for which they were accountable to the treasury.

'TWAS from these funds, which were every day improving by a wise œconomy, that they furnished the necessary succours for maintenance of the house of Jerusalem, and particularly for the charges of the war, and the pay of such secular soldiers as the order took into their service.

ALMOST all these revenues were remitted from the west to Palestine, the preceptors reserving but a very small part for their own subsistence. Those true friars observed the same austerity under the privileges of their commission as in the convent. They lived in a collegiate way, many together, and formed a society. Charity to the poor and pilgrims distinguished itself as much in these particular houses, as in the head of the order, and in the hospital of St John. Their purity of life was no less remarkable than their disinterested temper of not appropriating any thing to themselves ; and after the order had taken up arms in the east against the Sarazens and Turcomans, the hospitallers, who were in the west, and in the houses of the order, to act agreeably to their profession, and discharge the obligations they lay under, never failed in their turn, and  
pursuant

purſuant to the orders they received from the maſter, to repair either to the army of Paleſtine, or to thoſe that were ſent againſt the Moors in Spain, and afterwards againſt the Albigenſes in France. But none of them were ever known to engage in the wars raiſed between Chriſtian princes. A knight hofpittaller was only a ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt; and when the intereſts of religion did not oblige him to take up arms, he was never ſeen employed but in the care of the poor and ſick: this was the ſpirit of the order, and the uniform practice of all the hofpittallers.

RAIMOND DUPUY having got his deſign approved by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, his natural ſuperior, and having received his bleſſing, went at the head of his brethren, all armed, to offer their ſervice to Baldwin du Bourg, the ſecond king of Jeruſalem. That prince was agreeably ſurprized at it, and looked upon that body of gentlemen, as a ſuccour ſent him from heaven.

'Tis aſtoniſhing that none of the hiſtorians of that time take any notice of the year in which theſe hofpittallers had recourſe to arms, and that thoſe writers have kept the ſame ſilence with regard to their exploits, or at leaſt have ſpoken of them only by the by, and very ſuperficially. However, we learn from a bull of pope Innocent II. bearing date A. D. 1130, that they talked of nothing in all Europe but of the important ſervices done the kings of Jeruſalem by the hofpittallers againſt the infidels; which ſuppoſes, that they had been ſome time before in arms; and yet there is no carrying the epocha we are in ſearch of higher than A. D. 1118, when Raimond Dupuy was dignified with the maſterſhip of this new militia.

THE king of Jeruſalem had great need of this ſuccour: he was obliged to defend againſt formidable enemies, as well his own kingdom, as the counties of Edeſſa and Tripoli which held of it, without reckoning the principality of Antioch, which was united in one common intereſt with the crown of Jeruſalem,  
 though

though the princes of Antioch pretended to be independent of it.

THE county of Edessa comprehended almost all Mesopotamia, and extended itself between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Baldwin I. had made a conquest of it, and, after his accession to the throne of Jerusalem, had resigned it to Baldwin du Bourg his cousin, who in like manner, upon his advancement to the crown of Jerusalem, invested his kinsman Josceline de Courtenay with his county. The county of Tripoli comprehended several places situated along the sea of Phœnicia, from Maraclea as far as the river Adonis,\* where began what was then called the kingdom of Jerusalem, which soon extended its frontiers as far as the desert which divides Palestine from Egypt. Bertrand, son of Raimond count of Tholouse, was count of Tripoli; and Bohemund II. prince of Antioch, had succeeded the famous Bohemund his father, who died in Apulia on his return from France, where he had married the princess Constance, daughter of Philip I. king of France.

BOHEMUND II. the issue of this marriage was first put under the guardianship of the brave Tancred his cousin; but that prince dying soon after, the regency was conferred upon Roger, son of Richard, of the same house, a prince of great valour, but ambitious, and who having the sovereign authority only in trust, gave reason from his conduct to suspect, that he aspired to the principality itself.

WHILST Roger, guardian to young Bohemund, governed this great principality, Gasi, 1119  
one of the Turcoman princes, Dol de Kivin  
of the same nation, king of Damascus, and Debeis  
chief of a powerful tribe among the Mahometan Arabians, joined their forces to drive all the Latin Christians out of Syria. These infidels entered the territories of the principality at the head of a formidable army, carried several small towns, and put all to fire and sword in the country. The regent, surpris'd at  
this

\* Thamiras,

this invasion, sent immediately to give advice of it to the king of Jerusalem, to Josceline de Courtenay, lord of Edessa, and to Ponce count of Tripoli, and successor to count Bertrand. All these princes sent him word, that they would advance without loss of time to his succour. Roger, in expectation of their coming up, threw himself into the city of Antioch with what troops he had, and at the same time caused the inhabitants to arm. The infidels, not caring to engage in a siege, which they foresaw must be long and bloody, endeavoured to draw the regent out of the town by ravaging the country. And accordingly Roger, who from his palace saw with anguish the villages in a flame, could no longer govern his resentment, but transported with courage, sallied out of the city; and, contrary to the advice of his principal officers, advanced against the enemy. His whole force was but about seven hundred horse and three thousand foot; yet with this handful of troops, and without so much as considering the forces of his enemies, he ventured to attack them. The Turcomans to flatter his confidence gave way at first, feigned a retreat, and drew him insensibly into an ambuscade. He then saw himself surrounded in a moment; a multitude of Barbarians fell upon him from all sides. In vain did the Christian prince endeavour to open himself a way through the squadrons of the infidels; what effort soever he could make, his troops, overwhelmed with numbers, were cut in pieces, and the regent's precipitation cost him his life and the greatest part of his little army.

THE victorious infidels, flattering themselves that they should gain as easy a triumph over the troops which the king was bringing up, marched to surprize him. They had no difficulty to meet with an enemy that fought them; both armies came in fight, even before their commanders expected it; there was a necessity of engaging. This was the first occasion upon which the knights of St. John signalized their zeal against the infidels. The action was long and bloody; they fought on both sides with that aversion, which is



usually seen between nations that are enemies, and of different religions. Baldwin, a prince full of courage, at the head of his nobles, and followed by Raimond and the hospitallers, throws himself into the midst of the thickest battalions; he pushes, presses and breaks through every thing that opposes him. The soldiers, animated by his example, follow the way that he had opened for them; they enter sword in hand into those shrinking battalions, and, in spite of all resistance, force them to seek for safety in flying. In vain did the emirs use menaces to rally them, whatever they could do, their whole force disbanded, and the terrified soldiers shewed manifestly, that in a rout they fear nothing but the enemy and death.

THE king of Jerusalem entered victorious into Antioch, where he regulated every thing that related to the defence of the place, and the civil government; and leaving a strong garrison in it, return'd to Jerusalem, where he was received by his subjects with that applause which always attends a favourable fortune.

THIS prince thought of nothing now but enjoying a little rest, as the most agreeable fruit of his victory, when he heard that Josceline de Courtenay, count of Edessa, had been surprized in an ambuscade by Balac, one of the most powerful emirs of the Turco-  
1122. mans, and was taken prisoner by that infidel prince. Baldwin, for fear the emir should take advantage of Courtenay's misfortune, and besiege Edessa, set out immediately with what troops he had, made great marches, crossed the Jordan, and advanced into the country. But going in person to reconnoitre the camp of the infidels, whether he was betrayed, or too much exposed, he saw himself in a moment surrounded by a party superior to his guard; which being cut in pieces before his face, he was obliged, with Galleran his cousin, to surrender himself to the enemy, and undergo the same fate with the prince of Edessa.

'TIS impossible to express the consternation of Baldwin's troops, when they heard of his captivity: a great  
number

number of the foldiers, as if the war had been at an end, or because they defpaired of being able to refift the infidels, disbanded themfelves. The hofpitaillers, in conjunction with what troops remained, unable to keep the field or ftop the progress of the enemy, threw themfelves into Edeffa and other places of that county, which they preferved for Courtenay.

THE caliph of Egypt, to make his advantage of the king of Jerufalem's misfortune, caufed 1123. one of his generals to enter Judea on that fide next Afcalon: the general advanced to Jaffa, and invefted it by land, whilst a fleet of the fame nation blocked up the place by fea.

IN fo melancholy a juncture, it could not be imagined that the Latins could at one and the fame time make head againft the Turcomans and Sarazens, who attacked them on different fides. The Sarazens had formed the fiege of Jaffa both by land and fea. Euface Garnier, lord of Sydon or Scyde, and Cefarea, and conftable of Palestine, though in an age far advanced, gathered a body of about feven thousand men, which made the main forces of that little ftate, and with what knights he could mufter in the houfe of Jerufalem, marched directly againft the enemy. He made fuch expedition, that he furprized them, forced their lines, and cut in pieces all thofe that in the confufion were unable to recover their veffels, their fleet having ftood off to fea, and failed towards Alexandria. The Chriftian general, upon advice that the garrifon of Afcalon was ravaging the country, without allowing his foldiers any time to reft, led them immediately up thither. He found part of the foldiers of the garrifon difperfed and bufy in pillaging. The conftable, at the head of his troops, fell upon thefe pillagers, who were off their guard, killed all that endeavoured to rally, took a great number of prifoners, and none efaped but a few that were fortunate enough to get back into Afcalon.

THESE two victories were foon followed by a third, and by a new difafter for the Sarazens. We have ob-

served that their ships, upon the defeat of their land army, had set sail. These ships in their retreat, as they were sailing off the coast of Ascalon, fell in with a fleet of Venetians, commanded by the noble Henry Michieli, duke or doge of Venice, who, after an obstinate engagement, sunk part of them, and made himself master of the rest,

WILLIAM des Barres, lord of Tiberias, had just succeeded count Garnier, who died during this expedition, in the command of the land army. The new general sent to congratulate the doge of Venice upon the happy success of his arms, and proposed an interview. The Venetian fleet entered into the port of Jassa; others say into that of Acre or Ptolemais. The duke was received there with all the honours and marks of acknowledgment, that were due to so important a victory. They loaded his chief officers with presents; the fleet received refreshments and provisions in abundance, and the duke went to pay his devotions at Jerusalem, where he passed the Christmases. The patriarch of that city, Desbarres, and the principal lords of the country, laying hold of the opportunity, while he was thus piously disposed, made a proposal to Michieli, of blocking up the port of Tyre with his fleet, whilst the land army besieged the place. The enterprize was great and very difficult to be executed, yet Desbarres made him sensible of the importance and usefulness of his project.

BUT as the Venetian was not to be satisfied with a barren glory, and aggravated the charges of the enterprize, he declared, that if the success of their arms was favourable, he insisted on sharing the conquest with the king of Jerusalem, and to have a moiety of it in entire sovereignty. He did not stick here; but as he knew they could not do without his fleet, he demanded for the Venetians a church, a street, <sup>a</sup> a common oven, baths, and a particular exercise of jurisdiction in Jerusalem, and in all towns depending on that kingdom.

<sup>a</sup> *Four banal* signifies a common oven for all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction wherein it stands. Cotgrave.

kingdom. This was in a manner to share the sovereignty of it: but as after all it was of the last consequence to the Christians of Palestine to drive the infidels out of Tyre, and there was no doing without a fleet for a siege of that importance, they agreed, after several conferences, that the Venetians should have a third part of the city. They even complied with most of the other conditions, hard and extraordinary as they were, and signed a treaty, which would have been scandalous, if it had not been in a manner necessary. Among the names of the prelates and principal lords of the kingdom which subscribed the treaty, we do not find that of Raimond Dupuy, whether he staid at Edessa for defence of the county, or did not care to subscribe a treaty which entrenched on the sovereignty of the king. However this be, the treaty was no sooner signed than every thing was in motion. The fleet on one side, and the land army on the other, came before Tyre, and begirt the place close. They opened the trenches, the siege was long and bloody, and the hospitallers acquired a great deal of glory in different attacks; in fine, the besieged pressed at the same time by sea and land, and seeing no hope of succour, desired to capitulate. The conditions were agreed on, and the treaty executed 1124. punctually on both sides, as was also that July 30. with the Venetians; and in concert with their doge, they established afterwards in the city an Archbishop, named William, by nation an Englishman, and prior of the holy sepulchre, who was consecrated by Guarimond, patriarch of Jerusalem.

DURING the siege of Tyre, Josceline de Courtenay, escaping out of Balac's prison, came back to his dominions, mustered up all the force he could, brought a small body of an army into the field, marched against his enemy, gave him battle, and killed him with his own hand. This victory, and the emir's death, were the occasion of the king of Jerusalem's liberty<sup>a</sup>. Balac's widow, either affected with the merit of her

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<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 13. c. 26.

prisoner, or afraid that he should make his escape, and she lose his ransom, made a truce with him, and fixed a price for his liberty. Baldwin agreed to pay her an hundred thousand pieces of silver money, of what they called Michelins: he paid half of it down, and for the rest he gave her in hostage one of the princesses his daughters, that was five years old.

THIS prince's return into his dominions  
1124. brought joy, and afterwards plenty thither.

Baldwin, convinced that the true riches of a sovereign consists in the wealth of his subjects, published a general safe conduct for all persons, of what religion and party soever they were, that should bring corn and merchandize into his ports, with an exemption from all customs. This liberty drew thither merchants from all nations, re-established commerce, and rendered this prince at the same time more powerful and formidable to his neighbours.

BORSEQUIN and Doldekuvin, these two Turcoman princes, always raging against the Christians, made fresh incursions into the principality of Antioch. That state, though a sovereign one, was, during the minority of young Bohemund, under the protection of the king of Jerusalem. Baldwin, on the first news of this enterprize of the infidels, took the field, and marched with so much secrecy and expedition, that he surprized the enemy, forced their camp, and took so great a number of prisoners, that their ransom served to redeem the princess his daughter, whom he had given in hostage to Balac's widow. From Syria he marched back into Palestine, where he repressed the incursions of the garrison of Ascalon, which raised contributions as far as the gates of Jassa.

THIS prince opened the following campaign with a new victory, which he gained over Doldekuvin. It was followed by the taking of Rapha, a strong place in the county of Tripoli. The hospitallers attended the king in all these expeditions, but no body acquired more glory than Fulk, count of Anjou, one of the greatest soldiers of the age. The pilgrimage of Jerusalem



falem, so usual at that time, had brought into the Holy Land: he was son of Fulk, surnamed le Rechin, or the ill humoured, and of Bertrade de Monfort, afterwards wife or concubine to Philip I. king of France.

THIS Fulk had married Eremburge, only daughter of Helie count of Maine, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The count and countess lived very happily together, till death parted them. The countess died, and the earl, full of grief for her loss, travelled to the Holy Land, where for a year he maintained an hundred knights at his own expence. This prince at their head signalized himself on various occasions against the infidels. Time having wrought its ordinary effect upon grief, and the term he had fixed for his pilgrimage being expired, he was seized with an impatience of returning into his own dominions. King Baldwin, who had been witness of his valour, could not see him in this disposition without great concern; and therefore to keep him if possible, and engage him more particularly in the defence of the Holy Land, he offered him the princess Melesinda his eldest daughter in marriage, with the promise of appointing him his successor and making him be acknowledged as such; and to leave him no manner of uneasiness on account of the princess Alice his second daughter, he married her to young Bohemund prince of Antioch. Fulk accepted the king's proposal with great satisfaction; but the care he owed to his children obliged him before he married to take a voyage into France. He set out some time afterwards, leaving the king and all his court in much grief for his absence, and impatient of his return. The departure of this prince was luckily recompensed by a new and unexpected succour, which a zeal like that of the hospitallers produced in favour of the pilgrims and Christians of Palestine.

HUGH de Payens, Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and seven other gentlemen, all Frenchmen, whose names are not preserved in history, moved with the dangers to which pilgrims were exposed in going to Jerusalem and



and coming from it, formed among them a little society, to serve as a guard to conduct and bring them back afterwards beyond the defiles of the mountains and the passages of greatest danger. 'Twas at first only a meer association of some private persons, who, without obliging themselves to any rule, or taking the monastick habit, went to meet the pilgrims, when they were requested to do so. Brompton, <sup>a</sup> an historian almost cotemporary with them, relates, that in his time, these gentlemen were supposed to be pupils of the hospitallers, and to have subsisted several years only by relief from them. They retired into an house near the temple, which occasioned their having afterwards the name of Templars, or knights of the temple. <sup>b</sup> The *Templars.* king of Jerusalem having made choice of <sup>c</sup> Hugh de Payens, to send him to Rome to sollicite for succour, and if possible a new crusade; this pious gentleman, after acquitting himself worthily of his commission to pope Honourius II. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, presented his associates to him, entertained him with their zeal for the security of pilgrims, and desired his permission to form a religious and military order, in imitation of that of the hospitallers.

THE sovereign pontiff referred them to the fathers of the council which was then sitting at Troyes in Champagne. Hugh and his companions went thither, and he that spoke in their name laid before the assembly their vocation, and the project they had formed of taking a religious habit, and founding a military order, which should devote itself to the defence of the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who should travel thither. The fathers approved the holy undertaking, and referred the care of prescribing a rule and form of regular habit for this infant order to St. Bernard, who was present at the council. We have the rule still remaining, or at least an extract of it, in which, among other articles, St. Bernard ordered them, instead of prayers,

<sup>a</sup> Chronic. Joan. Brompton. hist. Ang. scrip. p. 1008. Edit. Lond. 1652.

<sup>b</sup> See Guil. Tyr. 1118 l. 1. 12. c. 11. p. 891.

<sup>c</sup> Jac. Vitruv. c. 64.

prayers and offices, to say over every day a certain number of pater nosters ; which would make one imagine, that these warriors at that time knew not how to read. Another statute requires, that they should not eat flesh above three days in a week ; but then it allows them three dishes on days of abstinence. The holy abbot, with regard to their military service, declared, that each templar might have one esquire, or serving brother at arms, and three saddle horses<sup>a</sup> : but he forbade all gilding and superfluous ornaments in their equipage. He ordered that their habits should be white, and as a mark of their profession, pope Eugenius III. added afterwards a red cross placed over the heart.

HUGH and his companions having obtained the council's approbation, returned to Rome, to get both the rule of their order, and the order itself, established by the pope's authority ; which being effected, they prepared to return to the east ; but before their departure, a great number of gentlemen of the best families in France, Germany and Italy, presented themselves to enter into their order. Hugh, who was the head of it, gave them the religious habit, which he had taken himself, and with this fine body of youth, he arrived in Palestine, This new militia increased considerably in a short time ; princes of sovereign houses, and lords of the most illustrious families in Christendom, were eager to fight under the habit and banner of the templars. Out of a false nicety and punctilio, which scarce ever leaves great men, even at their devotions, this profession, which was altogether military, was often preferred to the troublesome and humbling services which the hospitallers, though soldiers, rendered to the poor and sick. These princes and lords, entering into the order of the templars, brought immense riches to it ; besides, the very fame of their exploits procured them vast benefactions ; and Brompton, whom we have just mentioned, adds, that this growing society, this daughter

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<sup>a</sup> Solum autem armigerum singulis militibus eadem causa concedimus.

ter of the house of St. John, became in a short time so rich and powerful, that the daughter, says he, eclipsed her mother, and looked as if she would bury her in obscurity<sup>a</sup>. But whether that which this antient historian advances be true or not, it must be owned, that the two orders were the surest supports of Jerusalem; that Baldwin and the kings his successors, as we shall see hereafter, never undertook any thing considerable without the assistance of their arms; that the superiors too of the order had often a great share in the government; so that to relate the various events of that monarchy, is in a manner to write the history of these two orders.

THE king, though he had not succeeded in his application for a crusade, yet saw with pleasure, instead of it, these recruits as it were of gentry and nobility arriving every day from Europe to enrol themselves in one or other of these orders; but nothing gave him more satisfaction than the return of the count of Anjou, who having provided for the settlement of his children, and appointed their portions, came back into the east at the head of a great body of gentlemen his vassals, married the princess Melesinda the king's eldest daughter, and was jointly with her acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown.

WHILST the court was entirely taken up with feasts and diversions, the king received with great surprise and concern the news of young Bohemund his other son in law's being killed in an engagement against the infidels; and that there was reason to fear, the capital of the principality, now left without a sovereign, would be besieged by these barbarians. Bohemund left no other issue of his marriage with Alice but an infant princess named Constance.

THE king her grandfather set out with all expedition to take upon him the regency of her dominions; but  
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<sup>a</sup> Hi namque, secundum quosdam, ex infimis hospitaliorum congregati, et ex reliquiis eorum, ex cibis et armis sustentati, ad tantam rerum opulentiam devenerunt, ut filia ditata matrem suffocare et supergredi videretur. *Chronicon Joan. Brompton, hist. angl. script. p. 1008. Ed. Lond. 1652.*

upon his arrival at Antioch, he was surpris'd to find the gates shut, and especially when he heard, that it was by the order of the princess dowager his own daughter. This haughty and ambitious princess, vex'd and jealous that her father had dispos'd of the crown of Jerusalem entirely to her sister, without giving her any share of it, was resolv'd to establish her own authority in the city of Antioch, as mother and guardian of young Constance, and perhaps to seize upon the principality, in order to marry again afterwards with greater advantage for herself, and to the prejudice of her daughter. But the most discerning of the inhabitants, knowing the need they had of the king's assistance against the continual invasions of the Turcomans, secretly, without the knowledge of princess dowager, introduced the king her father by night into the place\*. Baldwin exerted his authority there, put a governor into the place, whose fidelity 1131. he was well assur'd of, oblig'd the princess dowager, though his daughter, to depart thence and retire to Laodicea, which was assign'd her for her dowry, and settling every thing in good order in the principality, returned to his own dominions.

SCARCE was he arriv'd at Jerusalem but he was seiz'd with a violent illness, occasion'd in all appearance by the vexation which his daughter's ambitious designs gave him; and being sensible that he was near his end, he again declar'd the count of Anjou, and the princess Melesinda his eldest daughter, for his successors in the throne of Jerusalem. He recommend'd to them the interests of young Constance, and the preservation of her principality, which serv'd for a bulwark to the kingdom of Jerusalem on that side next Syria. This prince expired presently after, and the real grief and sincere tears of his subjects, shew'd the greatness as well of the affection they bore him, as of the loss they had suffer'd by his death.

THE count and countess of Anjou were crown'd with great solemnity, and receiv'd letters afterwards from  
 pope

\* Wil. Tyr. 1. 13.

pope Innocent II. who having congratulated them on their accession to the crown, exhorted them in the most moving terms, to take all possible care for the defence of the Holy Land, and the preservation of a state of such consequence to all christendom. The holy pontiff, who well knew that the hospitallers were the strongest support of the throne of Jerusalem, had published a little before a bull, in form of a constitution, addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the church universal; wherein, among other articles, after an encomium on the charity exercised by the hospitallers, at their own expence, towards the sick and pilgrims, he passes to the important services which they had rendered to christianity by their arms: “The  
 “ hospitallers, says the pope, make no difficulty to  
 “ expose daily their own lives to defend those of their  
 “ brethren; they are the firmest support of the christi-  
 “ an church in the east, and are fighting every day  
 “ with distinguished courage against the infidels. But  
 “ as their substance is not sufficient to maintain an al-  
 “ most continual war, we exhort you to supply them  
 “ out of your abundance, and recommend them to  
 “ the charity of the people committed to your pastoral  
 “ care. Moreover, we declare to you, that we have  
 “ taken the house of the hospitallers of St. John, and  
 “ the whole order, into St. Peter’s and our own pro-  
 “ tection.”

BUT this protection, and the special privileges which this pope and his predecessors had granted to the hospitallers, raised afterwards the jealousy and complaints of most of the bishops of Palestine, who could not bear that the holy see should exempt these monks from their jurisdiction, and that the popes should declare themselves the only immediate bishops of the whole order. We shall have occasion afterwards to speak of these differences, which made so much noise in the court of Rome, and all over the church.

\* SCARCE were king Baldwin’s eyes closed, when two different conspiracies were formed in Antioch against  
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\* Wil. Tyr. l. 14. c. 4.



the rights of the minor princesses, which had like to have kindled a civil war between the Latin princes of the east. The dowager of Antioch, like most sovereigns, who seem to think they have no relations, and as unnatural a mother as she had been an ungrateful daughter, no sooner saw the king her father in the grave, than she was contriving continually, to the prejudice of her own child, how to make herself mistress of the principality. Ponce, count of Tripoli, and the young Courtenay, who had just succeeded count Josceline his father, secretly espoused her interests; and a great number of the inhabitants of Antioch engaged to let the troops of those two princes into the city.

UNKNOWN to this first party, was formed another cabal, not less dangerous. Roger, duke and afterwards king of Sicily, cousin to the young princess, and of the same house, either pretending that the principality of Antioch was a male fief, or, after the example of ambitious princes, believing all means just and lawful that lead to a throne, endeavoured to supplant the minor princesses. He had his partisans in the city; and these different plots were carrying on with great artifice and secrecy. But some of the inhabitants, who entered into neither of the schemes, discovered this double conspiracy; they gave immediate advice of it to the governor placed there by Baldwin before his death. This commander, though supported by the garrison, did not find himself strong enough to cope with the numerous inhabitants of so great a city: he dispatched therefore courier after courier to the king of Jerusalem, pressing him to come immediately in person to Antioch, if he would preserve the principality to the heiress.

FULK, upon the receipt of this bad news, set out immediately with as many knights as he could find in a condition to follow him, and was accompanied by Anselin de Brie, and brother Joubert an hospitaller, who shared his favour, and were admitted to the most intimate correspondence and familiarity with him. To go to Antioch by land, the king of Jerusalem was obliged to pass through the territory of the count of



Tripoli his vassal ; but this count and that of Edessa, at the head of their troops, opposed his passage. The king seeing a rebellion so openly declared, concluded that there was a strong party formed against his niece, and that the safety of the young princess depended upon his getting the start of the princes, and arriving first at Antioch. But as he had not troops enough with him to open himself a passage sword in hand, he made a feint of giving way to force, turned back again, and to blind their spies, caused his guard to take the road of Jerusalem, as if he had been in the midst of that body of cavalry. But he withdrew privately from them, and in the night, attended only with his two favourites, reached the sea coast, embarked in a small vessel, and arrived at the mouth of the river Orontes, and in the port of St. Simon, within five leagues of Antioch : from thence he went with great privacy to the gates of the city, and was let in by the governor and his adherents.

THIS prince, full of spirit and courage, soon made them sensible of his authority ; his presence and resolution terrified the conspirators ; he imprisoned the most mutinous, and, to prevent such attempts for the future, resolved, in concert with the patriarch and most considerable lords of the principality, to marry the young princess out of hand, though she was not yet of an age for marriage, and to chuse her such a prince as might serve for a tutor and a father to her, and be capable of defending her dominions.

THE princess of Antioch's inheritance was too splendid a fortune to fear she should fail of an husband ; but the situation of her dominions, surrounded on all sides by infidels, required a prince of eminent capacity and courage, that could keep the seditious in their duty, and at the same time make head against the continual incursions of the infidels.

THE king of Jerusalem cast his eyes on Raimond, brother to William the last count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, a prince of great courage, and who had given distinguishing proofs of it in all the wars wherein he had been engaged. They had  
had

had several quarrels whilst Fulk was in Europe, but the king generously sacrificed his resentment to the interests of his niece, and the count's bravery and merit made him easily forget their former disputes.

THE patriarch and most considerable lords of the principality approving the king's choice, that prince pitched upon Joubert the hospitaller for this negotiation. He was very well qualified for it by the wisdom of his conduct, which raised him afterwards to the first dignity of his order. This hospitaller embarked immediately, passed into France, and from thence to London, to the court of Henry I. king of England, where he heard the count of Poitiers, who was related to that prince, was gone. The ambassador saw the count, and persuaded him, as well by motives drawn from religion, as by the important offer he made him, to pass into Syria. The prince and the ambassador left England, arrived in France, and went down into Provence to embark. The success of this great affair depended entirely upon secrecy, and upon getting the start of a mighty armament, which Roger duke of Calabria, afterwards king of Sicily, was sending into Syria, to support his adherents. Unluckily for the count and the ambassador, there were not in all the ports of Provence any vessels bound for the east, and they heard with great concern, that there was no way of embarking but on board the very fleet of Roger. Whatever precaution the ambassador had taken to conceal his commission and designs, that duke had notice, that the count and ambassador were endeavouring to procure a passage into the east, and had issued orders for arresting them, if they were found in any of his ports. His spies, that were planted in every quarter, examined very strictly all that offered themselves for passengers: Yet the hospitaller was too cunning for them; the count and he parted in disguise, went into Calabria, and were received as merchants on board two different ships that were ready to sail. These were Roger's own vessels, and they carried both the count and ambassador into the nearest port to the town of Antioch. The patri-

arch, a few days after, married the count to the young princess in the king's presence, and in a general assembly of the estates, the count was solemnly acknowledged prince of Antioch, and the great men of the principality took the usual oath of fidelity to him.

BUT whilst Fulk was thus taken up with securing the count's authority, the frontiers of his own kingdom were ravaged by various incursions of the Arabians and Sarazens of Ascalon. This city, with regard to the Sarazens of Egypt, was the key as it were of Palestine. The caliphs had neglected none of the fortifications then in use, and besides a numerous garrison which they maintained there, and changed every three months, these princes, to engage the inhabitants in the defence of the place, allowed them all pay, not excepting their very children, if males, who became entitled to it as soon as they were born; so that all were soldiers at Ascalon, and they hardly knew any other profession. It served the Sarazens of Egypt for a school, where their young men learned the art of war; they were every day out in parties, and lying in ambuscade to surprize the country people, and even the western pilgrims, who, landing at Jaffa, travelled from thence to Jerusalem.

QUEEN Melesinda, whom the king, during his absence, had left regent of the kingdom, held several councils upon this occasion; and after several methods proposed for repressing the inroads of the infidels, none was found so proper as to rebuild the walls of the old city of Beerseba. This place, anciently of the tribe of Simeon, is but two leagues from the mountains of Seir, which separate the land of promise from Arabia Petræa, and six leagues from Ascalon. 'Twas resolved, after fortifying it, always to maintain there a standing body of troops, able to make head against the inroads of the Arabians, and the parties which sallied frequently out of Ascalon. The queen caused the work to be carried on with great expedition; and when it was made defensible, committed the guard of it to the hospitallers, who put a strong garrison drawn out of  
their

their order into it: And these monastick soldiers<sup>a</sup>, full of the first spirit of their institution, made it a place of arms, and at the same time an asylum for all the Christians of that canton.

THESE knights<sup>b</sup> and the templars, in different brigades, never stirred from the frontiers, and made head on all sides against the enterprizes of the infidels. This little kingdom was in a manner blocked up and besieged, either by the several Turcoman princes, or by the Arabians of the desert, or the Sarazens of Egypt. The zeal of these knights, their valour, and the renown of their exploits, rendered them soon as dear to all the Christians, as they were terrible to the Barbarians; especially in an age when mens salvation seemed annexed to the preservation of the Holy Land. Every thing that passed there drew the attention of popes, princes and people, even at the remotest distance. 'Twas the concern of private persons as well as sovereigns: they had no notion of meriting for the pardon of their sins by any more effectual way, than that of contributing to the defence of the holy places: there was scarce a will made without an article in it in favour of the military orders: many princes would needs be buried in the habit of one or the other of them; and this sort of devotion was carried so far in the age we are speaking of, that we have seen some sovereigns enter themselves in this holy militia, quitting the government of their states; and others, by an unprecedented disposal, bequeath, at their death, even their dominions themselves to the hospitallers and templars.

THUS Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona and Provence, though already advanced in age, entered into the order of the templars, and his infirmities not allowing him to go in person to the chief house of the order in Jerusalem, he sent considerable sums thither for carrying on the war against the infidels; and we

F 3.

have

<sup>a</sup> De communi consilio traditur fratribus domûs hospitalis quæ est Hierosolymie, qui usque in præsens debita custodierunt diligentia.

<sup>b</sup> Will. Tyr, l, 14. c. 22.

have seen this sovereign at last quit his authority, and the ensigns of it, to bury himself alive in the temple at Barcelona, where he died in the continual exercise of his new profession.

ALPHONSUS I. king of Navarre and Arragon, who also assumed the title of emperor of Spain, carried his zeal and devotion still further. This prince, who was one of the greatest generals of his age, had gained twenty nine battles in his wars against the Moors <sup>a</sup>, seeing himself old and without children, declared the hospitallers of St. John, the templars, and the canons or knights of the holy sepulchre, his heirs and successors in the crowns of Navarre and Arragon, by his last will and testament <sup>b</sup> made A. D. 1131. This he did to engage these renowned warriors in the support of his designs against the Sarazens and Moors of Spain: He renewed this will a few days before his death, and most of the grandees of both his kingdoms, signed it out of complaisance to their sovereign.

ALPHONSUS, who never knew what danger was, attacking the infidels afterwards near Fraga, 1133. with forces much inferior to those of his e-  
July 19. nemies, was overwhelmed with their vast numbers, had his army cut in pieces, and perished himself in the action; nor could his body be found after the battle was over, either because the Moors had interred it, or it was so disfigured by his wounds, as not to be known. The people, who idolized him, and are always fond of every thing that appears extraordinary, maintained for a long time, that he was not killed in the battle; but that overwhelmed with shame and grief for having occasioned the loss of so many Christians as had been slain upon that occasion, he was gone in disguise on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that they should see him return and resume the reins of government, when he had by that penance expiated the fault which excess of courage had made him commit.

BUT

<sup>a</sup> Girom. Zurita. t. 1. l. 1. c. 57. fol. 49. col. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.



BUT the grandees of the two kingdoms were not to be blinded by this illusion; and therefore to prevent the claim of the military orders, they resolved, without loss of time, to chuse a new sovereign. For this purpose, several assemblies were held between those of Navarre and Arragon: but the lords and deputies of the two nations could not agree upon a prince to fill the throne of the great Alphonfus; each was for a prince of their own nation. This competition, and the natural jealousy between people that are neighbours, broke the union which had subsisted near sixty years between the two kingdoms; a separation ensued, the Navarrese elected for their sovereign Don Ramyre, a prince of the blood of their ancient kings; and the Arragonese, on the other hand, offered their crown to another prince of the same name, brother to the great Alphonfus, though this prince was a priest, and had above forty years before professed himself a monk in the abbey of St. Pons de Thomiers in Languedoc, and had been afterwards abbot of Sahagun, and even elected successively bishop of Burgos, Pampeluna and Barbastro.

THIS prince having obtained a dispensation from Anacletus, others say from Innocent II. married Agnes, sister to William count of Poictiers and Raimond count of Antioch. He had by her a daughter, named Petronilla; and the queen, that princess's mother, dying soon after, this king, at once a monk, a priest and a married man,<sup>a</sup> finding in himself none of the great qualities necessary for a throne, and perhaps touched with a just remorse of conscience, resolved to retire again into his convent. He made a treaty with Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and son to the templar above mentioned, that he should marry his daughter when she was grown up; and in consequence of this treaty, he resigned to him immediately the

<sup>a</sup> Romani pontificis venia (sic credimus) ut rex, conjux et sacerdos idem esset impetratum: Agnes Guillelmi Picavorum et Aquitanicæ principis connubio juncta, Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.



the government of the kingdom, which Raimond Berenger took upon him by the title of prince of Arragon.

THE news of the choice made by these two nations in prejudice of Alphonfus's will being brought to Palestine, the patriarch of Jerufalem,<sup>a</sup> superior of the canons of the holy sepulchre, and the masters of the two military orders held several councils with the principal persons of each house, to consider of this grand affair, and came to a resolution to send deputies into Spain, to demand the execution of the late king's will, or at least to make such a treaty with regard to the succession as should be most for the interest of the legatees.

RAIMOND Dupuy was charged with this negotiation; he undertook it readily, and set out in company with some old hospitallers, chosen for that purpose by the council of the order. William, patriarch of Jerufalem, and the templars likewise, named their own deputies: they arrived all happily in Spain, but met with unsumountable difficulties in the pursuit of so nice an affair.

THE lords of Navarre and Arragon had already chosen new sovereigns in prejudice of the will of king Alphonfus. These princes were in possession of the throne when the deputies of the Holy Land arrived in Spain; and there was no great likelihood of their abdicating it voluntarily to make way for foreigners. They entered however at first into some negotiations upon the matter; but as pretensions of this nature, without force to back them, are generally little regarded, they went no farther than to offer the deputies some sort of amends, if any amends can be made for crowns, and embarrassed them every day in a labyrinth of proposals, which had no meaning, and of which they  
saw

<sup>a</sup> Patriarchalis siquidem ecclesia, quæ est dominici sepulchri sub monte Calvarie, canonicos habet regulares, secundum habitum et regulam sancti Augustini viventes; habent autem priorem, ad quem cum prædictis canonicis pertinet eligere patriarcham, qui est eis loco abbatis. Jacob. Vitri. hist. Hierosol. c. 53. p. 1298.

saw no end. The negotiation flagged insensibly; and at last the king of Navarre taking off the mask, asserted, that the late king could not dispose of the crown to the prejudice of his lawful heirs, or of that natural right which, in default of heirs, the people have to chuse themselves a sovereign; and by this declaration put an end to all hopes of any further treating with him. Raimond, count of Barcelona and prince of Arragon, acted more generously, and resolved to do some justice to the legatees of king Alphonfus.

It was agreed, that if the count, and the young queen Petronilla, whom he was to marry, should die without issue, the crown of Arragon should revert to the military orders and the canons of the holy sepulchre; that in the mean time both parties should have a certain number of vassals in such places as they should afterwards recover from the 1134. Moors; and that these vassals should be obliged to bear arms, and follow the military friars of Spain, when ever they took the field against the infidels. \*

BESIDES these conditions, some lands and castles, considerable for their dependencies, and able to maintain a great number of knights, were yielded to these legatees of the sovereignty. And to these lands and lordships were added a tenth part of all the customs and duties levied throughout the kingdom, and the fifth of all the contributions raised on the lands of the Moors; and it was resolved, that the kings of Arragon should never make peace with the infidels, without first acquainting the patriarch of Jerusalem and the two military orders. This treaty was signed and ratified in September A. D. 1141, and pope Adrian IV. and Fulk king of Jerusalem confirmed it afterwards.

RAIMOND Dupuy, having brought this important affair to an end, embarked with other deputies, 1141. sailed for Palestine, and arrived happily at Jerusalem. He was received with that real joy and

\* Quarita t. 1. l. 2. c 4 f. 40. Mariana l. 10. c. 18.

and hearty respect which his singular virtue inspired. Brompton and Roger Hoveden, two English historians, who flourished in the same age, call him from this time the Grand Master; and 'tis by this title that I shall for the future speak of this illustrious head of the hospitallers and his successors, most of which sacrificed their lives in defence of the Holy Land.

THAT ancient kingdom of David, or rather the inheritance of Jesus Christ, lost at this time its king in the person of Fulk of Anjou. That prince, being a hunting in the plains of Acre, was killed by a fall from his horse, and found in an exercise of peace the death which he had dared so often in war. He left two sons very young, Baldwin the eldest of thirteen, and Amaury of but seven years of age.

THE king's death gave birth to cabals, which most minorities are exposed to, and 1142. opened afterwards a way to the invasions of the Turcomans and Sarazens. Queen Melesinda, mother of the young princes, not only pretended to the regency which no body disputed with her, but would moreover be acknowledged as queen in her own right, and sole sovereign of the kingdom, as being daughter to Baldwin Dubourg. The grandees, on the contrary, seeing themselves surrounded by formidable enemies, were for a captain and king at their head. These contests, supported by different parties, had like to have degenerated into a civil war: at last it was agreed to defer the decision of this great difference till the majority of Baldwin. But it was not long before the nobility caused him to be crowned without the knowledge of the queen his mother, to whom nevertheless they were obliged, for peace sake, to yield up half of the kingdom.

IN the interval between the death of Fulk and the coronation of Baldwin III. his son, the Latin Christians lost the county of Edessa, called at that time Rouha or Rohais. We have observed before, that Baldwin Dubourg at his accession to the crown, had resigned this principality to Josceline de Courtenay his  
cousin,

cousin, following herein the example of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother, who, to engage the princes and the great lords of the crusade in the defence of the Holy Land, had given them the principal lordships and territories of it in fief. Hence arose the counts of Edessa, Tripoli, Joppa, or Jaffa, and afterwards of Ascalon, and Galilee, and the lords of Yblim, Montroyal, Thoron, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Cæsarea, all lords of the first nobility of this new kingdom.

JOSCELINE de Courtenay, whom we have just mentioned, had maintained himself in his principality by a thousand brave actions against the enterprizes of the infidels: but that prince dying, the son whom he left heir to his dominions, did by no means inherit his virtues. The young Courtenay, educated in the pleasures and luxury of the east, spent his life in debauch: and that he might have the fewer witnesses of his irregularities, quitted Edessa, and retired with the ministers of his pleasures to Turbessel, a town situated twenty four miles from the Euphrates on this side the river with regard to Palestine.

OMADEDIN Zenghi, a Turcoman of the  
 1143. Selgeucidian race, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, and the most potent prince in all the east, being informed of the effeminate manner in which young Courtenay passed his life, entered his country, and laid siege to Edessa. Courtenay, who was attended by none but poltroon and effeminate favourites, had not the courage to throw himself into his capital, and either defend it, or bury himself in its ruins; he even looked on whilst the siege was advancing, without making the least motion to reinforce the place, and Zenghi would have stripped him of the rest of his dominions with the same ease, if that prince, harsh and cruel in his nature, had not, in the moment he was preparing to pursue his conquests, been assassinated in his tent by his own servants. He left two sons behind him, Coteledin and Noradin. The eldest reigned at Mosul, and the principality of Aleppo fell to the share of Noradin the younger, a prince of much wisdom,

dom, capacity and justice, a good soldier, an excellent officer, and a great general, an enemy to the Christians by a principle of religion, and often engaged in the field against the hospitallers and templars.

AFTER the loss of Edeffa, the affairs of the Latin Christians began to decline in the east. Godfrey de Bouillon, the two Baldwins, Fulk of Anjou, the renowned Bohemund, the brave Tancred, the old Courtenay and the count of Tholouse were now no more; and their descendents, softened and emasculated with the pleasures of Asia, occupied indeed their places, but did not fill them: there was none but the young king Baldwin, and the two military orders, that bravely opposed the enterprizes of the infidels. But as their forces no ways answered their valour, they resolved to have recourse to the princes of Europe, and solicit a new crusade, that might drive the infidels entirely out of the Holy Land. With this view the bishop of Zabulon was dispatched into Europe, and landed at Marseilles. The first crusade having been raised in France, he came thither to solicit a second.

LOUIS VII. was then upon the throne, a 1143. prince young and handsome, full of courage but uneven in his conduct, more scrupulous than devout, and utterly ignorant of the great art of reigning. Baldwin's deputy could not have arrived at court in a more favourable juncture. The king being at war with Thibaut, count of Champagne and Blois, his vassal, met with such opposition at the siege of Vitry in Parthois, that being exasperated against the inhabitants, and having carried the place by storm, he put all before him to fire and sword, insomuch, that, it is said, thirteen hundred persons of both sexes, men, women and children, who had taken refuge in the great church, all perished in the flames of it. A just remorse succeeding so terrible an execution, this prince<sup>a</sup> resolved

<sup>a</sup> Ludovicus rex Vitriacum castrum comitis Theobaldi capit, ubi igne admoto, ecclesiâ incensâ, et in eâ mille trecentæ animæ diversi sexûs et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ, super quo rex Ludovicus misericordiâ motus plorâsse dicitur, et hac de causa peregrinationem Hierosolymitanam agressus à quibusdam æstimatur. Rob. de Monte appendix ad Sigeb. ad annum 1143.



ed to expiate his fault by an expedition to Jerusalem, the common resource and refuge at that time of the greatest sinners. He communicated his design to pope Eugnius III. who was then in the 1144. chair of St. Peter, and that he might perform this pilgrimage in the most serviceable manner to the Christians of the Holy Land, he entreated the pontiff to cause a new crusade, after the example of Urban II. to be recommended from the pulpit. <sup>a</sup>

THIS pontiff, who from a monk of the order of Clairvaux, and a disciple of St. Bernard, had been advanced to the chair of St. Peter, very much commended the pious design of Louis, and to concur with his intentions, sent his briefs through all Christendom, to exhort princes and their subjects to take 1143. up arms. He appointed St. Bernard also, who was the oracle of his age, to preach up the crusade in France and Germany; and to engage the faithful to take the cross, he opened the treasures of the church, and granted a plenary indulgence to all that did so. <sup>b</sup>

THE holy abbot of Clairvaux, upon the pope's order, quits his retreat, he passes successively to the courts of the king of France and the emperor Conrad, he mounts the pulpit, he preaches, thunders, and, full of fire and indignation, represents how great scandal it was for Christians, to suffer the heritage of Jesus Christ, in the land that was watered with his precious blood, to be on the brink of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels. He omits nothing proper to move his auditors, and engage them to take up arms; and it is affirmed, that, transported with zeal, he openly foretold a certain victory and entire defeat of the infidels. The charms of his eloquence, his moving and pathetick expressions, the reputation of his sanctity, the happy success which, as we said before, he is reported to have proclaimed with so much assurance, and some shining miracles also, which the writers of his life ascribe to him on this occasion, and which may be re-

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<sup>a</sup> Preuves de l'histoire des comptes de Poitou pag. 483.

<sup>b</sup> Gaufrid. vita sancti Bernardi.



garded as the surest credentials of a prophet, all this induced the emperor, the king of France, and most of the princes and lords their vassals to take up arms.

A LAME child being presented to St. Bernard in the emperor's presence, the holy abbot made the sign of the cross, took up the child, and ordered it, before the whole assembly, to walk; and then turning to Conrad, "This was wrought for you, says he, that you might be assured, that God is indeed with you, and that your enterprize is pleasing in his sight."

SEVERAL French and German lords, verily persuaded that St. Bernard was entrusted with the power of heaven, and that like another Moses he would work miracles to bring the people of God into the land of promise, proposed with great importunity, in a council held at Chartres, that he might be obliged to take upon him the general command of the army<sup>a</sup>; but the man of God, whose prudence was no ways inferior to his zeal, contented himself with being the herald and trumpeter of it. Having accomplished his mission, he retired into his abbey, and left to warlike princes the honour and perils of the execution.

THE emperor and the king of France levied each of them a prodigious number of troops; each army was computed at no less than seventy thousand men of arms, besides the light horse and infantry: it looked as if the French and Germans had resolved by concert to abandon their country; and if any capable of bearing arms were upon other accounts detained at home, these new soldiers of the crusade, by way of insult, and as it were to reproach them with their cowardice, sent them a spindle and a distaff. The very women reviving the history or fable of the Amazons, appeared at a review on horse-back and in arms, and formed several squadrons.

ELEANOR queen of France, and wife to Louis VII. was at the head of these heroines; a princess of singular

<sup>a</sup> De cætero, verbum illud, quod jam, ni fallor, audistis, quomodo videlicet in conventu Carnotensi, quoniam judicio satis miror, me quasi ducem et principem militiæ elegerant. Divi Bernardi Ep. 256. ad Eug. Pap.

lar beauty, who, by her marriage, brought the king the provinces of Guienne and Poitou, and who would have been the delight of that prince, if in her pursuit of pleasures she had suffered herself to be less transported by the warmth of her constitution, or had not been suspected to share them with other persons besides the king her husband.

THOUGH it looked as if Germany and France had undertaken to subdue all Asia, (at least these numerous armies, with two great princes at their head, and commanded by brave officers, were but too capable of making that conquest) yet the perfidiousness of the Greeks, ever uneasy and jealous of these great armaments, their ignorance of the roads, the treachery of their guides, the want of provisions, and the numerous and formidable troops which opposed their passage, ruined both these Christian armies, even before they arrived in Palestine. They attempted the siege of Damascus, but in vain, and the miscarriage was owing even to some Christians themselves.

CONRAD set out first, and arrived at Constantinople towards the end of March, A. D. 1147. He was brother-in-law to Emanuel Comnenus, who then governed the empire of the east. These two princes had married the two daughters of Berenger the elder, count of Luxemburg. This alliance made the German prince presume he should be well received. The perfidious Greek treated him as his ally, with respect to his private person; but in regard to his troops as a mortal enemy. By his order, the wells and cisterns were poisoned in all the places which the Germans passed through; and these strangers were forced to give an excessive price for bread mixed with lime and plaister. His brother-in-law furnished him with guides, who, after leading him out of his way, through by-roads and endless windings, in the mountains and rocks of Cappadocia, delivered his army half dead with hunger, starved and spent, into the hands of the infidels, who cut it in pieces.

THE king of France was scarce more fortunate, and though at the passage of the river Meander, he gained a considerable victory over the infidels, yet upon his arrival at Antioch, he met with a misfortune, which perhaps more sensibly affected him than even the loss of a battle.

RAIMOND of Poitiers, uncle by the father's side to the queen of France, was then, in right of his wife, sovereign of that great principality. This prince, by birth a Frenchman and the king's subject, received Louis and the queen his niece with all the marks of honour, and all the magnificence due to his sovereign. There was nothing to be seen for the first days of their arrival, but feasting, balls and tournaments. Raimond, who hoped to draw some solid advantages from the arrival of the French in his dominions, added to all these demonstrations of the sincerest joy, magnificent presents which he made to the king and the chief officers of his army. His view was to engage Louis, before he advanced into Palestine, to turn his arms against the Mahometan princes his neighbours, with whom he was actually in war. The queen his niece at his request mentioned it to the king, and used the most pressing instances to induce him to a compliance. The interest of the prince her uncle was not the only motive upon which she acted. It is said, that this princess, who was not over scrupulous in point of duty, and was fallen in love with a young baptized Turk named Saladin, could not think of parting from him. She passionately wished, that whilst the king was marching against her uncle's enemies, he would leave her at Antioch. The king, who began to have some suspicions of this scandalous correspondence, had no other way to avoid the consequences of it, but by taking her by night out of Antioch, and carrying her to Jerusalem. As soon as he arrived there, the emperor of Germany came to join him with the broken remains of his army. These two princes formed the siege of Damascus, and thought themselves so sure of success, that they agreed and promised to confer the sovereignty

ty of the place, and the country belonging to it, upon Thierry count of Flanders. But the news of their design coming to the ears of some Latin lords, whose fathers had, from the time of the first crusade, been settled in Syria, they were so exasperated, that the count of Flanders, whom they treated as a stranger and new comer in respect of themselves, should be preferred before them, that by an abominable treason, and a criminal correspondence with the infidels, they caused the enterprize to miscarry. Louis and Conrad, detesting their villany, returned into Europe with 1148. the miserable remains of their great armies, and both of them with more chagrin than glory.

IF we may believe the greatest part of historians, there were not fewer than two hundred thousand men that perished in this unhappy expedition. By the same means also, several of the greatest houses, both of France and Germany, became extinct. Such as were concerned in this general loss, made no scruple to impute it to St. Bernard; the father demanded back his son of him, the wife her husband, and the most outrageous arraigned him as a false prophet. The holy abbot, in his defence, was obliged to make an apology, which he addressed to pope Eugenius III. "They accuse me, says he, of having made fine promises which had no effect, as if I had acted rashly in this affair; whereas I did nothing but execute your orders, or rather those which God gave me by you."

HE alledges afterwards the example of Moses, who having brought the Israelites out of Egypt, did not give them possession of the fertile land that was promised them, though he acted only by the orders of God, confirmed by miracles; and he maintains, that the militia of the crusade were not less incredulous, or less rebellious than the Israelites\*: This is one of the reasons upon which Otho bishop of Frisingen, and brother by the mother's side to the emperor Conrad, lays the greatest stress. That prelate, to vindicate his friend St. Bernard, pretends, that the vices which reigned in the  
Christian

\* De rebus gestis Friderici imperatoris. c. 60. p. 231.

Christian armies prevented the effect of his predictions. But may we not answer the German bishop, that this reasoning is perhaps more specious than solid, since if the holy abbot had been endued with the spirit of prophecy on this occasion, he ought, in virtue of that supernatural light, to have known, that they of the crusade would have offended God, and that instead of the victories which his minister bid them expect, he would punish them with all the calamities that beset them. Accordingly the historian himself, who seems to be sensible of the weakness of his own reasoning, is reduced at last to this ingenuous confession, that the spirit of prophecy <sup>a</sup> does not inspire the prophets on all occasions.

BUT whatever were the causes of this unhappy event, which we are not allowed to fathom, we shall content ourselves with observing, that those great armies, which flattered themselves with so many conquests, could not take one single town from the infidels; and that the Latin Christians of Syria and Palestine were afterwards reduced to a situation that seemed to threaten them with a total and approaching ruin.

THEY had nothing less to fear from the Egyptians and the southern quarter. The king, to raise a barrier against these enemies, had caused the walls of old Gaza, one of the five lordships of the Philistines, seven leagues from Ascalon, to be rebuilt. That prince gave the government of it in property to the order of the templars<sup>b</sup>; and these military friars (men, says William of Tyre, full of courage, like the hospitallers) made it a place of arms, from whence they repressed the excursions of the garrison of Ascalon, and forced the Sarazens to shut themselves up within their walls.

1148. NORADIN in the mean time taking advantage of the consternation into which the retreat of the troops of the crusade had thrown the people, entered

<sup>a</sup> Quamquam et spiritus prophetarum non semper subsit prophetis. De rebus gestis Friderici imperatoris. l. I. c. 60. p. 231.

<sup>b</sup> Milites templi Gazam antiquam Palæstinæ civitatem reædificant, et turribus eam muniunt, Ascalonitas graviter infestant, Rob. de mente append. ad chron. Sig. p. 631.



ed the principality of Antioch at the head of his army, ravaged the country, took several small towns; and count Raimond consulting his courage rather than his forces, endeavouring to oppose the torrent, was routed, the greatest part of his troops cut in pieces, and he himself perished in the action.

ON the other hand, the sultan of Cogni or Iconium invaded the county of Edeffa, ravaged the country, and took young Courtenay prisoner, who died soon after in the chains of that barbarian. Every thing fled before him. The inhabitants of the towns and villages, almost all of them Christians, seeing themselves destitute of succour, abandoned their country and their houses to avoid the tyranny of the infidels. Every one strove to reach some Christian town for security. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, to favour at least their retreat, advanced at the head of his nobility, and the two military orders, to serve them for escorts; he placed all his people, men, women, children, cattle and baggage in the midst of the troops he had got together: he posted himself in the van-guard, the count of Tripoli, with Humfrey de Thoron constable of the kingdom, commanded the rear; and in this order they marched towards the principality of Antioch. Noradin, who could not bear that this prey should escape him, advanced immediately at the head of all his cavalry, came up with the Christian army, and poured in every moment showers of arrows to make them halt. He attempted several times to break the Christian troops. They could not march a league without being obliged to fight; the infidels, to retard the march of an army embarrassed enough otherways with their baggage, returning every moment to the charge. But on what side soever they made their attack, they found always either the young king, or the count of Tripoli, at the head of the hospitallers and templars, presenting a terrible front, and bearing down before them every rank and part of the army that durst approach them; so that Noradin, not able to break them, and wanting provisions, gave  
over



over at last the pursuit, and the Christian army arrived safe in the territories of Antioch.

WHILST the king was thus employed in rescuing these people from slavery, he was within a few moments of losing his capital, by another enterprize of the infidels. Two of their princes called Jaroquins, Turcomans by nation, whose father or grandfather reigned in Palestine before the Sarazens recovered Jerusalem, being pressed by the reproaches of their mother, and informed of the king's absence, levied a considerable army, marched from their own country, passed through Damascus, fell upon the Christian territories, and advanced up to the gates of the holy city. The inhabitants, in a terrible consternation, saw them incamp in the evening upon mount Olivet. The barbarians flattered themselves, that they should be able the next day to take by scalado, a place where they knew the king had left no garrison; but out of an excess of confidence, ever dangerous in war, they lost one of those lucky moments on which the greatest successes depend. The inhabitants recovering from their consternation, and encouraged by such hospitallers and templars as were left in the city, took arms; and as they were not enough in number to defend their walls, instead of waiting in the city for the coming up of the enemy, they issue out in the dark at midnight, fall upon the camp of their enemies, whom they find buried in sleep, set fire to their tents, cut the cordage, and carry terror and death on every side.

THE infidels, surpris'd and terrified with so unexpected an attack, fled for their lives, and their whole force disbanded, without keeping any certain road. As they fled towards Jericho, they fell into a body of cavalry, commanded by the king in person, who, having had advice that they were entered his territories, was advancing to the relief of Jerusalem. Above five thousand were cut in pieces; others were knocked on the head by the Christian peasants; and the garrison of Napoloufa, which waited for them as they returned, completed the dispersion, and pursued them to the banks  
of

of Jordan, where the infidels, to avoid the sword of the Christians, and in hopes of swimming over the river, threw themselves in and were drowned.

THE king, to make reprisals, resolved in his turn to ravage the territory of Ascalon; he put himself at the head of his army and, followed by 1152. the great masters of the two military orders, and the principal nobility of his kingdom, entered the country, destroyed all before him with fire and sword, and demolished abundance of summer-houses and gardens belonging to the chief inhabitants of Ascalon. He advanced next up to the gates of that important place; and having taken a view of it himself, resolved to besiege it. But as he had not troops enough for so great an enterprize, he summoned all the nobility and gentry of his kingdom. Some pilgrims, who were just arrived, generously offered him their service, and the old men of the country, worn out with age, the glorious remains of the first crusade, ran to the camp. Each was assigned his proper quarter, whilst Gerard lord of Sidon, to hinder any succours being thrown into the place, kept the sea with fifteen gallies.

THE city of Ascalon, one of the five governments of the ancient Philistines, was seated at the foot of an hill, on the side of the Mediterranean sea, seven leagues from Gaza, which was a Christian city, and the frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem on that side next Egypt, situate on the edge of the desert which divides the two kingdoms, and at that time in the possession of the templars.

ASCALON was in figure like a semicircle, formed by the town and buildings, the sea shore making as it were the diameter. It was encompassed with high walls, fortified at proper distances with strong towers, well supplied with warlike engines to throw stones and darts; the ditches were flat bottomed and full of water: some advanced works hindered all approach to the body of the place, and they had added all the fortifications that the art of that time could devise. The king, young as he was, managed this important siege himself:

himself. From the time the great Godfrey de Bouillon there had never been seen in the Holy Land a prince in whom, at so green an age, were united such singular valour, so great a capacity, and such rare talents  
 1153. forwar. The siege was long and very obstinate; the attacks brisk and continual; the defence too was brave, and the sallies, or rather the battles, frequent<sup>a</sup>. The Christians did not get a foot of ground but what cost them a great number of men; and they often lost the next day what they had gained over night, at the expence of the lives of their bravest soldiers. The siege had already lasted five months, with good and ill success alternately, when a strong fleet coming from Egypt, and laden with provisions and land forces, appeared off Ascalon. This fleet consisted of seventy gallies, besides vessels of burden, which carried a prodigious quantity of arms and provisions. The Christian admiral, who had but fifteen gallies, finding himself not sufficiently provided to dispute the passage with the Egyptians, retired as fast as he could, and the infidels landed their succour without any opposition. It was received with great acclamations of joy by the garrison and inhabitants, who from the towers insulted the Christian army, and asked the soldiers when they designed to return to Jerusalem. This seemed indeed the only resolution they had to take; at least it was the sentiment of the nobility, and most of the chief officers in the army. But the great master of the hospitallers, seconded by the patriarch, and the rest of the bishops, was of a contrary opinion<sup>b</sup>. He represented to the king, that such a step would only serve to depress the courage of his soldiers, and raise that of the enemies, and perhaps put the sultan upon the design of forming in his turn the siege of Jerusalem. Several councils were held upon this occasion: at last the king, after a mature examination of the reasons

<sup>a</sup> Wil. Tyr. l. 17.

<sup>b</sup> In opposita sententia dominus patriarcha, dominus quoque Tyriensis erant cum clero, consortem habentes dominum Raimundum magistrum hospitalis cum fratribus suis. Wil. Tyr. l. 17. c. 28. p. 928.

sons on both sides, declared himself for the most honourable resolution, and it was determined to continue the siege.

IN the mean, time the Egyptians that were landed at Afcalon, being recovered from the fatigues of the sea, made frequent sallies. They thought to gain an easy conquest over the christians, who had been represented to them as dispirited and worn out with the length of the siege; but they were not long without finding by experience, that valour supplies the want of numbers. The Christians always repulsed them with advantage. As there was no action of this kind but cost the infidels a number of men, their sallies grew less frequent, and their mettle cooled; on the other hand, the courage of the Christian soldiers encreased; and the templars having filled up the ditch, advanced their works as near as they could to that part of the wall which was opposite to them, causing a tower or sort of wooden castle of great height to be brought thither. This tower was a machine made use of at that time in sieges, which they drove upon wheels; and when it was within reach of the walls, they let down a wooden bridge with rails, from whence the besiegers annoyed and fought the besieged; and when they met with but little resistance, they threw themselves into the place, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of it.

THE Sarazens, one evening before the templars had advanced this machine to the foot of the wall, threw a great quantity of dry wood, bitumen, oil, and combustible matter, near the wooden tower, and then set fire to it, in hopes that the flames would reach the tower. But the design proved fatal to its authors; there arose in the night an easterly wind, which, instead of setting fire to the tower, drove the flakes against the wall, burnt the mortar, with which it was built, and made it give way. Some templars, who did not in the least question but their machine had been burnt, going out of mere curiosity the next day to see the remains of it, were strangely surprized to find it entire, and

and they perceived at the same time an opening made in the wall, which would facilitate the scaling of it. They immediately advertised their grand master of it: That lord, transported with joy, came privately thither to take a view of the breach himself, and finding it practicable, without giving any account of it to the king, he ordered a brigade of his knights to enter. No sooner did they appear sword in hand, and with that daring countenance that success inspires, but the inhabitants thought the town was taken: Most of them fled immediately to save themselves; and the principal officers of the garrison, to avoid the first fury of the Christian soldiers, threw themselves into boats, and put off from the shore. But the great master's avarice hindered the Christians from making their advantage of the fright of the infidels; for this chief of the templars, desirous to secure the whole plunder of the city to himself, instead of sending to the king for more troops to sustain the templars who had entered the place, posted himself with the rest of his knights upon the breach, to keep the soldiers of the Christian army from passing it<sup>a</sup>, in case any of them should perceive the opening made in wall. In the mean time, the few templars who had thrown themselves into Ascalon, ventured presumptuously into the middle of the city, to have the plunder of the principal houses to themselves, where the inhabitants recovering from their fright, no sooner perceived how small a number there was of them, than they rallied and made head against them. The templars then saw themselves attacked by the troops of the garrison, and from the tops of the houses came pouring down upon them fireworks, scalding water, stones, tiles, and every thing that the besieged found next at hand. The templars, after the loss of a great number of their comrades,

<sup>a</sup> Magister militiæ templi Bernardus Detrimelas cum fratribus suis alios antè multò prævenientes aditum occupaverant, neminem nisi de suis intrare permittentes, eos autem hac intentione dicebantur arcere quatenus primi ingredientiæ spolia majora et manubias obtinerent uberiores.---- Dum ergo cupiditate rapti ad prædæ participium renuunt habere consortes, in mortis periculo meritò reperiunt soli. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 27.



rades, were forced to a precipitate retreat; every one fled to regain the breach by which he had mounted at first with so much courage; the great master too was obliged himself to abandon the post he was in possession of; the infidels seized upon it, made cuttings off and entrenchments before the place where the Christians had entered, and by new barricadoes put it in a condition of defence.

'Tis impossible to express the king's indignation and the wrath of the soldiers, when they were apprised that nothing but the avarice of the templars had occasioned their missing so difficult and glorious a conquest. The inhabitants of Ascalon, on the contrary, increased in confidence and courage; and the next day mixing themselves with the Egyptian garrison, they made a fresh sally in good order, and boldly attacked the lines of the Christians. The fight was bloody, and the success doubtful for a long time; the victory changed sides more than once; the infidels at first filled up several fathoms of the trenches, ruined some redoubts, threw themselves sword in hand into the Christian camp, demolished the tents, and penetrated as far as the king's quarter.

THAT prince, at the head of the nobility, fought with an invincible courage, and gave time to his troops to recover from their surprize, and get over their first consternation. The templars, eager to wash away with their blood the fault they had committed, exposed themselves like furies in the thickest of the enemies battalions; and the hospitallers, whose zeal and emulation spurred them on to danger, prodigal of their lives, never heeded the losing them, provided they could kill a Sarazen. The Egyptians shewed no less courage on their part; they were all for vanquishing or dying. This sally, or rather battle, lasted from morning till evening. At last the infidels, astonished at the invincible courage of the christians, and daunted with the force of their blows, began to give way a litle. The king seeing them flag, resumed new vigour, and broke into them sword in hand. It was afterwards a mere



butchery rather than a fight. The Christian soldiers, breathing blood and vengeance against the infidels, gave no quarter; torrents of blood ran down the lines, and most of the Egyptians that came to the succour of Ascalon, perished in this fally. Such as could escape the fury of the Christian soldiers got back into the town, carrying thither, with the shame of their defeat, a despair of saving the place. The inhabitants upon the loss of this reinforcement, lost likewise all hopes of raising the siege. There was a general consternation; the old men, women and children never stirred from the mosques, wearying out heaven with their vain prayers; such as had still any health and strength left, employed themselves in making intrenchments behind the walls of the city; but a stone of a prodigious bigness, thrown from one of the engines of the besiegers, falling by chance upon a great beam carried by forty men, most of whom were mashed to pieces, the terror of the people, already prepossessed that they could not resist the Christians, increased to such a degree, that they resolved to prevent the terrible consequences of an assault by a timely composition.

A SUSPENSION of arms was first agreed on, under pretence of carrying off the dead on both sides, and by means of this truce they entered into a negotiation. The treaty was soon concluded between parties, the one of which was afraid of being carried by storm, and the other of a new succour's obliging them to raise the siege; so they clapped up an agreement, that the Sarazens should deliver up the place immediately to the Christians, and that the latter should furnish them waggons with a convoy to carry their effects to Laris, a city in the desert; which was executed punctually August 12. A. D. 1154.<sup>a</sup>

THERE had been no conquest, since that of Jerusalem, either more glorious or more useful than this of Ascalon. The Christian garrison that was placed there joining with that of Gaza, raised contributions even in Egypt itself. The news of its being taken was received

<sup>a</sup>. The continuator of Sigebert places this event in A. D. 1153.

ed with extraordinary joy in Europe: They were well apprized of the part which the master of the hospitallers had in it, and the acknowledgement of his services was, in all probability, the reason why pope Anastasius IV. granted new privileges to the order, and confirmed the old ones, as may be seen in the bull of this pontiff addressed to Raimond Dupuy. The pope therein declares, that following the example of his predecessors Innocent II. Celestine II. Lucius II. and Eugenius III. he takes the hospital and house of St. John into the protection of St. Peter; that he allows the hospitallers to build churches and church-yards in all the lands and feignories belonging to them, and to inter their deceased brethren there, with all the ceremonies of the church, notwithstanding any interdict issued out by the ordinary, and even to say or cause mass and divine service to be said once a year in any other interdicted churches, if lying in the road which the hospitallers are obliged to travel in obedience to the orders of their superiors.

THE holy father, directing his discourse to them, says, “ As you, my brethren, make so worthy an use  
 “ of your goods and possessions, employing them for  
 “ the maintenance of the poor, and entertainment of  
 “ pilgrims, we forbid all the faithful, of what dignity  
 “ soever they are, to exact the tythe of your lands,  
 “ or to publish any ecclesiastical sentence of interdict,  
 “ suspension or excommunication in the churches be-  
 “ longing to you; and in case of a general interdict  
 “ laid upon whole countries, you may still continue to  
 “ have divine service said in your churches, provided  
 “ it be done with the doors shut, and without ringing  
 “ of bells. We grant you likewise the liberty of ad-  
 “ mitting priests and clerks, as well into your princi-  
 “ pal house of Jerusalem, as into the other subordi-  
 “ nate houses that depend upon it. And if any bi-  
 “ shops or ordinaries oppose it, you may nevertheless,  
 “ in virtue of the authority of the holy see, receive  
 “ them, after proper testimonials of their conduct;  
 “ and such priests and clerks shall be absolutely ex-

“ emptied from their jurisdiction, and be subject only  
 “ to the holy see and your chapter. You may like-  
 “ ways receive laicks of free condition for the service  
 “ of the poor. And as for such brothers as have been  
 “ once admitted into your society, we forbid them to  
 “ quit it, or to enter into any other order under pre-  
 “ tence of greater regularity. And with regard to the de-  
 “ dication of your churches, the consecration of your  
 “ altars, and the ordination of your clergy, you shall ap-  
 “ ply to the bishop of the diocese, if he be in comun-  
 “ nion with the holy see, and will confer holy orders  
 “ gratis ; but if not, you are authorized by the holy  
 “ see to chuse any bishop you shall see fit. Moreover,  
 “ we confirm anew all grants of lands and seignories  
 “ in the present possession of your house, or which you  
 “ shall hereafter acquire on this side the sea, or beyond  
 “ it, as well in Europe as in Asia. In fine, (says A-  
 “ nastasius, directing his speech to the great master,)  
 “ when it shall please God to take you to himself,  
 “ we ordain that your brother hospitallers shall have  
 “ full and entire liberty to elect your successor, any  
 “ force or contrivance to the contrary whatsoever not-  
 “ withstanding.”

THOUGH this bull of pope Anastasius was in the  
 main only a confirmation of the privileges which his  
 predecessors had already granted to the order of St.  
 John, yet Foucher, then patriarch of Jerusalem, and  
 the other Latin bishops of Palestine, resolutely opposed  
 these exemptions, which were so many diminutions of  
 their jurisdiction and revenues.

OF all the ecclesiastical penalties inflicted by popes  
 and bishops upon sinners, that of a general excommu-  
 nication or interdict, though scarce so much as known  
 in the primitive church, was at that time the most fre-  
 quent. They made use of it against princes that were  
 refractory to the church ; the thunder bolt was level-  
 led at their dominions ; all their subjects were invol-  
 ved in the sentence, and a multitude of innocent per-  
 sons suffered on account of a single offender. The  
 form and manner of executing this sentence had no-  
 thing

thing in it but what was dismal and even terrible. The altars were intirely stripp'd; the crosses, the shrines for relicks, the images and statues of the saints were laid flat upon the ground, and covered all over, to signify that it was a time of grief and mourning: The bells ceased to be rung, and were even taken down from the belfreys: No sacrament was administred, but baptism to children newly born, and confession and the communion as a viaticum to dying persons: No mass was said in churches but with the doors shut; flesh was prohibited, during the interdict, as much as in lent; and to such a height was this rigour carried, that people were forbidden to greet one another, or be shaved, nor was it permitted to give the tonsor, or cut the hair of the priests or clergy.

BUT what is still more deplorable is, that some popes and bishops often employed these arms against kings and sovereign princes, and for interests purely temporal. 'Twas one of the surest instruments of their government. The people, frighted to see themselves deprived of the outward exercise of religion, forced their sovereigns, for fear of a general revolt, to submit to the yoke. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if the patriarch of Jerusalem, and other Latin bishops of the east, bore impatiently, that whilst the kings of Jerusalem, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli, were not exempt from their jurisdiction in point of the interdict, the popes should grant this privilege to the hospitallers. These prelates too were not less aggrieved with the exemption from tythes, which they had seized after the conquest of the Holy Land, to the prejudice of the clergy of the Greek church.

THE natural desire of preserving great possessions, and defending their authority, motives which touch men to the quick, broke the union which had hitherto subsisted between the secular clergy and the hospitallers. The bishops could not bear to think, that the holy see had dispensed with the knights from paying them the tythe of all their possessions, and they extended this right and their pretensions even to the booty that

might be gained from pillaging the camp and territories of the infidels. The privilege likewise which the hospitallers had obtained of saying or causing divine service to be said in their churches during the interdict, notwithstanding they did it with the doors shut, brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the secular clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Besides these general grievances, Foucher the patriarch complained of one particular relating to himself, viz. that the hospitallers, whose church and house stood near the church of the holy sepulchre, had erected more magnificent buildings than his own church and palace: The complaints were bitter on both sides; the one founded their claim on common right, the other pleaded their privileges in bar of that right. Invectives and abusive language succeeded these reciprocal complaints; and, what is not to be mentioned without concern, they proceeded at last to acts of violence. 'Tis said, that arrows were shot from the quarter of the hospitallers against the priests of the patriarch. These ecclesiasticks indeed did not return force for force; but out of a more refined sort of vengeance, they gathered up these arrows, tied them in a bundle, and, to preserve the memory of so odious an outrage, fixed them up at the entrance of the church of Calvary. William Archbishop of Tyre relates this fact as an eye-witness<sup>a</sup>; but that writer, though no way favourable to the hospitallers, owns at the same time, that the great master was revered as a good man that feared God: These are his very words. He adds, that the cause of these dissensions ought to be laid upon the popes, who had exempted these military friars from the episcopal jurisdiction.

THE patriarch, to obtain a repeal of these privileges, which were so odious to him, under-  
 1155. took the western voyage, though near an hundred years old, and resolved to go in person to pope Adrian IV. who was then upon the holy see.

<sup>a</sup> l. 17. c. 3. p. 932.



fee. He was accompanied with Peter archbishop of Tyre the historian's predecessor, Baldwin archbishop of Cesarea, Frederic bishop of Acre, Amaury of Sidon, Constantine of Lydda, Renier of Sebaſte, and Herbert of Tiberias. The great maſter and council of the order ſent deputies alſo on their part, to answer the complaints of theſe prelates; and, if we may believe William archbishop of Tyre, theſe deputies had got the ſtart of the patriarch, and by great preſents had made the pope and whole court of Rome their friends. Foucher and the other biſhops of Paleſtine had audience of the pope at Ferento, a little town near Viterbo. This great affair was debated at ſeveral ſeſſions before the pope and the whole college of cardinals; and for the better maintaining of the rights of the parties, both ſides were allowed advocates and lawiers to plead for them. The biſhops complained that the hoſpitaillers, abuſing their privileges, received excommunicate perſons into their churches, and in caſe of death gave them Chriſtian burial; that during the interdict laid upon the city, they had rung their bells, contrary to an expreſs claufe in their privileges; that their church being near that of the holy ſepulchre, they ſet them continually a ringing whilſt the patriarch was preaching the word of God to the people, on purpoſe to hinder his being heard; and that they reſuſed to pay tythe of their revenues in all the dioceses of Paleſtine, where they had any lands and eſtates.

THE archbishop of Tyre, after relating all the complaints of the clergy, ſays nothing of the defence made by the hoſpitaillers; he only gives us to underſtand, that they got the affair protracted; that by their preſents and intereſt in the court of Rome they kept the pope from giving judgment in it, and the patriarch and biſhops of Paleſtine, ſeeing plainly of themſelves, and having ſecret advice from their friends, that they ſhould never obtain any ſentence, took leave of the ſovereign pontiff, and returned home, ſays the hiſtorian,



rian, loaded with confusion. He adds,<sup>a</sup> that of all the cardinals there were but two so just and faithful to Jesus Christ, as to declare themselves in favour of the clergy; that the pope and all the rest of them, corrupted by the presents of the hospitallers, followed, says he<sup>b</sup>, the steps of Balaam, son of Bofor; a comparison certainly very odious; and the more so, because of the two cardinals, that were, according to this author, so faithful to Jesus Christ. For one of them was Octavian, who set himself up afterwards for antipope, by the name of Victor II. and caused a terrible schism and infinite mischief to the church; and the other was John de Morson, cardinal of St. Martin, one of the ministers of his ambition, and the principal abettor of the schism.

To justify entirely the memory of Adrian, we are indispensibly obliged to observe, that 1156. this pontiff, one of the most disinterested popes that ever sat upon the throne of St. Peter, far from enriching his family out of the treasures of the holy see, gave not the least share of them to his relations; that he carried his disinterestedness even to an unwarrantable rigour; and though his mother, who survived him, was reduced to extreme poverty, all that he did for her was, by his will to recommend her to the charity of the church of Canterbury. But if we may believe Bosio, his bare declaring in favour of the hospitallers was enough to draw upon him all the bitterness that flows, says he, from the pen of that partial historian.<sup>c</sup>

AFTER all, the patriarch of Jerusalem and his historian could not but know, that the predecessors of Anastasius had before this granted the hospitallers most of the privileges in question, without any complaint ever being made of their being procured by bribery. But  
it

<sup>a</sup> l. 18. c. 8.    <sup>b</sup> l. 18. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Nella narrazione della qual istoria il sus detto archivescovo di Tyro aggrava molto la mano addosso a gli hospitalieri, scrivendla in questo particolare piu tosto come prelato et archivescovo orientale, et consequentemente come interessato et appassionato, che come istorico. Bosio, l. 6. p. 197.

it is probable enough, that the popes being engaged in troublesome wars, either against the emperors of the west, or the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and even against the inhabitants of Rome, were not unwilling to exempt the hospitallers and templars from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries, thereby to engage more particularly in their interests, so considerable a military body, whose power and riches were continually encreasing in all parts of Christendom.

I SHALL not take upon me to give an account of the several settlements, made in those times in favour of the hospitallers of St. John: this would carry me too far. But I think myself obliged to observe, that part of the great revenues of the hospitallers and templars came chiefly from the princes, nobility and gentry, who, upon taking the habit and cross of the two orders, gave them most of their great feignories. Thus about that time Guy, count and sovereign of Forcalquier, taking the cross and habit of an hospitaller, gave to the order of St. John his castle of Manosque, which contained such considerable lands and feignories, that they made a bailiwick of it afterwards, with the title of bailiff instead of commander. The Grandees of Spain did not come behind the French in these sentiments of esteem for the two military orders, and the historian of Arragon tells us, that about A. D. 1153, Don Pedro Dartal, the first baron of that kingdom, gave to the hospitallers and templars the city of Borgia, with its dependencies, which they exchanged afterwards with Raimond Berenger, prince of Arragon, for Dumbel, and the castles of Alberic and Cabanos.

THESE donations, so frequent at that time, will be less surprizing, if we consider the admirable use that these military friars made of them. Out of all their great revenues, the hospitallers and templars had only a very frugal subsistence; the rest was either dedicated to the maintenance of the poor, or employed in carrying on the war against the infidels.

YET these warriors, so fierce and terrible in the day of battle, were quite other men when they came back  
to

to their convent. Scarce had they laid aside their arms, but they resumed with the regular habit, all the exercises of their first profession. Some applied themselves to the service of the sick; others were taken up in entertaining the pilgrims; some cleaned their arms, or mended the accoutrements of their horses; and all, in their respective employs, kept a religious silence, and seemed as reserved and pensive as if they had been hermits and anchores: a new manner of life, very rare and unknown till then, wherein, without being entirely confined to the cloister, or engaged in the world, they practised successively all the virtues of two such opposite conditions. This we learn from St. Bernard, a contemporary writer, who, in the description which he has left us of the templars manner of life, has drawn a sort of living picture of the military friars of those times, such an one as it is to be wished their successors had always before their eyes.

“ THEY live together, says that holy abbot, in an agreeable, but frugal manner; without wives or children, or having any thing in property to themselves, even so much as their own will. They are never idle, nor rambling abroad; and when they are not in the field marching against the infidels, they are either fitting up their arms, and the harness of their horses, or else employing themselves in pious exercises by order of their superior. An insolent expression, an immoderate laughter, the least murmur, does not pass without a severe correction. They detest cards and dice, they are never allowed the diversion of hunting, or useless visits; they abominate all shows, drolleries, discourses, or songs of a loose nature; they bathe but seldom, are generally in an undress, their face burnt with the sun, and their look grave and solemn. When they are entering into an engagement, they arm themselves with faith within and steel without, having no ornaments either in their dress, or upon the accoutrements of their horses; their arms are their only finery, and they make use of them with courage,  
“ without

“ without being daunted, either at the number or  
 “ force of the Barbarians ; all their confidence is in the  
 “ God of hosts ; and in fighting for his cause they seek  
 “ a sure victory, or a Christian and honourable death.”<sup>2</sup>

THE lustre of their virtues, and the glory they acquired daily by their valour, raised a generous emulation among the nobility and gentry of Spain. We observed, at the beginning of this history, that the Moors in the eight century took the greatest part of that kingdom from the Goths. 'Tis well known, that the Christians which remained of that nation, flying from the persecution of the infidels, retired at first into the mountains of the Asturias, from whence they sallied out afterwards, under the conduct of Pelagius, to defend their liberty and religion. That prince, by little and little, enlarged the bounds of his kingdom. His successors were yet more prosperous ; they recovered several provinces from the Moors ; and these Christian princes, who carried on the war in different quarters, to preserve a recipocal independency among themselves, erected these provinces over which they assumed a sovereignty into so many kingdoms. Such is the original of the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Arragon, Portugal, Valentia, &c. The Moors too on their side had cantoned out their conquests, and we find among those Barbarians the kings of Toledo, Cordova, Murcia and Granada. The one was every day in action against the other, and for several ages there was a continual war between them. Some Spanish gentlemen, in imitation of the templars and hospitallers, and for the defence of religion, formed hereupon several societies and military orders, composed only of the nobility and gentry of that nation : of these the order of Calatrava is reckoned the most antient.

DON Sanchez, the third king of Castile, having won from the Moors the city of Calatrava, a strong place and frontier of the kingdoms of Castile and Toledo, committed the government and defence of it to the

<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard exoratio ad milites templi.

the templars: but these knights having afterwards advice that the kings of the Moors had joined their forces to besiege it, and finding themselves too few to defend it, they delivered the place back again to the king.

SANCHEZ had need of all his forces to keep the field and make head against the Moors, who threatened at the same time to break into Castile. That prince in this distress declared, that if any one was able and brave enough to undertake the defence of Calatrava, he would give it him in property, to be held under the immediate sovereignty of his crown. But the formidable power of the Moors had so intimidated most of the grandees of his court, that there was not one who offered to throw himself into a place, which was going to have at the foot of its wall the whole forces of the infidels. The king was in utter despair of being able to save it, when a monk of the Cistercian order, professed in the abbey of Fitero in Navarre, called brother Diego Velasquez, who, before his profession, had served a long time as a soldier, proposed to his abbot Don Raimond, with whom he was come into Castile, to make the king an offer to sustain the siege with his own vassals, and at his own expence.

THE king, who was well informed of the riches of that abbot, and the reputation which Velasquez had formerly acquired in the army, accepted their offer, especially at a juncture when he had no other choice to make. The abbot and his monk returned with all possible expedition into Navarre, and brought back with them near twenty thousand men, most of them their own vassals or neighbouring Frenchmen that were willing to share in so generous an enterprize; and they were afterwards joined by several Castilian gentlemen; at the same time they supplied the place with provisions and ammunition, and this military colony added to the fortifications of the city a fort which covered it entirely.

'TWAS out of this body of Navarrese and Castilian gentlemen, who threw themselves into Calatrava, that  
the



the military order of that name was afterwards formed, viz. A. D. 1158. From the same motive of making war against the Moors of Spain, there arose about A. D. 1175, a second military order, dedicated to St. James of the sword, and A. D. 1212, the order of Alcantara was instituted. These three particular orders, confined to Spain, were distinguished from one another by crosses of different colours, but all equally terminated by flower de luces; a circumstance which would make one imagine, that the Spaniards took these flowers from the arms of France, to preserve the memory of those succours which the French had brought them from time to time in their wars against the infidels.

SUCH were the military friars in the first age of their institution, which, in respect of them, may be reckoned the golden age of these orders. The hospitallers, templars, and Spanish knights, were distinguished no less by a solid piety, than by their valour; but that blessed time did not last above an age: the man of war got insensibly the better of the monk; and valour, love of glory, and oftentimes the desire of amassing wealth, made their devotion and piety flag insensibly. Ambition, and views of aggrandizing themselves by particular conquests, began to infect these orders, tho' founded originally upon the vow of poverty. Out of this humane motive it was, that the hospitallers of Palestine refused a little before to undertake the defence of Paneas, unless Humphrey de Thoron, to whom the place belonged, would consent to divide the property and revenues of it with them. That lord was forced to purchase the assistance of their arms with this condition; and it was not till after such a cession was made, that they prepared to march to the succour of the place.

PANEAS, a city of Phœnicia, called formerly Cæsarea Philippi, and situated at the foot of mount Libanus, was a frontier of the principality of Damascus, of which Noradin, that formidable enemy of the Christians, was the sovereign. The hospitallers, having agreed upon their terms with Humphrey, loaded a great



number of horses and camels with arms, ammunition and provisions; all which set out from Jerusalem under a numerous convoy, and advanced towards the city, the last of the kingdom on that side. Noradin having notice from his spies of the departure of the convoy, laid an ambush in the way, and when the hospitallers drew near to Paneas, they found themselves surrounded on all sides. However, they made a brave defence, and fought a long while with their usual valour; but were forced to yield at last to superior forces: they were bore down by the vast number of the infidels, favoured at the same time by the advantage of the post they had seized, and most of the hospitallers that went upon this expedition perished in it: nor was this defeat the last disaster that happened to the Christians. Noradin, in hopes of finding the inhabitants in a consternation at this loss, laid siege to the place, and after a brisk and continual attack of some days, made himself master of the town. He then prepared to attack the castle, whither the inhabitants had retired; but having advice that the king of Jerusalem was marching with great expedition to make him raise the siege, this infidel prince, who dreaded his valour, set fire to the city, and retired with precipitation. But he had not got far, before he entrenched himself in a craggy place, where he could not be forced, and from thence observed the march of the Christian army. The king entered Paneas without opposition, repaired the confusions which the enemy and the fire had caused, and putting troops and provisions into the castle, set out upon his return for Jerusalem. He marched with too much rashness and security to be upon his guard, and had even sent away his foot before him. Noradin quitted the place he had retired to, advanced into the country, and got before him without his having any notice of it; and having found a spot proper for an ambuscade, waited at the passage, surprized him, and fell upon his troops, which were broken almost without fighting. All that they could do was to save the king, but most of the Christian nobility

bility and officers were taken prisoners. The templars had no better success upon this occasion, than the hospitallers in the former action, and brother Bertrand de Blanchfort their great master, a pious and devout man, says William of Tyre, was taken prisoner with brother Odo, one of his knights and marshal of the kingdom.

THE taking of the town of Paneas was the first fruit of the victory of the infidels. They entered it a second time without much difficulty, but miscarried before the castle, a place well fortified, and into which the garrison of the town and the inhabitants had retired. As I relate these different events no farther than I am obliged by the share the military order, whose history I write, had in them, I shall not dwell on what passed in Syria during the rest of the year; and shall only observe, that Noradin, always on the watch to extend his conquests, took the field early the year following, and laid siege to the castle of Sucta or Czueta, an ancient city, as it is said, of the country of Hus. The Latin Christians had carefully fortified this place, which was situated in the straits of the mountains, and opened an easy passage into the plains of Damascus.

THE king of Jerusalem, who knew the importance of this fort, immediately assembled all his troops, and supported by a good body of cavalry, brought him by Thierry count of Flanders his brother-in-law, he resolved to try again the fortune of war, rather than let a place of such consequence be lost. The Christian army advanced on the side of the mountains, and had no difficulty to find the enemy, Noradin by the advice of Siracon his general chusing rather to draw his troops out of their lines than let himself be attacked in his camp. He marched up to meet the 1148. Christians, and gave them battle in the plains of Putaha. The armies soon engaged. The soldiers on both sides as it were in concert, without shooting an arrow, and contrary to the practice of those times, advanced fiercely sword in hand. The king at the head of the principal lords of his kingdom, and followed by

military orders, in which the strength of his army lay, charged the enemy first, drove all before him that stood in his way, and had the less trouble to break that first body, because the Turcomans usually put their worst troops in the vanguard. But after this first trial of each other's force, Siracon appeared at the head of a new line, composed of old soldiers; he rallied the fugitives and restored the battle. Upon this occasion the Christians and infidels made extraordinary efforts, and both of them, supported by the view and example of their sovereigns and generals, fought a long while with equal fury, without either side's giving way, or the least appearance of fear and terror. No sooner was one soldier killed than another step'd up in his place, and whatever danger there was in the first ranks, every one was pressing to get thither: never was there seen so furious and bloody a battle. The Christians, enraged to find so long a resistance, and animated by the generous reproaches of their officers, made a fresh effort, and as if they had received a new reinforcement, flung themselves in so resolute a manner into the thickest of the enemies battalions, that the infidels, not able any longer to support this last charge, were obliged to retire and give ground, tho' still in good order and keeping their ranks. But the king of Jerusalem and the count of Flanders, coming up at the head of a large body of cavalry, during this motion which the enemy was forced to make, obliged them to fly outright and disband entirely. More than 6000 soldiers on the infidels side lay dead upon the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. All the honour of the day was justly ascribed to the king, a young prince of excellent valour. His courage multiplied him, as we may say, on such occasions, and particularly in this last battle; he was seen almost at the same time in different places, and in every one where the danger was greatest, and his presence necessary.

'Tis not known whether the great master of the hospitallers was in this action: his age probably excused him from it, he being above fourscore years old.

The

The venerable old man, covered with wounds, and worn out with years, had withdrawn himself to the house of the hospitallers of St. John at Jerusalem. There in a profound retirement, amidst serious reflections, and in continual exercises of piety, this genuine soldier of Jesus Christ prepared himself for the great day that is so terrible even to the holiest monks. He saw at last that dreadful moment arrive which decides the fate of an eternity: but if he saw its approaches with a wholesome fear, it was also with the filial confidence of a true christian, who had exposed his life a thousand times in defence of the holy places, where the author of life himself vouchsafed to die for the salvation of man. Thus ended his days in the arms of his brethren, Raimond Dupuy, the first of the military great masters, much greater by his solid piety and rare valour, than by his dignity, and such as we may compare at the same time to the holiest founders of regular orders, and the greatest generals of that age. The hospitallers, and indeed all the Latin Christians of the east, who had been witnesses of his virtues, anticipating his canonization, revered him as of the number of the blessed; a title which posterity confirmed to him.

The end of the first Book.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK II.

**A**S soon as the hospitallers had paid their last duties to the great master, they assembled for the choice of his successor. Brother Auger de Balben was proposed to fill that great post. The disinterestedness, modesty and humility \* which reigned in that first age of the order, prevented the putting up of any competitor: Balben AUGER DE was elected with the acclamations and BALEEN. concurrent suffrages of all the chapter. He was a French gentleman, of the province of Dauphine, an old comrade in war of Raymond Dnpuys's, of a great age, revered in the order for

\* Ad hoc etiam milites templi Hierosolymitani, ac fratres de hospitali, sub religioso habitu continenter viventes, ubique se multiplicando in religiositate se defendebant. Chron. Guil. de Nangis ad ann. 1137.

for his piety and prudence, and of great weight for his advice in the king's council.

HISTORY affords us a proof of it on occasion of the schism raised in the church upon the death of pope Adrian IV. Cardinal Roland, chancellor of the church of Rome, had been raised to the chair of St. Peter by the votes of the greatest part of the cardinals, and had merited this advancement by his piety and great experience in the government of the church, wherein he had always had a great share. He took the name of Alexander III. yet in opposition to this canonical election, cardinal Octavian, hurried away by his ambition, and supported by most of the senators and grandees of Rome, who were his relations, had caused himself to be declared pope, by the name of Victor III. by John de Morfon cardinal of St. Martin, and Guy de Crema cardinal of St. Calixtus. The emperor, who, in his disputes with the court of Rome, had experienced the steady and resolute disposition of cardinal Roland, favoured the intrusion of the antipope; the kings of France, England, Naples and Sicily declared themselves for Alexander. This competition divided the whole church, and produced the fatal schism we are speaking of.

THE pope, desirous to be acknowledged by the Latin church of the east, sent John, cardinal priest of St. John and St. Paul, thither as his legate. Some Genoese vessels carried the legate into Phœnicia, and he landed at Gibyle formerly called Gebal. He immediately dispatched a copy of his powers to the king, and requested that prince's permission to exercise his legatine authority throughout the kingdom. But as the opinions of the council were divid- 1160.  
ed, the king sent him word to stay at Gibyle, till he was better informed of what had passed in the election of the two pretenders. In the 1161.  
mean time a council was called at Nazareth, at which were present Amaury patriarch of Jerusalem, Peter archbishop of Tyre, all the bishops of Palestine, and the grand masters of the two military orders. The  
king



king too thought proper to be there, together with his council and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

THE business of the council was to determine which of the popes should be acknowledged in Palestine. The opinions were divided; some declared in favour of Alexander, others preferred the antipope; and besides divers facts alledged to justify the canonicalness of his election, they represented, that this cardinal, in Adrian's lifetime, had, upon all occasions, with great zeal, defended the interests of the church and clergy of Palestine. But the reader may see in the former book, that this pretended zeal consisted only in his declaring against the hospitallers, in concert with the cardinal of St. Martin, at the assembly of Ferento.

THIS was the chief motive which engaged some bishops to favour Octavian. The king, who was afraid that this diversity of sentiments might occasion a schism in his dominions, started a third opinion. He proposed to the fathers of the council not to declare for either of the pretenders, till the church had decided the question in a general council; that however, in consideration of the legate's merit, they should allow him to come to Jerusalem, make his stations there, and visit the holy places, but only as a private man, and without exercising any act of his legatine power.

“THE schism (says he, according to William of Tyre) is but beginning; we do not yet know clearly enough which side has the better right. Why then should we make so hasty a determination in an affair of such mighty importance? Besides, (adds the prince) what need has the church of Palestine of a legate, an officer of the court of Rome? Do not we know, that such persons never enter a kingdom without ruining the churches and monasteries by their exactions? And can a state, exhausted by continual wars, which must be maintained against the infidels, furnish such immense sums as they exact, under colour of defraying the necessary expences of their legation.”

A MOTIVE so pressing, in which the clergy were particularly interested, and supported by a prince whom all men honoured for his great qualities, drew most of the bishops over to his opinion: and it would have passed unanimously, if the archbishop of Tyre, seconded by the great master, had not generously opposed it.<sup>a</sup> The archbishop represented with great force, that Alexander's election was canonical, and made with the consent of the soundest part of the clergy and people of Rome; that the disturbance which an ambitious cardinal raised in the church could in no ways excuse the faithful from the actual obedience which all Christians owed to the lawful vicar of Jesus Christ; that the way of suspension on this occasion was no security to their consciences; and that for his part, he was resolved to adhere to a pope, in whose election the votes of most of the cardinals and the wishes of all good men concurred. In a word, this prelate spoke with so much zeal and resolution, that he brought the king over to his opinion. The legate was admitted into the kingdom; but he had not long exercised his functions there, and exacted the dues of his legatine office, but he became a charge to those very persons who had from the first shewn the greatest eagerness of his reception: these are the very words of William archbishop of Tyre.

THE patriarch of Jerusalem wrote in his own name and in that of his suffragans to pope Alexander, to acquaint him with what had passed in his favour in the synod of Nazareth. "Being informed, says he in his letter to him, that your election was made by an unanimous concurrence of the clergy and people, we have allowed and approved of it; and in consequence thereof, have excommunicated Octavian, with the two cardinals John and Guy, and their abettors, and have unanimously made choice of, and received you for our temporal lord and spiritual father." I make no question but it will appear astonishing to see this patriarch, even in the king's presence,

<sup>a</sup> Eosio lib. 6.

fence, give the pope the title of temporal lord ; but it will be less surprizing, if we consider, that the court of Rome had formerly endeavoured \*to make it pass for a maxim, that all the conquests which the Christians had gained over the infidels, and all islands, especially where Christianity was established, belonged of right to the holy see ; that the popes were the supreme sovereigns of them, and that other princes enjoyed them only by a title of suzerainete, or subaltern sovereignty. 'Tis well enough known what regard is paid now a days to these ultramontain pretensions.

IF we may believe Boso, all the hospitallers, by their adherence to the holy see, had a great hand in the ready obedience that the church of Palestine paid to Alexander III.

THE grand master of this order was not less sufficient or less successful in terminating a famous difference that rose not long after in the kingdom about the nature of the government. King Baldwin III. being poisoned at the age of thirty three, and after a reign of twenty years, by a Jewish or Arabian physician, Noradin's ministers and commanders advised him to improve the opportunity and invade Palestine. " God forbid, replied that generous prince, that I should take advantage of the misfortune of the Christians, from whom, after the death of so great a prince, I have nothing more to fear."

BALDWIN dying without children, the succession, according to the established usage ever since  
Feb. the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, de-  
1163 scended upon prince Amaury his brother.

But some great lords, who secretly aspired to the throne of Jerusalem, maintained, from the very example of Godfrey de Bouillon, that the crown was entirely elective. They added, that if his successors had inherited it, it was not so much in virtue of their birth-right, as by reason of the opinion men had of their valour,

\* Ep. Urb. II. apud Ughel. l. 3. p. 423. Ep. Adrian IV. Tom. 10. Concil. edit. Cossart. p. 1144. Joan de Salisbery metalog. 4. c. ult. Matt. Paris ad an. 1155.

lour, and by way of acknowledgment for the important services they had done the state; in a word, that the crown ought to be only the price and recompence of merit and valour.

SEVERAL gentlemen, without having such high pretensions as these great lords, did yet adhere to their party out of the fear that had been instilled into them of young Amaury's government,<sup>a</sup> a prince indeed of great courage, bold, enterprizing, and even of a superior genius; but proud, haughty, presumptuous, the ordinary foibles of youth; and, what was more surprizing at his age, covetous, and suspected of thinking no means unjust that could contribute to swell his exchequer.

YET this prince was not without his partisans: all the gentry and military men, who had received favours from his family, were inviolably attached to him. The clergy and people, who honoured the memory of the kings Fulk and Baldwin, declared openly for Amaury. Besides, as he was possessed of the counties of Jassa and Ascalon, by way of appanage, he soon saw himself at the head of a powerful army; and that of the great lords began to decline and lessen every day through the diversity and competition of their interests and pretensions.

HOWEVER, both parties made preparations for war, and it looked as if this great dispute could have been determined no other way than by force; but most of the good men, who foresaw with grief the dismal consequences of a civil war, laboured and interposed for an accommodation. The grand master of the hospitaliers had the principal share in it. That wise old man, still more venerable for his virtue than his age, represented to those grandees, who were most jealous and fond of their pretensions, that the division they were raising in the kingdom tended directly to open the gates of Jerusalem to the Sarazens or Turcomans; that the crown which they refused to put upon Amaury's head would infallibly pass upon that of Noradin,

or

<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 11.

or the caliph of Egypt: “ And if this misfortune happens, says he to them, what will become of you? you’ll be the slaves of infidels and the contempt of Christians; you will be looked upon as traitors and Judas’s, who have delivered the favour of the world a second time into the hands of his enemies.” The grand master by such discourses calmed the storm, and brought these lords insensibly over to the prince’s party; and after some negotiations, wherein each malecontent took care of his private interest, they went all in a body to assure Amaury of their submission. That prince was afterwards crowned in the church

1163. of the holy sepulchre the 18. February A. D.

1163, and all the estates of the kingdom solemnly took the oath of fidelity to him.

THE grand master, worn out with years, did not long survive that august ceremony, which might be considered as his own work. He had governed his order scarce two years, when death carried him off; but after contributing so successfully to the peace of church and state, he had lived long enough to die with glory.

THE hospitallers chose in his stead brother Arnaud de Comps, a knight of an illustrious family in the province of Dauphine, ARNAUD DE COMPS. who was not at all younger than his predecessor. Scarce had this new grand master taken possession of his dignity, when he was obliged to advance towards the frontiers at the head of the hospitallers. The business was to oppose some fresh incursions of the Sarazens. We have observed, that after king Baldwin III. had taken Afcalon, the caliph called Elfeis, to save himself from the continual inroads that the garrisons of that place and Gaza made upon his frontiers, had submitted to pay the kings of Jerusalem certain sums by way of contribution. But the caliph Adhed, successor to Elfeis, or rather Schaours or Sannar, who, by the title of sultan, governed the state with an absolute authority, refused openly to pay that sort of tribute any longer; and to break a treaty scandalous to his nation in the most publick manner,



manner, he put himself at the head of a great body of troops, and ravaged in his turn the frontiers of Judea.

AMAURY,<sup>a</sup> burning with impatience to revenge this infraction of the treaty, assembles his forces, summons the nobility, gentry, and two military orders, and advances with great expedition to repulse the enemy. Both sides were preparing for a bloody war, when there arose disturbances and civil wars in Egypt, that obliged the sultan to abandon the frontier, and lead his troops back into the kingdom. But the king of Jerusalem could make no advantage of this precipitate retreat.

To understand this point of history, it is necessary to call to mind, what was said in the first book of this work; that after the death of Mahomet, there rose up in that sect, and even in the false prophet's family, several princes, chiefs of different dynasties, who, by the name of caliphs, pretended to be heirs to Mahomet's dominions, and the true interpreters of his law: and under this pretext, and to keep their subjects in obedience, they had published different commentaries and explanations of the alcoran, in many points contrary and opposite to one another. Abulabbas, surnamed Saffa, one of Mahomet's grandsons, or at least descended of the same family, having been proclaimed caliph, was the founder of the dynasty of the Abassides, which settled at Bagdat. There were thirty seven caliphs of this family, who succeeded one another without interruption, and were acknowledged by all the Mahometans of Asia, and particularly by the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race, for the rightful successors of Mahomet.

ABOUT A. D. 908,<sup>b</sup> the dynasty of the Fathimites, i. e. of the princes who pretended to descend in a direct line from Aly, and Fatima, Mahomet's daughter, began in Africa; and sixty four years after, the caliph Moez le Dinillah entered Egypt, subdued it, caused the doctrine of Aly to be received for the only orthodox doctrine,

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<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 5.    <sup>b</sup> Will, Tyr. l. 19. c. 20.



trine, and forbad the observance of that of Omar, and the Abassidian caliphs that resided at Bagdat, against whom this prince and his successors, 'till the time of Adhed that we are speaking of, kept up a continual schism.

THIS variety of sentiments in the explanation of the alcoran, these disputes and schisms, and especially their genealogies, which were most of them fabulous, were invented by these princes only to impose upon the people, and justify their usurpations; but such as were well settled in their governments laughed at them. Thus one Thabetheba having asked the caliph Moez, what branch of the house of Aly he was descended from? the prince, who was then at the head of a mighty army, drew his sabre out of the scabbard, and brandishing it before his eyes, " See here, says he, my father, my mother, and my ancestors; and throwing handfuls of gold to his soldiers, see there, adds he, my children and all my posterity."

BUT the descendants of Moez, grown effeminate by luxury and pleasures, abandoned insensibly the government of the kingdom and the command of the armies to a first minister, who, under the title of sultan, like our old maires of the palace, governed with an absolute power. These ministers, who at first had the sovereign authority only in trust, soon made themselves independent; they kept the caliphs confined in the middle of a palace, amidst a troop of women and eunuchs, and fettered as it were in pleasures. They left them only some appearances of sovereignty; the money still bore their stamp; they were named first in the public prayers; the sultan too was obliged to receive the investiture, and ensigns of his dignity from the hand of the caliph: but these prerogatives went no farther than mere ceremony. The caliphs durst not deny the commission of sultan to any of their subjects that proved the strongest. And these princes were so unhappy, that whilst they were necessitated to re-  
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ceive a master, they had not so much as the choice of their tyrants.

SANNAR or Savar, whom we have just mentioned, was then invested with the dignity and authority of sultan in Egypt. This minister, at the very time that he was preparing to attack the Christians, saw himself on a sudden stripped of his dignity by a powerful faction formed against him. A Sarazen his enemy, and ring-leader of the conspiracy, called d'Hargan, taking his post, and the command of the army, advanced out of hand against the king of Jerusalem; they came to an engagement; the Egyptians, half naked, and most of them without any arms but their bows and arrows, did not long resist the cavalry of Amaury; particularly the knights of St. John and the templars, who were armed cap-a-pee. These warriors, who formed squadrons truly formidable, soon broke the battalions of the infidels. The Egyptian army all disbanded after the first discharge; the king of Jerusalem remained master of the field, and took abundance of prisoners: his soldiers enriched themselves with the booty, and his majesty immediately marched forward with great expedition, and filled those large provinces with the terror of his arms, and the dread of his name,

D'HARGAN, who had no troops to oppose him, had recourse to a remedy almost as dangerous the evil he designed to avoid. To stop the torrent, and gain time to send for troops from the higher Egypt, he broke down the banks of the Nile, and drowned the country. But when he thought himself secured against the Christians, he was surprized by a new enemy no less formidable than the king of Jerusalem.

SANNAR, whom he had dispossessed of his dignity, had taken refuge at the court of Noradin, sultan of Aleppo; and to obtain the necessary succours for his restoration, he offered, in case he got the better of his competitor, to make himself his vassal, and to give him every year the third part of the revenue of Egypt. Noradin, as great a politician as he was a soldier,

fancied these civil wars would afford him a proper opportunity and means to make himself master of that great kingdom; besides, that being devoted to the sect and interests of the Abassidian caliphs of Bagdat, he thought religion would be indebted to him if he could extinguish the schism by destroying the government of the Fathimites, whom the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race treated as hereticks. With this view he received Sannar very favourably, and after the treaty was signed, levied a great body of troops, which, though seemingly under the command of the Egyptian, were in fact governed by Schirgovich or Siracon, a Curde by nation, the first of Noradin's captains, and one whom he trusted with his most secret intentions.

D'HARGAN having notice of this negociation of his competitor, and of his preparing to enter Egypt at the head of Noradin's army, and not finding himself strong enough to make head at the same time against the Christians of Palestine and the Turcomans of Syria, sued for peace of Amaury. That prince would not grant it him, but upon condition of paying the tribute which had been the occasion of the war; besides which, he demanded a large sum of money for the charges of his armament. The sultan agreed to every thing, thinking that, at so unhappy a juncture, he could not pay too dear for peace, or at least for time to get clear of the enemy that appeared to him the most formidable of the two. He marched afterwards against his rival. The Turcomans and Egyptians soon met: d'Hargan was defeated: he died in the battle, or after it, by the treason of one of his officers; and Sannar, the old sultan, was re-instated in his dignity: every thing submitted to his power; he rewarded his creatures, he put his enemies to death, and having no further need of Noradin's assistance, he forgot the condition on which he had obtained it, or perhaps imagined that he was freed from the performance of it by his victory. This was the ground of a new war. The Turcoman general receiving positive orders from his master to revenge the Egyptian's ingratitude, immediately turned his

his arms against him, and seized on Belbeis, formerly Pelusium, and Alexandria. Sannar applied to the king of Jerusalem, and to engage him in his interest, promised that prince a considerable sum, besides an augmentation of the tribute which his predecessor had submitted to. Upon receiving the money, the king signed the treaty, and sent one of his officers, called Hugh of Cæsarea, to get it ratified by the caliph. This knight being conducted to 1166. an audience of the caliph, presented him the treaty, which that prince ratified; but it was only for form sake. Hugh required, that according to the example of the king his master, he should take him by the hand. The caliph, who had nothing left of all the rights of sovereignty but the ceremonial, affected a great scruple with regard to the taking a Christian by the naked hand, and therefore covered his own. But the Christian knight resenting a precaution which bordered upon contempt; " Sir, ( says he briskly to him )  
" our treaty ought to be sincere on both sides, and  
" executed with the same ceremonies. The king my  
" master when he ratified it, gave his bare hand to  
" your ambassadors, and I shall not accept your ratifi-  
" cation, unless it be made with the same formalities." The caliph was obliged to uncover his hand, and give it to the ambassador. Amaury, pursuant to this treaty, marched to the sultan's assistance, joined him, beat Siracon, and pursued him to Belbeis, whither he had retired after his defeat, and forced him, after some days siege, to surrender the place to him.

THIS prince the year following besieged and took Alexandria. Young Salahebdin, Siracon's nephew, was in the city, with the greatest part of Noradin's army. He was a young soldier of fortune, who had at first nothing to recommend him but the interest and power of his uncle; but he soon gained the esteem of the soldiery by his courage and liberality. He is said to have been very loose in his morals, but the desire of raising himself, and the love of glory, soon got the better of that of pleasure, and in a short time he be-

came a great commander. This young governor defended himself a long time, and with great valour. He made frequent sallies: every day afforded some new action; and after a siege of three months, Amaury was scarce farther advanced than the first day. But the person, whom he could not subdue by force of arms, was vanquished at last by scarcity and famine; and Saladin, for want of supply and ammunition, was reduced to the unhappy necessity of opening its gates to the enemy. This young Mahometan, as he was marching out of Alexandria at the head of his garrison, seeing Humfrey de Thoron, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and charmed with the bravery he had shewn during the whole siege, is reported to have addressed himself to that Christian lord,<sup>a</sup> and to have desired him, as the gallantest knight he knew, to do him the honour of knighting him with his own hand; which the constable, by the king's permission, consented to, and performed with all the marks of esteem and consideration due to his valour, and the noble defence he had made during the siege.

SANNAR, at last master of Egypt, and rid of the Syrians, had nothing to do but to send the king of Jerusalem back into his own dominions; and that he might not draw upon himself his arms and resentment, as he had done those of Siracon, he made the Christian monarch abundance of magnificent presents. His principal officers too received from him gifts of various sorts: provisions by his order were brought from

all quarters to the army; and Amaury returned 1167. to his dominions loaden with glory; but he sullied it afterwards by an enterprize, in which the hospitallers unhappily had but too great a share.

THAT prince, born with great views, but of a fiery and restless ambition, was, after his return from Egypt, continually reflecting upon the greatness of that kingdom, the number and riches of its inhabitants, its fleets and the convenience of its ports; and he was thoroughly persuaded, that it would be very difficult  
for

<sup>a</sup> See Chron. Will. de Nangis.



for the Latins to preserve the holy places, if ever there should be a warlike caliph or sultan at the head of a kingdom so powerful and so near to Palestine, and that sooner or later the Holy Land would again become a province of Egypt, as it had been before the conquest of Godfrey of Bouillon. Full of these reflections, and possessed with a notion of the little courage he had seen in that nation, he concluded, that he could not establish his own government and that of his successors better than by making himself master of that potent kingdom: and as a thirst after riches was always his domineering passion, he had already in his own mind seized the caliph and sultan's treasures; and he flattered himself, that though he should not be able to make an entire conquest of that state, yet he should at least carry off part of its riches, by plundering the towns, and raising contributions as far as the most distant provinces.

BUT as his forces, with regard to so great an enterprize, were in no respect answerable to his ambitious views; as he wanted troops and money to raise them, and was even destitute of a fleet to block up the ports of Egypt; he addressed himself to Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, proposed a league, and invited him to join in the conquest, and divide the kingdom between them. William of Tyre<sup>a</sup>, author of the history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, was charged with this negociation. He was born in the country, but his ancestors are said to have been natives of France. He was archdeacon of Tyre, and Amaury afterwards made him preceptor to young Baldwin his son. From this employ he rose to the dignity of chancellor, and about A. D. 1174, was chosen archbishop of Tyre. He was only archdeacon of that church when he was sent ambassador to Constantinople. The Greek emperor seemed no way averse to the proposal made him by the ambassador, and after some conferences a treaty was signed. 'Twas in  
pursuance

<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 4.



purfuance of this treaty, that Contostephanus put to sea with the troops stipulated for.

AMAURY, assured of a fleet, thought only of increasing his army by land: he communicated his design to the grand master of the hospitallers, who, by his character, and complaisance had a great share in

the confidence of that prince. The grand GILBERT master's name was Gilbert d'Assalit, or D'ASSALIT. De Saily; he had lately succeeded to Arnaud de Comps. The king represented to him, that having Barbarians for their neighbours, a people inured to robberies, and whose faith was never to be depended on, nothing but pure force, and such a superiority as might be acquired by conquests, could serve for a barrier against their inroads, and secure the frontiers of the kingdom from their enterprizes: that therefore he was resolved to invade Egypt, and make himself master of some considerable place there, which might hinder them from ever penetrating into Palestine. The grand master, either out of complaisance, or pushed on by his courage, entered warmly into all the king's designs. He was in truth a man of great valour, bold and enterprising, but of an extravagant genius, and very capable of being imposed on by hopes that often had no foundation. He applauded the king for the boldness of a project, which, he said, was suitable to the greatness of his courage; and expressed his great sense of the honour the prince did him, in allowing him to act a part in it. But though the grand master was at the head of a strong body of warriors, his authority was under the restraint of a council, which, in all their undertakings, were determined by the fixed plan of their rule and statutes; and whatever impatience the grand master had to enter upon action, he began to fear the hospitallers would scruple engaging in an expedition which had no direct tendency to the defence of the holy places, and the security of pilgrims and the Christian world.

THE king and the grand master had several conferences upon this subject. The grand master represented

sented to the king, that to engage the whole order in an enterprize of such considerable expence, he must interest the council in it by the hopes of a solid recompence, and such as would make ample amends for all the sums they should advance; and accordingly they agreed, that if the Christian army could take the city of Belbeis, formerly called Pelusium, the king should grant it in property to the order. The grand master communicated this proposal to the council of the order; he laid before them the importance of the place, and all the advantage the order might draw from such a conquest, especially in case the Turcomans, who every day became more and more formidable, should make themselves masters of Palestine: for then, he said, the order might transfer its residence to that place, from whence it would not be difficult, in some more favourable juncture, to enter again into the Holy Land, and drive the barbarians out in their turn.

THE senior hospitallers, men who to a nicety of honour joined a scrupulous observance of their rule, urged that they were a religious order, and that the church had not put arms into their hands to make conquests: that they had no right to use them at all, but for the defence of the Holy Land: besides, that they could not invade a nation, though an infidel one, which relied upon the faith of a treaty of peace just signed before.

BUT others, some of them friends to the grand master, and some gained over by the king himself, declared for war. They maintained, that what treaties soever had been made formerly, either with the Turcomans or Sarazens, those infidels had always broken them, when they had any prospect of being able to surprize the Christians; that they had not observed the last treaty more faithfully than the former, and that positive advice had been brought, that their garrisons were continually making inroads upon the frontier, and particularly that one of their parties had lately carried off some peasants of the country who trusted to the faith of the last treaty. Whether this complaint

was

was really true, or only a pretence, it was carried by a plurality of voices in the council for war, and resolved, that in case the king made an attempt to conquer Egypt, the grand master should follow him in that expedition, at the head of all the troops he could levy: And to raise the necessary supplies for this armament, they gave him a full power to borrow money of the banks of Florence and Genoa.

NICETAS, in the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, says, that his imperial majesty, to contribute his share towards it, made considerable remittances to the grand master by Theodorus Maurozumus; and it was probably to get a sum of money from the king of France that he likeways wrote to that prince.

ASSALIT, with this money, levied a great body of troops which he listed into the pay of the order; and as his fancy was entirely taken up with flattering hopes of conquests, by his indiscreet liberalities, he drew a great number of volunteers into his service, who, like him, shared already in imagination all the riches of Egypt. The king was mightily pleased with the zeal he shewed for the success of his enterprize. That

1168. prince flattered himself with the thoughts of having a succour every way as considerable from the templars; but they flatly refused being concerned in the affair, either because they would not appear in the field with forces inferior to those of the hospitallers; or, as they gave out themselves, because they looked upon the war as unjust, it being begun without any previous declaration by an herald: A sure maxim indeed, but little minded by princes, who have more regard to their own interest, than to the sacredness of an oath<sup>a</sup>.

AMAURY,

<sup>a</sup> Fratres autem militiæ templi eidem se subducentes factis, aut quia eis contra conscientiam suam videbatur, aut quia magister æmulæ domus, hujus rei auctor et princeps videbatur, vires penitus ministrare, aut regem sequi negaverunt; durum enim videbatur eis, amico regno et de nostro fide præsumenti, contra tenorem pactorum, et contra juris religionem, immeritis et fidem servantibus bellum indicere. Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 5.

AMAURY, attended by the grand master, took the field at the head of his army, the most numerous that for a long time had marched out of Palestine. That prince, in less than ten days time, passed the desert that divides Palestine from Egypt, and invested Belbeis, summoning the inhabitants to open their gates to him. This town was seated on the banks of the Nile, on the right side of the river towards Palestine. Mahazan, son to the sultan Sannar, and one of his nephews, who commanded then in the place, sent him word, that they were strangely surprized to see a prince appear under their walls as an enemy, from whom the caliph and sultan had lately received succours of the greatest service to them, and with whom Egypt had but just before made a solemn treaty of peace. Amaury was for laying the cause of his taking arms on some incursions of the Sarazens; but they were disavowed. Mahazin too maintained, that they could not prove that ever any soldier of his father's had, since the last treaty, set foot in the Christian territories; but as force supplies the place of reason with most sovereigns, Amaury thought himself too powerful to give ear to the reasons of the infidels; and upon their refusal, it was visible nothing but arms could decide the fate of the besieged.

THE town was fortified by all the methods which art had at that time invented, but more so by the number of its inhabitants, who had all taken arms for the defence of their country, and, what is still more, against the enemies of their religion. Amaury, fearing the length and uncertainty of a siege, resolved first to try a scalado: He was two days preparing ladders and machines necessary for his enterprize. Scarce had the dawn of the third day appeared, when the town was surrounded by the whole army in battalia; the inhabitants on their side lined the walls, armed with arrows, darts, stones and artificial fireworks. No sooner were the ladders brought near the walls, but a body of Amaury's troops, led by valiant officers, ran to the assault. Never was there the like eagerness seen in action;

action; some endeavoured, by the help of ladders, to climb up to the top of the wall, whilst others sapp'd it at the bottom, and some in places where it was lowest, got upon the shoulders of their comrades, and made of their bodies a sort of stairs to get up to the ramparts: The besieged drove them back with their pikes, with rolling great stones upon them from the top of the wall, with darting their javelins, or throwing artificial fires; and there perished in the beginning of this attack a great number of Christian officers and soldiers, before it could be seen on which side the victory would turn.

AMAURY, to sustain this first body, caused some fresh troops to advance, who bravely mount through the thickest of the fires, javelins and stones, get up to the top of the walls, catch hold of the battlements, and in spite of all opposition from the besieged, leap upon the ramparts, push all before them, and make their way into the town sword in hand. This done, they set open the gates, the Christians crowd in, the soldiers, in the first transports of their fury, put all before them to the sword, without distinction of age, sex or condition. There were some of these furies that spared neither old men, nor women, nor children at the breast; it looked as if the Christians were afraid of being less inhuman than the Sarazens and the Arabians. But the officers, as well as the soldiers, perceiving that their cruelty was prejudicial to their avarice, gave quarter to the principal inhabitants, in hopes of drawing money from them for their ransom; and such as could not pay it were treated as slaves and prisoners of war.

THE king of Jerusalem being master of the place, delivered up the possession of it, according to 1168. his agreement, to the grand master; and the whole army, after some days rest, marched towards Grand Cairo, a considerable city, seated near old Babylon, and upon the destruction of that place made the capital of Egypt. There is no describing the surprize and consternation of the sultan, when he received advice of the loss of Belbeis, and the taking  
of



of his son and nephew, and that he himself was going to have all the Christian forces upon his heels. As he could not much depend upon the raw troops of the Egyptians, in spite of his breach of faith to Noradin, he saw himself reduced to the necessity of having recourse to that prince; and the imminent danger he was in made him insensible of shame in imploring the assistance of an ally whom he had deceived: at the same time he sends for several regiments from the most remote provinces; and to gain time for both to advance to his succour, he dispatched ambassadors to the king of Jerusalem, to endeavour by a negotiation to retard the progress of his arms.

THE ambassadors arriving at the royal camp, complained of the infraction of the treaty of peace; but as the injustice was but too visible, they did not insist much on a grievance which would only serve to incense Amaury whom they had a mind to pacify; but to prevail with him to withdraw his forces out of Egypt, they made him such dazzling proposals, that his majesty, with whom peace and war were equally venal, had not the power to resist them. They offered him two millions of gold for a peace, and for the ransom of the sultan's son and nephew; an immense sum in those days, and such as could hardly be raised in all Egypt. Amaury, more affected with these offers of ready money than with the uncertain hopes of conquering the kingdom, accepted the conditions. The treaty was signed; in consequence of which, and for setting the sultan's son and nephew at liberty, they paid him an hundred thousand pieces of gold in part of the two millions, demanding some time to raise the rest; and insisting upon a cessation of arms between the two nations during the time that they were collecting the money in the provinces; as also, that the Christians, to avoid alarming the country, should stay in the place where they were, or at least advance on but slowly. The king of Jerusalem, always beset by his wretched passion, without considering that moments in war are more



precious than gold and silver, complied with every thing; and the sultan, to amuse him, sent him refreshments continually. He took care at the same time to dispatch express after express to the prince, to excuse, under various pretences, the delay of paying the money agreed on. In vain did Amaury's chief officers labour to make him suspect this delay. That prince, blinded by the hopes of receiving so vast a sum, carefully avoided giving the Sarazens the least pretence in nature to break the treaty: but it was not long before he saw that he was imposed on: he heard, with equal surprize and concern, that several bodies of troops were advancing out of the provinces, and that a formidable army of the Syrian Turcomans were on their march to succour the Egyptians, and were taking their measures to join them.

NORADIN, who resolved not to be the Egyptians bubble a second time, had poured in his best troops on that side, and put his general in a condition to force Sannar to keep his word. Notwithstanding the several motions that Amaury made, Siracon, who commanded Noradin's army, and knew the country well, avoided meeting him. Amaury had advanced to fight him separately; but that infidel general joined the troops of the sultan. To compleat the misfortune, the fleet which the emperor of Constantinople had sent to the assistance of the Christians, was part of it lost, and the rest dispersed by a storm. Amaury deprived of this succour, and finding his army considerably weakened by sickness, desertion, and other accidents usual in war, saw himself no longer in a condition of making head against the united forces of the infidels; so that all his business was to get back into Palestine; and as there was no prospect of leaving the garrison of Belbeis in an enemy's country, without any hopes of succour, against so formidable a power, the great master found himself obliged to recall the hospitallers that he had put into the place.

AMAURY took them up in his way; and though he was pursued smartly by some detachments of Siracon's army,

army, he made a shift to get back into Palestine. At last, after a tedious march, he arrived at Jerusalem, full of confusion for having broken a solemn treaty to no purpose, and been engaged in an unjust and ill concerted enterprize.

THE grand master was yet more uneasy at this ill success. The courtiers, according to custom, in order to justify the young prince, threw all the blame of this unfortunate expedition upon him. His brother companions of the order were no less exasperated against him; and they made loud complaints, that he had run the order in debt above 200,000 ducats, an immense sum in those days, merely to gratify his vanity, and be attended by a great number of volunteers. In short, not able any longer to bear the contempt of some, and the reproaches of others, he resolved to leave Palestine.

He made a resignation of his dignity in a full chapter, and they chose in his stead *GASTUS.*  
an old knight, called brother Castus or 1169.

Gastus, of whose country we have no account. Were it not for the distance of time, one might perhaps take him for the same Gastus, who, during the first crusade, entered with the count of Flanders, at the head of five hundred men into the town of Rama; but in all probability this great master was only some relation of that gentleman's.

GILBERT d'Assalit, upon his abdication, quitted Jerusalem and Palestine, resolving to go into some corner of Europe, there to bury his grief and shame. He embarked at Jaffa, and landed on the coast of Provence: he passed through France, to go into Normandy to Henry II. duke of that great province and king of England. He waited upon that prince at Rouen, and notwithstanding his misfortune, was well received by him; as Roger Hoveden, a cotemporary historian, relates. From thence he took shipping at Diëppe for England, which makes it probable that he was a native of that country; the ship, as the historian says, was old and not fit to bear the sea. Assalit impatient to be in

England, caused only some slight repairs to be made, and went on board it; but he was hardly got out of the port, when the vessel foundered. The great master perished on this occasion, with all the passengers, except eight persons, who seized in good time on the boat.

SANNAR, though victorious, was not so easily rid of Siracon Noradin's general, as of the Christians his declared enemies: an ally so powerful gave him great uneasiness. These two generals watched one another narrowly, and had each of them their private designs. The Egyptian, after congratulating Siracon on his victory, sent him magnificent presents; and representing to him the scarcity of provisions, pressed him to return home. But Siracon, on various pretences, deferred his departure from day to day; in fine, having wheedled Sannar into his camp, he had him assassinated, and entering into Cairo at the head of his troops, made himself master of the kingdom, and was declared sultan by the caliph himself, who was but a mere phantom of a sovereign, and whose fate depended always on the strongest of his subjects.

NORADIN's general did not long enjoy the fruits of his villany; he fell sick and died at the end of two months, and left the command of Noradin's troops to his nephew Salahebdin or Saladine before mentioned, whom the caliph of Egypt, because he could not avoid it, declared first emir or sultan of the whole kingdom.

SALADINE dispatched immediately an officer, one of his friends, to Damascus, to give Noradin his master advice of the death of Siracon his uncle, and to receive his orders. Some of Noradin's ministers, mistrusting the ambitious temper of the young general, advised that prince not to confirm the authority of Saladine, who was not born his subject, but to send him immediately a successor. But Noradin, being apprehensive that the taking away his command would put him upon thoughts of revolting, and having a design to go in person into Egypt, when all was quiet in that kingdom, confirmed Saladine in his post, only ordering

ing him to cause the name of Adhad as caliph to be left out of the publick prayers, and that of Mostadhi, the thirty third caliph of the race of Abbassides, who resided at Bagdat, to be substituted in his stead. He commanded him at the same time to turn out the priests and cadis or magistrates that professed themselves of the sect of Aly, of which Adhad, as caliph, was the head and sovereign pontiff. That caliph survived this great change but a short time. It is said, that his death was not natural, and that Noradin, zealous and a bigot to his religion, in order to extinguish the schism in the blood of that unfortunate prince, sent private orders to Saladine to make him away. - But whether any such orders came from Damascus, or Adhad's life gave continual uneasiness to the ambitious Saladine, 'tis certain that he caused him to be strangled in the bath.

HE was the last of the Fatimite caliphs, who became extinct in Egypt in the year of our Lord 1171, and of the Hegira 567; and all the authority in the government, both spiritual and civil, devolved upon Saladine, who, to make himself the more respected, received the investiture of it from the Abbasidian caliph residing at Bagdat.

SALAHEDDEN-Josef-ben Ajoub-ben Schadi was a soldier of fortune, a Curde by nation, who engaged with his uncle Siracon in the service of Nouredin-Zenghi, prince of Aleppo and Damascus, whom we have been speaking of by the name of Noradin. The caliph Adhad was no sooner dead, than Saladine seized his treasures, with which we may say he purchased the empire, by distributing them into his army. He gave every thing away. Never did any commander gain the affection of his soldiers by such prodigious liberalities. He was severe in punishing, generous in rewarding, good natured, humane, perfectly equitable with regard to his subjects, and at the same time, by the principles of his religion, a bloody enemy to the hospitallers and templars; he was moreover a soldier, a general, and a great commander, and by his conquests founded a

vast empire, the history whereof is written by the famous Abbe Renaudor, the most learned man of his age in the oriental languages.

YOUNG Saladine, being as able a politician as he was a great commander, paid, as long as Noradin lived, an entire deference to his orders; he observed too for some time after his death the same conduct with regard to Almalech-al-Salchismael Noradin's son, whose name he caused to be mentioned in the mosques and publick prayers after that of the caliph, as was the custom with regard to sovereigns. He afterwards married that prince's mother; but when he had established his authority upon a substantial footing, he took off the mask, made war upon the son of his master, and took Allepo from him. Damascus, the better part of Syria, Persia, and Mesopotamia fell under the power of his arms\*.

THERE was nothing to separate these vast provinces whereof this new empire was composed, and to hinder their communication with each other, but only Judea or Palestine; for which reason he bent his arms to conquer this little state. There were every day new enterprizes and incursions made by the infidels. The Christians knew not which way to turn themselves, nor what part to succour first. Saladine with an army of 40,000 men attacked the castle of Daron, situated in Idumæa, four miles from Gaza: but meeting with too brave a resistance, he drew off and invested Gaza itself, which is the key of the kingdom of Palestine, on that side next Egypt and the sea. He thought to find that place, which was entrusted to the guard of the templars, destitute of a garrison, from a notion that those knights were drawn out to reinforce the army: but he was convinced upon the first approach,

\* Salahabdinus occupator Ægypti uxorem Noradini sibi matrimonio copulans, cum ipsa regni regimen, fugatis hæredibus, occupavit; deinde terra Roasæ et Gesiræ occupata, circumjacentia regna usque ad intima citerioris Indiæ, nunc dolis, nunc armis expugnans, de sceptris pluribus monarchiam efficit, Babylonix et Damasci sibi vendicans principatum: hæc fortunæ ludentis potentia. Chron. 9. de Nangis, ad ann. 1174.



proach, and by the first sally that was made, that all the templars were not at the army. He raised the siege immediately, and by way of revenge for his ill success, his troops put all to fire and sword in the country, whilst his lieutenants on the other hand ravaged at the same time the principality of Antioch and Phœnicia.

THE hospitallers and templars were continually on horseback ; and though these noble warriors made head with invincible courage against all the efforts of the enemy, the king began to be sensible of the fault he had committed, in occasioning the sultan to call in an enemy equally powerful and ambitious to his succour ; and he saw plainly, that there was no resisting him without a new crusade, and an army of the princes of the west. He employed William bishop of Acre in this negotiation, appointing him chief of the ambassade : but as this succour was remote, and even uncertain, he resolved to apply himself to the emperor of Constantinople, and went in person to that capital, to obtain of Manuel, whose niece he had married, some troops, or at least money necessary to make new levies.

That prince, before he embarked, left the government of his territories to the two grand masters : the hospitaller was called brother Joubert, a person, who, by his wife  
JOUBERT,  
1169.
conduct in the affairs of the principality of Antioch, well deserved to be promoted to that supreme dignity. He succeeded Gastus. The choice the king had made, so much to the honour of the two military orders, was a new motive to redouble their application and zeal. The two grand masters were obliged, in a manner, to make head on all sides ; and to embarrass them the more, besides the formidable enemy they had in Saladine, there rose up another of the house of Armenia, sprung out of the very bosom of the templars, who putting himself under the protection of the infidels, adopted at the same time all their hatred against the Latin Christians.



THE lesser Armenia, a province bordering upon Syria, had its own princes, that were Christians by religion, but most of them schismatics, as well as their subjects, and that from the Greek church as well as the Latin.<sup>a</sup> They mix no water with the wine in the holy sacrifice, as the Greeks and Larins do, though they use leavened bread agreeably to the practice of the Greeks.<sup>b</sup> They make but one holy day of Christmas and the epiphany; 'tis said too, that they chuse butter instead of balm in making the holy chrism. They allow but one nature in Jesus Christ, and add these words, "Who was crucified for us" to the trisagion, an addition introduced by Peter Foulon, an intruder into the patriarchal see of Antioch, but rejected by the Catholick church. These schismatics have a patriarch, whom they stile by way of eminence the Catholick, and who resides at Cis, the capital of the lesser Armenia. The princes of this little state depended originally on the emperors of Constantinople; but in the frequent revolutions of that empire, they never acknowledged its authority, but when they were forced to it; and by the help of some castles, seated on inaccessible mountains, they maintained their ground as well against the incursions of the Turcomans as the enterprizes of the Greeks.

THODOS or Theodore was then reigning in that country. This prince, though a schismatick, had yet, to support himself against the Greeks, made a particular alliance with the Latins of the east. He allowed the hospitallers and templars to have churches in his territories, and Melier or Milon, his brother, had even renounced the schism, and made himself a templar. Prince Theodore, to engage the Latins more closely in his interests, had married one of his sisters to a Latin nobleman; and there being issued of that marriage a young prince, named Thomas, he had afterwards declared him to be his heir and successor.

UPON

<sup>a</sup> Bcfo. l. 8. p. 277. <sup>b</sup> Epist. Greg. Papæ sept.

UPON the death of that prince, Thomas his nephew was for taking possession of his territories.\* But as he was no abettor of the schism, the Armenians shewed a great deal of dislike to his government, and Melier the templar, taking advantage of this aversion of the people, quitted his order, took up arms in concert with Saladinè, obtained a considerable succour of troops from him, drove his nephew out of Armenia, and made himself master of it. He afterwards invaded the principality of Antioch, and advanced even to the frontiers of the kingdom of Jerusalem. His troops, by his orders, destroyed all before them with fire and sword, and left dismal marks of their fury in all places wherever they passed<sup>b</sup>. 'Tis impossible to describe all the barbarities which that apostate templar exercised upon the Latin Christians, and especially upon the knights hospitallers and templars his brethren. Such as fell into his hands, he caused to be murdered in cold blood, or else delivered them up to the infidels, as pledges and proofs of his fidelity, by which means these soldiers of Jesus Christ were put to death with the most dreadful torments.

THE grand master Joubert would gladly have gone in person to repress the inroads of the renegado, and take ample vengeance of him for so many cruelties. But as he had still the care of the regency upon his hands, and could not leave the frontiers of Egypt, without abandoning them for a prey to the incursions of Saladinè's troops, he ordered a knight of his order, who was also a great preceptor or great commander in it, and had the guard of the frontiers on the side of Syria, to draw together the hospitallers and soldiers under his command, and to advance against the apostate Melier, and give him battle.

BOHEMUND III. of that name, reigned at this time in the principality of Antioch. He was the son of Raimond, brother to William the last count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, which Raimond, as we have observed, had by means of the hospitaller  
Joubert,

\* Will. Tyr. l. 20. 28. <sup>b</sup> Idem *ibid*,

Joubert, married the princess Constance, heiress of the principality of Antioch, and only daughter of Bohemund II. and the issue of this marriage was Bohemund III. This young prince and the templars joined with the hospitallers against the renegado Melier: and Amaury, king of Jerusalem, at his return from Constantinople, where he had received more honours and fine promises than effectual supplies, prepared to march at the head of his troops to take on him the command of the army: but advice came, that Melier, not thinking himself strong enough to keep the field, had retired to the defiles of the mountains, and intrenched himself in places where it was not easy to force him.

THE Turcomans on their side, to make a diversion in favour of the Armenian, had invested 1172. Arach or Krach, a place in the frontier of Arabia Petraea\*. Upon the first news they had of the siege of Jerusalem, Thoron, constable of the kingdom, drew out the hospitallers and templars that were left in Jerusalem, and advanced with great expedition to relieve it. At the approach of the Christian army, the infidels raised the siege, and retired into their own country.

As faults are personal, and there was a villain and traitor even in the college of the apostles, Melier's apostacy did no injury to the reputation of the templars; but a barbarous action, committed not long after by a brother of that order upon an envoy of the prince of the assassins, and connived at by the grand master, began to lessen and sink the esteem and affection which till then was paid to the whole order in general.

THERE had been settled for several ages in the mountains of Phœnicia, between Tortosa or Antardus, as it was then called, and the town of Tripoli, a sort of banditti, who seemed to be Mahometans, but in reality had scarce borrowed any thing from that sect but their hatred of the Christian name. They were Barbarians, without any law, faith, or even religion, but  
blindly

\* Will. Tyr. *ibid.*

blindly devoted to the will of their chief, by whose orders the most shocking villanies were consecrated into heroick virtues. They chose this commander by a majority of votes. He took on him no title but that of OLD, or Senior, a term from whence in those times was derived that of Seignior, which, in bastard Latin, signifies the same thing; and he was called the Seignior of the mountain, on account of the mountainous country which these banditti inhabited.

BUT under a style and title so modest in appearance, this chief of the assassins enjoyed an authority more absolute than that of the greatest kings, and his power was the more firm and substantial, in that it was founded on a principle of religion; and because this brutish and ignorant people were bred up in the belief, that if they died in executing the orders of their chief, they should go immediately to a delicious paradise, and be placed in the first seats there.\* The seignior of the mountain made use of these wretches to dispatch his particular enemies. They went to stab even princes and sovereigns in their very palaces, and in the midst of their guards. 'Twas a sort of school or academy of assassins, and these barbarians were not deterred by fear of the most dreadful torments from executing their bloody commissions.

To avoid suspicion, they generally carried no arms but a poniard, called in the Persian tongue *Hassifin*: this name was given them upon that occasion, and from thence we have formed the word *Assassin*. This little state consisted only in some castles, built on the ridge of the mountains, or upon inaccessible rocks; but there were in the bottoms between these mountains, and in the vales, a great number of villages, peopled with above sixty thousand inhabitants, all of a cruel and savage disposition, murderers by principle, and so resolutely desperate, that most of the neighbouring

\*Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 19. l. 20. c. 21. Matt. Paris A. D. 1150. Will. Neubri. l. 4. c. 24. id. l. 5. c. 16. Jac. de Vitri l. 1. c. 13. et 14. Id. l. 3. p. 1126. See Du Cang's observations on the hist. of St. Louis, p. 87. edit. 1668.

ing princes, though far exceeding them in power, yet durst not make war upon them. 'Tis related of a sultan of Damascus, that having sent an envoy to a seignior of the mountain, named Hacen, to threaten him with the ruin of his little territory, if he would not pay him tribute, this chief of the assassins, without making any reply, ordered, in the envoy's presence, one of his subjects to throw himself headlong from the top of a tower, and another to stab himself to the heart; they did so on the spot. Hacen thereupon turning towards the ambassador, who was not a little frightened at so odd a spectacle, Tell your master, says he, that I have sixty thousand men as much devoted to my orders as these two; and from that time the seignior of the mountain never heard more of the sultan's pretensions. Other historians say, that it was a count of Compagne, who going from Tyre to Antioch, with a pass from the seignior of the mountain, and traveling through his little state, was witness of this horrid sight. But be that as it will, most of the Christian and Mahometan sovereigns thought fit, for their own security against the fury of these assassins, to send great presents to their chiefs.

THE templars, who were in possession of the places adjoining to this little state, were the only persons who durst venture to make war upon these assassins, and attempt to rid the earth of such monsters. But as these Barbarians, who had it in their power to revenge themselves on the grand master, were sensible that the order, being governed in the manner of a commonwealth, was not to be extinguished by the death of their chief, whose place would immediately be filled with a successor, every whit as eager to make war upon them, they submitted at last to purchase a peace with the tribute of two thousand crowns of gold yearly, payable to the order.

THE seignior who commanded at that time in these mountains, either out of a religious motive, or to be eased of this tribute, sent an ambassador to the king of Jerusalem, to assure him, that he was ready to be  
baptized



baptized with all his subjects, if the templars would discharge him of the tribute. Amaury was highly pleased with the proposal, promised that the tribute should be remitted, for which he engaged to make the templars amends, loaded the envoy with presents, and at his return sent him away, says William of Tyre, attended by one of his guards, who had orders to conduct him to the frontiers of the state. They were already past Tripoli, and ready to enter into the streights of the mountains, when a templar, named Du Mesnil, hurried on by the animosity that had so long reigned between the Christians and the assassins, without any regard either to the publick faith, or the officer the king had sent to protect him, ran his sword through the envoy's body, and killed him on the spot.

'Tis impossible to express the king's wrath and indignation, when he heard of this intolerable violation of the law of nations, especially since it affected a chief of banditti, who would not want assassins to make reprisals. He sent immediately to Odo de St. Amand, then grand master of the order, to demand the criminal of him; but Odo refused him, under pretence that his knights were not subject to the jurisdiction of the king's officers: 'twas not that he demurred upon the crime the templar had committed, for he himself had caused him to be arrested, and had put him in iorns; but as the question related to the judges, before whom the crime was properly cognisable, and he pretended that the templars held only under the pope, he declared that he would send the criminal to Rome in irons, and 'till judgment was given in his case, he forbid all persons whatsoever to meddle with him, under pain of excommunication, agreeably to the privileges of the order.

THE king, without troubling himself about these declarations, caused the criminal to be carried off, and confined him in his own prison at Tyre; and that prince, to satisfy his own justice, and the resentment of the seignior of the mountain, would have made an exemplary punishment of him, if his death, which happened at that juncture, had not saved the prisoner's life.



AMAURY left three children by two marriages, two daughters and a son. The eldest of the daughters, named Sybille, was at that time widow of William Longuepee, marquis of Montferrat. The younger, named Isabel, the offspring of his second marriage with Mary, a Greek princess and niece to the emperor Manuel, was married afterwards at eight years of age to Humfrey de Thoron, grandson to the constable of Jerusalem. The eldest of all these children, and Amaury's successor, was Baldwin IV. who was born of his first marriage with Agnes daughter of Josceline de Courtenay, the second of the name, and prince of Edeffa.

BALDWIN was born with great infirmities, and was dying in a manner all his reign. The regency of his dominions was committed to Raimond III. count of Tripoli, surnamed the Young, his next relation, son to Raimond II. and Hodierna, daughter of Buldwin II. king of Jerusalem, and widow of the famous Tancred, who signalized himself under Godfrey de Bouillon. Raimond III was descended by the male line from the first count of Thoulouse, who acquired so much glory in the first crusade.

DURING Baldwin's minority, the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem lessened in proportion as the power of Saladine increased. This prince, after making himself master of the greatest part of Noradin's dominions, had lately, in concert with his widow whom he had married, taken Damascus. The count of Tripoli, alarmed at the power of so formidable a neighbour, drew down all the forces of the kingdom on that side, and taking advantage of Saladine's absence, who was returned into Egypt, besieged Harem, a castle in the neighbourhood and territory of Aleppo. The prince of Antioch and the count of Nevers, whom devotion had brought to the Holy Land<sup>a</sup>, were present at the siege, with different bodies of troops under  
their

<sup>a</sup> Assumptis ergo suis, et domino comite Tripolitano, magistroque domûs hospitalis, et multis ex fratribus militiæ templi, ad partes contendit Tripolitanas. Will. Tyr. l. 2. c. 18.

their command ; to whom were joined, as William of Tyre relates, the grand master of the hospitallers, with his knights and many of the templars. The siege was long, and ended at last in a private treaty between the count of Tripoli and the Turks, 1174. by whom he was bribed to draw off his forces ; and this infamous correspondence of a Christian prince with the infidels, had afterwards consequences very fatal to the Latin Christians.

DURING this siege, Saladine fell into Palestine on the side of Egypt with a mighty army. King Baldwin being then of age, and in the favourable intervals which his infirmities allowed him, mounted on horseback to oppose that conqueror. He met him near Ascalon ; they came to an engagement ; and, though the forces of the two parties were very unequal, Saladine having at least twenty six thousand horse, and the Christian army hardly amounting to four hundred horse and three thousand foot, yet this handful of troops falling on the enemy's camp in the night, put the infidels into a terrible consternation ; most of them ran away, and Saladine himself, intrepid as he was, to make the greater haste, mounted a dromedary half naked, and fled into his own territories.

THE year following, Baldwin, to put a stop to the incursions of the Arabians, attempted to fortify a castle upon Saladine's lands, beyond the river Jordan, in a place called Jacob's ford<sup>a</sup>. This was the occasion of a new battle that did not prove so fortunate to the Christians as the former. For Saladine having drawn them into an ambush, which he had laid in some hollow and rocky grounds, they were surprized and attacked on all sides<sup>b</sup>. The Christian army not being able either to march forwards or make a retreat, disbanded at once ; none but the hospitallers and templars stood

M 2

their

<sup>a</sup> Eodem anno Christiani firmaverunt castellum fortissimum in terra Saladini ad vadum Jacobi ultra fluvium Jordanis ; sed Saladinus illud per vim cepit, in cujus captione summus magister hospitalis captus fuit, et in terram Saladini ductus, fame periit. Reg. Hoveden, in Henr. II. p. 555.

<sup>b</sup> Roger Hoveden. parte poster. in Henr. II. p. 566.

their ground: the greatest part of them were cut in pieces: Joubert, grand master of the hospitallers, tho' wounded in several places, had yet strength enough left to swim over Jordan, and got safe to the castle of Beaufort; but Odo de St. Amand, grand master of the templars, being overborn by the number of the enemy, was taken prisoner by the infidels.\* Robert Dumont, a contemporary historian, says, that Saladine offered him his liberty in exchange for one of his nephews, who was a prisoner of the order; but the noble grand master answered him bravely<sup>b</sup>, that he would never, by his example, encourage any of his knights to be mean enough to surrender themselves prisoners, in hopes of being ransomed; that a templar ought either to vanquish or die<sup>c</sup>, and had nothing to give for his ransom but his girdle and his knife. We have no account how he escaped out of the hands of these barbarians; but it will appear in the course of this history that he came back to Jerusalem.

THERE is no describing the consternation that the Latin Christians were in after this defeat; the victorious enemy over-run the kingdom, putting every thing to fire and sword; the Christian army was broke and dispersed; the king relapsed into his usual infirmity, which turned to a leprosy, and of the two grand masters, one was a prisoner in the enemy's hands, and the other disabled from action by reason of his wounds.

THE kingdom being reduced to this extremity, and in no condition to carry on a war, they were under a necessity of having recourse to a negotiation, the only shift and resource of the weaker side. They applied to Saladine for a truce, which they purchased of him with their money, and which he would not have agreed to at any rate, if a famine had not at that time made a terrible havock in his own provinces.

IN

\* Robert de Monte append. ad Sig. Gembl. p. 666.

<sup>b</sup> Pistorius l. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Dicens non esse consuetudinis militum templi ut aliqua redemptio daretur pro iis præter cingulum et cultellum. Id. *ibid.*

IN the foregoing year pope Alexander III. had issued out a bull for calling a general council at Rome, which is the third of Lateran. He summoned thither the Latin prelates of the east, in order to concert measures with them for the defence of the Holy Land. There came on this occasion to Rome, the archbishops of Tyre and Cesarea, Albert bishop of Bethlehem, Raoul of Sebaste, Joffe of Acre, and Romanus of Tripoli, with the prior of the holy sepulchre, deputed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and an abbot of mount Sion. These prelates represented, that the preservation of what the Christians had left in the Holy Land, depended intirely on the taking of Damiat, which would serve for a barrier to Palestine, and for an entrance into Egypt, in case it should be thought proper to make a greater progress there: which, by the way, shews, that the above mentioned project of king Amaury III. and the grand master d'Assalit, must needs have been of vast advantage, if in the course of the war, the king of Jerusalem had not, out of a fordid passion, been more solicitous to heap up treasure, than to secure the Holy Land, by such important conquests, from the incursions of the Egyptians.

As we don't mention the council of Lateran, but with regard to the interests of the Holy Land and the conduct of the hospitallers, we shall only take notice what passed there on that occasion. Some bishops of Palestine revived in this council the complaints which Foucher, patriarch of Jerusalem, had made formerly to pope Adrain IV. against the privileges of the hospitallers and templars.<sup>a</sup> “ We find, says the holy council, by the warm complaints of the bishops, our colleagues, that the templars and hospitallers abuse the privileges granted by the holy see; that whereas some parochial churches had formerly been usurped by laymen, their chaplains and the priests of their rule,

M 3

have

<sup>a</sup> Fratrum autem et coepiscoporum nostrorum vehementi con-  
 quessione comperimus, quod fratres templi et hospitalis, alique  
 professionis religiose, indulta sibi ab apostolica sede excedentes  
 privilegia, contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa presumunt, &c.  
 Cap. 9.

“ have caused them to be conveyed over to themselves,  
 “ without the ordinaries consent; that they admini-  
 “ ster the sacraments to excommunicate persons, and  
 “ bury there with all the usual ceremonies of the  
 “ church; that they likewise abuse the permission  
 “ granted their brethren, of having divine service said  
 “ once in churches that are under an interdict, and  
 “ that in these very places, they admit seculars into  
 “ their fraternity, pretending thereby to give them  
 “ the same right to their privileges, as if they were  
 “ indeed professed.” The council adds, that these  
 abuses did not proceed so much from the superiors as  
 from the indiscretion of some private persons. To pro-  
 vide therefore a remedy against these irregularities,  
 they forbid the military orders, and all other commu-  
 nities of regulars, to receive for the future any con-  
 veyances of churches and tythes, without the ordina-  
 ry’s consent, and order them to resign immediately  
 such as they had lately got possession of: that with re-  
 gard to churches not founded by themselves, nor serv-  
 ed by the chaplains of the order, they should present  
 the priests that they designed for the cure of them to  
 the bishop of the diocese, and reserve nothing to them-  
 selves but the cognifance of the temporals, which be-  
 longed to them: that, agreeable to their privileges,  
 they should not cause divine service to be said in  
 churches under an interdict above once a year, nor  
 give burial there to any person whatsoever; and that  
 none of their fraternity or associates should be allow-  
 ed to partake of their privileges, if not actually pro-  
 fessed. Such was the regulation made by the holy  
 council, upon the bishops complaints, which in the  
 main diminished none of the rights and privileges of  
 the military orders.

IN the twenty third chapter of this council, they  
 condemn the stiffness of some ecclesiasticks, who would  
 not allow lepers to have churches to themselves, tho’  
 they were not admitted into the publick congregati-  
 ons. The council orders, that in all places, where  
 lepers live in community, they may have a church, a  
 church-



church-yard, and a priest to themselves: 'tis the first constitution that the church ever made in favours of lepers, whatever some modern historians pretend\*.

The jealousy which the clergy of Palestine retained against the military orders, did not hinder Renaud, lord of Margat, from making in the 1178. precedent year a new grant to the hospitallers, or rather an exchange with them, of that castle which is situated on the confines of Judea, as we learn from the author of the assises of Jerusalem. These knights fortified it, put a garrison therein, and made it afterwards, on that side, one of the strongest bulwarks of Christendom in the east.

THIS acquisition was however by no means a balance to the loss which the order suffered the same year by the death of Joubert the grand master, who had distinguished himself as much by his wisdom and capacity in government as by his military skill. The historians of that time say, that Saladine, not enduring that the hospitallers should fortify a place on the frontier of his dominions, sent one of his generals to besiege it. The siege was long and bloody; the grand master of the hospitallers, who had thrown himself into the place, stood several assaults with great resolution. Most of his knights, animated by his example, and fighting before his eyes, died upon the breach they defended, the grand master, at the same time, shewing no disposition to hearken to a capitulation. In fine, the infidels made such powerful efforts, that they carried the place, sword in hand, cut the knights that were left in pieces, took the grand master prisoner: and their commander, to revenge the obstinate resistance of the grand master,

\* *Ecclesiastici quidam quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi quærentes, leprosis qui cum sanis habitare non possunt, et ad ecclesiam cum aliis convenire, ecclesias et cæmeteria non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare ministerio sacerdotis; quod quia procul a pietate christiana alienum dignoscitur, de benignitate apostolica constituimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communi vita fuerint congregati, quod ecclesiam sibi cum cæmeterio constituere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero sine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. 3. Conc. Lat. cap. 25.*

master, threw him into a dungeon, and left him there to perish with famine. Thus ended the days of that illustrious knight, crowning a life that had been spent in defence of the altars of God, with a death highly precious in his sight. There are other authors who pretend, that he did not fall into the hands of the infidels, but that, seeing the ruinous condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem, he died of grief.

THE chapter meeting after his death, chose Roger Desmoulins to succeed him, a knight who, by his conduct and valour, justified the choice of the companions of the order. His first care after his installation was to exhort the regent and principal nobility of the kingdom to carry on the war against Saladin with vigour: but the jealousy and competition between the grandes for the government of the state during the king's infirmity, the criminal correspondence of some lords with the infidels, and the division that broke out in his time between the two military orders; all this contributed as much to Saladin's conquests, as his own valour and the courage of his soldiers.

WE have observed upon the authority of Brompton, an English historian of the same age, that the order of templars was as it were a branch of that of the hospitaliers of St. John; but this branch, says the same author, growing up to a great tree, seemed to eclipse and smother the stock from whence it was taken. This emulation between the two military orders, their eagerness in grasping at new revenues, wherein they vied with each other, a certain jealousy almost inseparable from the profession of arms, and some disputes about rank and precedence, as well in the field as in councils of state, all concurred to keep up a misunderstanding between them, which at last flamed out to such a degree that they fought and attacked one another as often as they met.

THERE can be no dispute, but that the piety of both the orders began to dwindle considerably through

a conduct so violent in its nature, and so unworthy the religious profession : and if we still find the same valour among these warriors, it must be owned, that it was not so much inspired by Christian charity, as by the human motives of glory and ambition.

As these military friars owned no superior but the pope, the king sent Alexander III. advice of their divisions. That pope, who foresaw how fatal the consequences thereof might be to the Christians of the Holy Land, obliged the knights to be reconciled. A treaty of peace was drawn up by his order ; the two grand masters signed it, as they say in the instrument itself, by the advice and express consent of the two chapters ; and they entered into covenants about several estates which both of them laid claim to, as well as various sums of money which they demanded of each other. We see likeways in the instrument of this treaty, that the pope enjoined them both, in case of any new occasions of dispute, to nominate, each party for themselves, three old knights of the language and priory where the difference should arise, to make an absolute determination of it ; and that if these arbitrators could not agree among themselves, they should refer it to some common friends, to be chosen between them, and which were to serve as additional arbitrators, or else remit the cognisance of it to the holy see. The pope adds in his bull, that whilst they are waiting the final judgment of that tribunal in the case, he exhorts the knights of both orders to be studious in giving mutual proofs of the honour and regard they have for each other, and to join their endeavours, without distinction, for the common good and advantage of the two houses, that, as Alexander says, “ though their institution be  
“ different, yet it may appear, by the bond of charity,  
“ which ought to unite them, that they are but one  
“ and the same military and regular order”.

THE hospitallers and templars conformed in appearance to the pope's intentions ; but to say the truth, the pontiff's authority rather lulled asleep for a time, than put an end to differences, which had their source

source from avarice and ambition; two passions that take deep root in the heart of man, and from which the holiest societies are not exempt.

ANOTHER passion, so much the more dangerous in that it makes its way into the heart by beauty  
1179. and the graces of a fine person, had like to have raised a civil war in the principality of Antioch. Bohemund, the sovereign prince of that state, had married to his first wife a daughter of the house of Iblin: and after her death, a Greek princess, named Theodora. Bohemund, led astray by the charms of a concubine, had abandoned his lawful wife. The patriarch of Antioch, after using canonical admonitions in vain, excommunicated him, and laid a general interdict upon all his dominions: a kind of punishment which involves the innocent with the guilty, and is very often of dangerous consequence. Upon this Bohemund, hurried on by his passion, and incensed at a proceeding that might raise a revolt in the principality, made his officers seize on the temporalities of the patriarch, drove him out of Antioch, and besieged him afterwards in a castle which belonged to him, and whither he was retired with the principal of his clergy. The patriarch of Antioch was looked upon as the first prelate of the east, as well in regard to the foundation of his church which is ascribed to St. Peter, as the extent of his patriarchate, which has within its jurisdiction twelve metropolitans, one hundred and fifty three suffragan bishops, and in the city of Antioch alone above three hundred and sixty churches. As the patriarch was not without a great number of dependants attached to his dignity, nor the prince without secret enemies, and as both the principal nobility of the kingdom and the people were discontented at the government, neither of them were sorry to find so plausible a pretence to shew themselves.

In a moment all the principality was up in arms: the malecontents, under pretence of defending the cause of the church, sought to revenge their private injuries.

ties. Every body was engaged on the one side or the other, according as his passions or interest led him.

THE king of Jerusalem, or rather his council, fearing the infidels should make an advantage of these dissensions, engaged the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the two grand masters, to repair thither with all expedition, and endeavour to quiet the storm. These deputies, passing by Tripoli, brought along with them count Raimond, a particular friend of prince Bohemund. They assembled first at Laodicea, and from thence they went afterwards to Antioch. Being arrived, many conferences were held upon the occasion, and messages sent on both sides; at last they made a sort of provisional treaty, wherein it was agreed, that both sides should lay down their arms; that the patriarch should be immediately restored to the enjoyment of his temporalities, and that the interdict should be taken off, but that the prince should continue excommunicate, if he did not quit his concubine. This restriction served only to inflame his passion for that woman, and to aggravate his hatred against the chief lords of the principality. He banished afterwards, upon several pretences, the great constable and chamberlain and three other lords who had shewn too much attachment to the patriarch; they retired to the court of Rupin, prince of the lesser Armenia, who, by concert with the grandees of the country, had dispatched the renegade Melier, and had succeeded him in that principality.

THE grand master, some time after his return from Antioch, received the mortifying news, that most of the hospitallers of his order, who were 1182. settled at Constantinople, had been massacred in a tumult raised in that imperial city against the Latins. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, with a design to extinguish the schism which he was far from abetting, had brought a considerable number of Latins to Constantinople, and made use of them both in the ministry and in state affairs. The hospitallers had in Constantinople the famous hospital of St. Saviour, lying  
between



between the church of St. Sophia and St. Irene; and they were likewise in possession of the hospital of St. John the almoner.

“ ’Tis probable (says M. du Cange, a modern historian indeed, but highly to be respected for his profound learning) that the church of St. Sanson was given to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem by the emperor Manuel Comnenus, who had such an affection for the Latins, and particularly for the French of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that he incurred thereby the hatred of his own subjects <sup>a</sup> ”.

THIS hatred broke out after his death.<sup>b</sup> The Greeks, exasperated by some differences in religion, and resolved not to submit to the authority of the holy see, set fire to the houses of the Latins, massacred such as fell into their hands, and did not even spare a cardinal, named John, whom the pope, at the emperor's request, had sent to endeavour a re-union of the two churches. The Greek priests and monks were the hottest in promoting this massacre, and to encourage the murderers, gave money among them. These furious people broke into the hospital of St. John above mentioned, and inhumanely murdered the sick and the religious hospitallers who took care of them. It was with difficulty that a small number made their escape, and getting on board a ship, carried the dismal news of this bloody massacre to Palestine.

THEY found the kingdom split into factions, and weakened by domestick divisions that brought  
1178. on its ruin. The king's leprosy not allowing him to marry, or even to hold the reins of government in his own hands, he had given the princess Sybille, his eldest sister, and widow of the marquis of Montferrat, in marriage to Guy de Lusignan, of the house of la Marche, son of Hugh le Brun, whom the mode of devotion that prevailed at that time had brought into Palestine. He was a handsome prince, and

<sup>a</sup> Observations sur l'histoire de Geoff.oy de Villehardouin. N. 104. p. 302.

<sup>b</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 22. c. 12.

and of a good mein, but more a courtier than a soldier, and having found out the way to please the princess, he had no great difficulty, by her interest, to gain the good graces of the king.

BALDWIN, upon this marriage, made his brother in law regent of the kingdom, and reserved nothing to himself but the title of king, and the possession of the city of Jerusalem, with a pension of ten thousand crowns of gold.

THE sovereign power, in which the king had given Lusignan a joint share with himself, raised the jealousy of the grandees, who, being born in Palestine, considered that prince as a foreigner. Raimond, count of Tripoli, fomented this division. This count, the most powerful of all the vassals of the crown, aspired secretly to the succession of Baldwin. As the choice which the king had just made ruined his hopes, he entered thereupon, as it is said, into secret measures with Saladine in order to revive them. The truce which that prince had made with the king of Jerusalem was still subsisting; the business was how to break it, without giving occasion to charge the breach on the Mahometans. Saladine for this purpose gave private orders to one of the governors of his frontiers, to turn flocks of sheep, horses, cows, and other cattle, loose upon the lands of the Christians, and into the fields which were then covered with corn. Renaud de Chatillon, a famous partisan, that was always on horseback, caused all these beasts to be taken and brought to Carach. Renaud de Chatillon, as William of Tyre relates, was but an adventurer and soldier of fortune<sup>a</sup>, but handsome in his person, distinguished by a great many brave actions, and in his youth, notwithstanding the inequality of their conditions, had married privately Constance, princess of Antioch. He was at that time lord of Carach, a strong place situated on an hill. The Latins

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had,

<sup>a</sup> Domina Constantia domini Raimondi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet multos inclitos et nobiles viros ejus matrimonium expetentes, more famineo repulisset, Rainaldum deCastillione quemdam stipendiarium militem sibi occulte in maritum elegit. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 26.

had erected it into an archbishoprick, by the name of Mount-royal; it was formerly called Petra of the desert, because it lies on the edge of Arabia Petræa.

Chatillon, with a pretty large number of templars, had fortified himself there, and went frequently out upon parties. The Mahometans had no enemy that they dreaded so much; he carried off frequently whole caravans of pilgrims as they travelled to Mecca; and when he had them in prison, he ridiculed their devotion. Mahomet himself was not spared in his ralleries: he had likewise formed the design of destroying his tomb, which has such honours paid it at Medina, the Mahometans holding it in as much veneration as Christians do the sepulchre of Jesus Christ; and he would have made himself master of that town and of Mecca, if the governor, who commanded under Saladine in Arabia, had not discovered his design, and taken proper measures to oppose it.

SALADINE, by way of reprisal, imprisoned fifteen hundred Christians, merchants and pilgrims, whose ship had run a-ground near Damiata. He sent afterwards to the king of Jerusalem, to demand restitution of all the cattle that Renaud and the templars had carried off, contrary to the truce; and in case satisfaction was not given, the ambassador had orders to declare war against him, and to protest, in that prince's name, that he would treat the Christians, whom he had ordered to be seized, and their effects, in the same manner as they treated the cattle and their drovers, whom they detained, he said, so unjustly at Carach.

THE king would very willingly have given satisfaction to the sultan<sup>a</sup>, whom he dreaded; but he had so little authority, and the government was so weak, that he could never oblige Renaud and the templars to restore the booty they had taken. Saladine upon this, under pretence of taking reprisals, began to make fresh incursions upon the lands of the Christians; and, as he had foreseen, war ensued. He passes the Jordan, puts every thing that opposes him to the sword, carries

<sup>a</sup> Herold. Cont. Will. Tyr. l. 1.

ries off the women and children, dragging them into an odious slavery; sets fire to the houses, ravages the open country, and abandons himself to all the cruelties that could strike fear and terror into the minds of the people.

THESE ravages made the principal nobility of the kingdom take the field at the head of their vassals, and supported by the two military orders. These several bodies of troops made up a considerable army. The king, whose infirmity grew every day worse and worse, was not in a condition to take the command upon him<sup>a</sup>. He had lost his sight. The malignity of his leprosy had taken away the use of his hands and feet, so that he was obliged to intrust the command of the army with Lusignan his brother-in-law, whom he had made count of Jaffa and Ascalon, titles belonging to the presumptive heir of the crown. The count, either for want of capacity in the art of war, or through the jealousy of the chief commanders, lay still above eight days in sight of an enemy weaker than himself, without attacking him, and even suffered him to go off with his booty and prisoners, and cross the river Jordan before his eyes, without making the least motion, or daring to go out of his intrenchments.

The Latin Christians, who were all soldiers themselves, and loved to have a general for their prince, complained heavily to the king of the cowardice of his brother-in-law; and most of the nobility protested, that they would never march into the field again under his command. The king, to satisfy them, recalled the power he had intrusted him with; and, as princes often set no bounds either to their favours or resentments, he was deprived of the county of Jaffa<sup>b</sup>, as being no way qualified to defend that important place, which was one of the keys of the kingdom. The king at the same time named for his successor young Baldwin his nephew, son of the princess Sybille and the marquis of Montferrat, her first husband, though

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this

<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 22.    <sup>b</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 23.

that prince was hardly five years old. This change occasioned great divisions all over the kingdom. Guy de Lusignan retired to Afcalon, where he fortified himself at first against the party that opposed him. But as this prince was much better qualified to talk big of his resentments, than to maintain them sword in hand, he soon returned to court; and in exchange for a crown and sovereignty, which he had been encouraged to expect, and for which no equivalent can be made, he poorly took up with the county of Jaffa that had been taken from him, and was now restored to him with the title of the king's vassal.

BALDWIN, who was no longer capable of acting by himself, committed the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, not so much out of regard to him, as for fear he should raise new disturbances in the kingdom, in case he was set aside. Raimond, the secret spring and author of all the cabals of the court, refused the regency at first, being well satisfied, that nobody would accept it in his wrong. The king was forced to press and importune him to it; and when at last he consented to take the government upon him, it was with this proviso, that the hospitalers and templars would engage to defend all the places that should be attacked. In the mean time, to secure his authority, he obtained a new truce from Saladine, which that infidel prince granted for a sum of money, to reimburse him the charges of the war.

THE Christians view in demanding this truce was to gain time for obtaining a new crusade, and succours from the princes of the west. The main business was to send a solemn embassy thither, and to put the negotiation into the hands of persons qualified by their capacity to manage it, and by their rank and merit to command respect and deference.

HERACLIUS, patriarch of Jerusalem, offered himself for the employment; he was a man of much vanity and conceit, and bragged that he would not return but at the head of an army, composed



composed of the most potent sovereigns in Europe. The prince he depended most upon was Henry II. king of England, grandson to Fulk, count of Anjou and king of Jerusalem, and consequently cousin-german to Baldwin. What raised the patriarch's confidence the more, was his being informed, that whereas the English prince had received absolution from the pope, on account of the murder of St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of which he was suspected, it was only upon condition, that he should go in person at the head of a powerful succour to the Holy Land. And though that prince had not in express terms commanded him to be assassinated, yet as some imprudent words of his seemed to have occasioned it, he submitted to the penance, and in a council held at Auranches in Normandy, September 27th 1172, he had made a solemn promise, that at the Christmas following he would take the cross upon him for three years, and set out the next summer for Jerusalem, if the pope did not grant him a dispensation for it; and that during the war, or at least for one year, he would, besides his own troops, maintain two hundred templars at his own expence. None of these conditions had been as yet performed, though it was near thirteen years since he engaged for them.

THE patriarch, who was well informed of this matter, used the interest of all his friends that he might be sent into Europe, flattering himself that he should come back with powerful succours for the Holy Land, and loaded with great presents to himself. But the council could hardly be brought to trust such an important negotiation to a prelate, who was naturally of a warm temper, and knew not how to deal with mankind in any other than a haughty manner: yet as it was dangerous to refuse him, (and besides they flattered themselves that his dignity might add some consideration to the embassy,) they accepted his offer, but appointed the two grand masters for his colleagues, who were qualified by their moderation and good breeding, to soften the roughness of the patriarch's

humour; besides, the knights of the two orders were, by reason of their birth and valour, much respected in the west, and in the courts of those princes whose subjects they were born.

THESE ambassadors set sail from Jaffa, and arrived safe at Brundisium. Pope Lucius III. successor to Alexander, and the emperor Frederic I. were then at Verona, where they had come to an interview, in order to settle the peace of Italy, which they had put into a flame by their reciprocal pretensions. Our ambassadors, desirous to improve the opportunity, made haste to Verona, and laid before both of them the formidable power of Saladine, the miserable and weak condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the necessity of a powerful succour, if they had a mind to preserve the Holy Land. The emperor promised them troops, which he never furnished, and the pope gave them only indulgences and letters of recommendation, which cost him nothing <sup>a</sup>.

That pontiff wrote indeed very pressing letters to the king of England, threatening him with the judgments of God, if he did not perform the penance prescribed him; and by other letters, he solicited the king of France very warmly, to signalize his zeal at his coming to the crown, by an enterprize worthy the piety of his ancestors. Our ambassadors, furnished with these letters, were preparing for their journey to the two kingdoms, when they were stopped at Verona by a violent illness, which seized the grand master of the templars, and carried him to his grave <sup>b</sup>. The two ambassadors, after paying him their last offices, set out for France, and arrived at Paris in the month of January, A. D. 1185. Philip II. was then 1185. upon the throne of France, a young prince about twenty years old. The ambassadors, after delivering him the pope's letters, laid before him the

<sup>a</sup> Heraclius patriarcha sanctæ resurrectionis, et Rogerus magister domus hospitalis Jerusalem, tendentes in occidentem, et per Italiam transitum facientes et Galliam, nec a domino papa, nec ab imperatore Romano, nec a rege Francorum aliqua consolatoria receperunt. Radulph. de Diceto Ang. p. 265.

<sup>b</sup> Arnould of Troy.

the extreme danger the Holy Land was in of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels; and in order to obtain his assistance, and engage him to go in person at the head of his troops, they presented him the keys of the city of Jerusalem, of the tower of David, and of the church of the holy sepulchre, as a sort of investiture, or at least as an earnest of that right of protection which he was to acquire by his arms. The king received the patriarch and grand master very honourably, and gave them, as Rigord says<sup>a</sup>, the kiss of peace. He ordered at the same time all the prelates of his kingdom to exhort his subjects to take upon them the cross. He would have done it himself, but the council of the young prince, who had no children as yet, did not think it advisable for him to leave his dominions in a juncture of continual wars, which France was obliged to maintain against the English and Flemings. The king therefore contented himself with assuring the ambassadors, that he would maintain at his own expence<sup>b</sup> all that should assume the cross, and take up arms out of so holy and pious a motive.

THE patriarch and grand master passed next into England, from whence the patriarch, as we have said, expected to obtain the most considerable succours<sup>c</sup>. The ambassadors being arrived, delivered the pope's letter to the king, and represented to him the need the holy places were in of his arms, and particularly of his presence. Henry received them with great demonstrations of respect. It is even said, that he went as far as Reading to meet them<sup>d</sup>. But as he was advanced in years, and besides had three sons full of fire, of a restless and ambitious disposition,

<sup>a</sup> In osculo pacis honorifice recepit, diligentissime præpositis terræ suæ, sive dispensatoribus præcipiens quod ubicumque per terram irent, de redditibus regis sufficientes expensas illis ministrarent. Rigord. p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> De consilio principum strenuos milites cum magna multitudine peditum armatorum de propriis redditibus sumptus sufficientes, prout fama referente didicimus, ministrans, devotè Jerusalem transmissit. Ib. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 12. p. 425.

<sup>d</sup> Roger. Hoveden, in Henr. II.

disposition, and hard to be kept in a due submission to his authority, so long a voyage as that of Jerusalem was by no means convenient, either for his health or the present situation of his affairs. Nevertheless, to amuse the ambassadors, he referred the decision of that matter to the parliament, which met the first sunday in lent. That august assembly was acquainted, in the king's name, with the sincere desire he had of marching to the Holy Land, in order to perform his penance, and at the same time did not fail to take notice of his old age, the bad state of his health, and withal the necessity of his presence in England. His complaisant subjects easily guessed at the prince's sentiments, and did not forget to conform themselves to them: they sent him a deputation with great ceremony, to represent to him in the nation's behalf, that by an obligation antecedent to St. Thomas's death, and his own absolution, and by the solemn oath which he took the day of his coronation, he was under greater obligations to stay at home, and govern his dominions, than he could be to leave them, and go in person to make war in Palestine. That the parliament nevertheless was of opinion to give fifty thousand merks of silver for the levying of troops that should be sent away immediately for Asia; that the crusade should be preached over all the kingdom, and the king should give leave to such prelates and noblemen as would take the cross upon them, to go out of the land upon so holy an expedition. The king communicated this resolution to the ambassadors, who desired of him to send at least one of his sons at the head of the crusaders: but his answer was, that none of them were then in England, and he could not engage them in their absence. The patriarch, who was naturally passionate, told him insolently, that they had no need of his money, but of a general fit to command an army. He went on with a thousand extravagant expressions, even so far as to upbraid him with his infidelity to the king of France, his superior lord, and the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury: and seeing Henry, who  
was

was the haughtiest man alive, redden with anger and vexation; "Here's my head, says he, treat me if you please, as you did my brother Thomas; 'tis indifferent to me whether I die here by your orders, or in Syria by the hands of the infidels, for you are worse than any Sarazen of them all<sup>a</sup>."

HENRY, either out of greatness of mind, or for fear of another quarrel with the ecclesiasticks, took no notice of this insolence. But there is no expressing the concern and confusion of the grand master of the hospitallers, to see himself joined in commission with a man of so violent a temper as the patriarch, who, by his extravagant passions, ruined all the benefit they had reason to expect from their negotiation. He omitted nothing to pacify the king, who seemed to sacrifice his resentments to the interests of religion. This prince carried the compliment so far, as to take the two ambassadors of Jerusalem with him in his own ship to Normandy, where they kept the feast of Easter at Rouen.

WE are told in Trivet's chronicle, that this prince gave them three thousand merks of silver out of his own exchequer<sup>b</sup>. A great number of the English, and many of his subjects on the other side the sea, took the cross and joined the French that Philip II. sent into the east at his own expence. But as there wanted a prince, or some person of authority sufficient to command them, and make himself obeyed, they received no great advantage from this armament; and upon the ambassador's return, a general consternation succeeded the false hopes that the patriarch had given of his negotiation.

It was not long before they were acquainted at Jerusalem with his odd and extravagant conduct at the court of England; all the world inveighed bitterly against him; it was publickly said, that the true cross  
which

<sup>a</sup> Fac de me quod de Thoma fecisti, adeo libenter volo a te occidi in Anglia sicut a Saracenis in Sysia, quia tu omni Saraceno peior es. Chron. Joan. Brompt. in Henr. II. p. 1145.

<sup>b</sup> Spicil. t. 8. p. 489.



which had been recovered formerly by a prince called Herculius, was going to be lost again under the pontificate, and by the fault of a patriarch of the same name: every body detested the violence of his passions, and they did not spare his conduct, particularly with regard to a woman, whom he kept publicly, and who was better known by the title of the patriarchess than by her own name <sup>a</sup>.

THESE complaints against that prelate were followed by dismal presages of what was to come. The king was dying; his successor a minor; the regent infinitely ambitious, without religion, and suspected of aspiring at the crown, and holding correspondence with the infidels; the truce almost expired; the enemy powerful and formidable; few troops and less money; various parties in the state, and divisions, which are always fatal in a minority. The king's death happened in this miserable juncture, and was followed, **1186.** seven months after, by that of young Baldwin V. his nephew and successor. The enemies of the count of Tripoli gave out, that he had poisoned the young king, in hopes of succeeding him, as well by virtue of his birth right, as by the strength of his own forces, and the interest and power of his partisans.

OTHERS laid this enormous crime upon the very mother of young Baldwin<sup>b</sup>, and pretended that she had poisoned her own son, to make a way to the throne for herself, and for Guy de Lusignan her second husband. What confirmed these suspicions was, that nobody knew any thing either of the young prince's illness, or of the time of his death, till that princess, having made sure of the patriarch, the grand master of the templars, and the marquis of Montferrat<sup>c</sup>, surrounded the palace with troops; and the grand master, who had the crown, and all the royal ornaments in his custody, being bribed by a considerable sum, delivered them up to her, without the consent of the grandes of the

<sup>a</sup> Marin. Sanut. l. 3. part. 6. c. 24. p. 147.

<sup>b</sup> Herold. contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Gerard de Ridefort.

the kingdom: and the same day that the young king's death was declared<sup>a</sup>, the queen his mother, and Guy de Lusignan were proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem.

THE count of Tripoli's creatures, who despised Lusignan, openly opposed this proclamation; and even Geoffrey de Lusignan, a prince of wonderful strength of body, and extraordinary valour, but no ways prejudiced in favour of Guy's courage, hearing of his promotion to the crown of Palestine, could not help crying out, in a manner not over Christian indeed, "Those that have made my brother a king, would have made me a god if they had known me." Most of the grandees of the kingdom complained, that the grand master of the templars, who had the guard and custody of the royal crown, had without their consent or knowledge, delivered it up to the queen, and withal to Guy de Lusignan who had no right to it. These lords, who were of the first rank in the kingdom, represented to the people, that, as affairs then stood in the Holy Land, they had need of a general for their king, and such an one as had the esteem and good opinion of the army; adding withal, that the crown could not descend to the heirs male of the royal family, which entirely excluded the two princesses, sisters to young Baldwin. These open pretensions divided all the Christians of Palestine: they levied troops on both sides, and were ready to come to a battle, when the affair was happily turned into a negotiation.

THE count of Tripoli, who was the secret spring that put the cabal against the court in motion, sent the principal lords of his party to the princess Sybille, to let her know, that they would freely consent to put the crown upon her head; but then they expected, that if she would have a king for her husband, she should divorce Lusignan, and chuse such a prince for the partner of her throne and bed, as was capable of commanding the army, and defending the kingdom.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Idem Herold. *ibid.* p. 8.

THE princess, who was a very shrewd person, agreed to these proposals; but required on the other hand, that the grandees should bind themselves by a solemn oath, to acknowledge him for their sovereign whom she should chuse for her husband. The oath was the more readily taken, in that, though the regent was actually married, yet his adherents flattered themselves, that by help of a like divorce, the princess's choice could fall upon no body but that prince. The patriarch, whom the queen had gained by a swinging bribe, pronounced immediately the sentence of divorce between her and Lusignan. History does not acquaint us with the pretences alledged upon that occasion; but after the divorce was declared, and the princess acknowledged for queen, they conducted her to the church of the holy sepulchre, where she was crowned by the patriarch with great solemnity. She took the crown immediately from her own head, and put it upon Guy de Lusignan's, embraced him as her husband, saluted him as king, and turning towards the grandees, who were stunned at this unexpected step, "What God has joined, says she to them, with an air of stateliness, 'tis not for men to put asunder". The grand master of the templars, who was let into the intrigue, supported her with all his interest. The grandees were at last obliged to submit, and consent to a choice they could not help, and the people, who were always fond of ceremonies, contrary to their custom, saw this last with more amazement than pleasure.

THE count of Tripoli was the only person who looked upon the queen's choice as an injustice done to himself. 'Tis impossible to express how much he was enraged at this preference: he swore the death of his rival, and of the templars also who had contributed so much to his advancement: and he did not care  
though

\* Præfata regina accepit coronam regiam in manibus suis, et posuit eam super caput Guidonis de Lusignan mariti sui, dicens, Ego eligo te in regem et dominum meum et terræ Hierosolymitanæ, quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo separare non debet. Rog. Hoveden. p. 634.

though he perished himself, if he could but crush his enemies with his own fall.

FULL of this spirit of revenge, and resolved to sacrifice every thing to his resentment, he went off abruptly, and retired to his own territories. Saladine, an able politician as well as a great general, no sooner heard of his discontent, than he send a private messenger that he could depend upon to treat with him. This envoy represented to him, with all the appearances of frankness, that it was not his master's interest to suffer a Christian and independent kingdom in the heart of so many provinces as composed his empire; but that if he would turn Mahometan and become his vassal, he would engage to place him on the throne of Jerusalem; and, in order to maintain him on it, would sacrifice all the templars, their common enemies, to his security.

RAIMOND, blinded with his passion, agreed to every thing. It is said, that he immediately caused himself to be circumcised. But the better to carry on their designs, it was agreed between him and the envoy, that he should not publicly declare himself of another religion, till after he was in possession of the throne; and that to destroy the new king the more surely, he should reconcile himself with him.

THE perfidious count went with this design to Jerusalem. Some common friends that he applied to for that purpose, and who had no other view but to put an end to the division, interposed honestly in the accommodation. Peace was made between them. Raimond acknowledged Lusignan for his sovereign; and this count, so capable by his valour of defending the holy places, was not ashamed to add treason to his apostasy.

SALADINE, as it was agreed between them, fell into Palestine at the head of a mighty army. His design was to besiege Acre, the strongest and richest city of the whole kingdom. His army was computed to amount to near fifty thousand horse, besides foot; and most of these troops were made up of the old inhabitants of

the country, or their children, whom the kings of Jerusalem, after the conquest of Godfrey de Bouillon, had driven out of it. They returned all in Saladine's retinue, in hopes of a speedy conquest, and of recovering the inheritance of their fathers.

THE sultan, favoured under hand by the count of Tripoli, found no opposition in his march, and advancing to Acre, laid siege to the town. The king had committed the defence of it the two grand masters, who had out-marched the enemy with a large body of hospitallers and templars, the surest resource the state had to depend on. The two grand masters, making the garrison and inhabitants take arms, sallied out in the night time\*. The Christians, carrying their swords in one hand, and fire in the other, surprize the infidels, break into their camp, demolish their tents, cut the throats of all they find asleep, and set every thing on fire. Terror and consternation seize the enemy's army; but the daylight, which began to appear, and Saladine's presence, recovered them from their fright; each regiment drew up under their respective colours; they came to a regular engagement, and endeavoured to furrround the Christians.

THOUGH the infidels were vastly superior in numbers, yet the military friars, who never counted their enemies, keep their ground, push the enemy before them, fall upon the body that Saladine himself had rallied: all engage close, and mix together, making one universal slaughter; rivers of blood run down on both sides; no quarter given nor prisoners taken: an equal fury animated the soldiers of both parties. If Saladine shewed as much conduct as courage in this action, the two grand masters on their side, bravely followed by their knights, performed prodigies of valour. The grand master Desmoulins, at the head of the hospitallers, pierced several times into the enemy's squadrons; nothing could stand before him. The count of Tripoli, who it is said was disguised on this occasion,

\* Contin. Will, Tyr. l. 1, c. 5.



occasion, and fought in favour of the infidels, to dispatch so terrible a warrior, killed his horse, who falling down, tumbled upon the grand master, and the weight of his armour hindring him from rising, the infidels pierced his body with a thousand wounds, even after he was dead, either to revenge the death of their comrades, or because these barbarians thought they could never be too sure that so great a commander would not rise again<sup>a</sup>. Many of the hospitallers died bravely over the body of their chief, labouring to save it from the fury of the barbarians<sup>b</sup>. At last, both parties being spent, gave over fighting, and there was no other ground but Saladine's retreat for concluding that the greatest loss was on his side.

THE hospitallers made a diligent search over the field of battle for the body of their grand master to pay him their last offices<sup>c</sup>. After a great deal of pains they found it at last under a heap of Turcomans and Sarazens, who had fallen by the edge of his scymitar, or whom his knights had, after his death, sacrificed to their resentment. He was carried into Acre, and the funeral of that great man was solemnized there with the tears of his knights, and the universal lamentation of the inhabitants.

THEY proceeded afterwards to the choice of his successor; and as the enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and they were in continual expectations of another battle, the hospitallers were very sensible that they had more need than ever of a general and able warrior to command them. The choice of this juncture fell upon brother Garnier, a native of Napoli in Syria, grand prior of England, and Turcopolier of the order, titles that were inseparable; which shews, that at that

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time

<sup>a</sup> Eodem die, videlicet calendas Maii, sexaginta fratres templi et summus magister domus hospitalis, cum pluribus domus suae fratribus, interfecti sunt. Rog. Hoveden. in Henr. II.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. de Nangis.

<sup>c</sup> Contin. Will. Tyr. lib. I. c. 5.

1187. time the dignities were not annexed as they are now, to the different languages and nations of which the order is composed.

THE Turcoples, from whence the name of Turcopolier is derived, were antiently, as William of Gyre relates<sup>a</sup>, a company of light horse. The original of the term came from the Turcomans, who gave the name of Turcoples in general to such children as were born of a Greek mother and a Turcoman father, and were designed for the war service. It was afterwards a title of military dignity in the kingdom of Cyprus, from whence it was adopted into the order of St. John. But the hospitallers used it only to signify the colonel general of the infantry. Brother Garnier had resided for some time in England, in quality of bailiff and turcopolier of the order. During that time king Henry II. having expelled the canons regular out of the famous abbey of Buckland, for living too licentiously, gave this monastery to the order, and brother Garnier put some nuns that were hospitallers of St. John into it. This great bailiff came back afterwards into Palestine, to share in the dangers and glory of his brethren; and his valour and virtues advanced him to the dignity of grand master, upon the death of brother Roger Desmoulins.

His first care was to recal the greatest part of the knights, who were dispersed in various places<sup>b</sup>; and he received likeways several novices into the order, to supply the room of such as were lost in the last action, and to put himself in a condition of making head with success against the arms of Saladine.

THAT prince, by agreement with the count of Tripoli, and the better to conceal their correspondence, laid siege to Tiberias, which belonged to the count, in right of Eschine his wife, who made her ordinary residence there. The town was carried immediately, and

<sup>a</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 7. l. 19. c. 24. l. 22. c. 9. *Affises du Royaume de Jerusalem* p. 458. *Histoire del' Isle de Cypre*, par Etienne de Lusignan. Albert. Acq. l. 5. c. 3,

<sup>b</sup> Nangis ad An. 1188.

and the countess, who knew nothing of her husband's treason, retired into the castle which was better fortified. The traitor Raimond, as if he had been very anxious about the success of the siege, cries out for succour, calls all his friends about him, and lays before the king the great importance of the place, which covered all the frontier on that side. They resolved immediately to throw in succours, cost what it would. The king prepared to march himself at the head of what forces he had got together; but the count, who had a mind to deliver all the forces of the kingdom up at once to Saladine, remonstrated to the king, that if he advanced with an army so much inferior to that of the sultan, he would expose himself infallibly to a defeat; that Saladine had at least 80000 horse besides his foot, and that to oppose so formidable a power, it was necessary to draw all the garrisons out of the strong towns, and bring into the field all the inhabitants that were able to bear arms, in order to increase the army, and have less to fear from the number of the infidels.

Guy de Lusignan, who was neither a great soldier, nor an able politician, abandoned himself to the perfidious council of a reconciled enemy: all the strong towns were drained of their garrisons, and even of their inhabitants, and not a soul left in them but old men, women and children. The whole fortune of the kingdom was staked upon this confused multitude of soldiers, citizens and peasants, armed ridiculously enough, most of them marching without any order, and only animated by fury and passion.

UPON the approach of the Christians, Saladine drew out of his lines; they soon met; the fight lasted for three days, and was very bloody. Guy de Lusignan, by the count of Tripoli's advice, had encamped among the rocks, as in a place where there was no forcing him; but the treacherous count had concealed from him, that the soldiers could have no water in that place, but what they must pass through the army of the infidels to fetch. A want of so pressing a nature was soon felt. Necessity obliged them to advance

the next day against the enemy, to open themselves a passage to the river. The templars, who were in the van, marched down first into the plain, charged the infidels with their usual valour; and upon the first onset drove them before them. Never had those brave warriors distinguished themselves by so much courage and intrepidity on any occasion. They pierced and broke the first squadrons of the infidels; but the count of Tripoli, who commanded the body that was to sustain them, instead of following the path which those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had opened to victory, abandoned them, and fled by compact with Saladine, who let him escape; and the templars being left alone in the plain, were overborn by the multitude of their enemies, and were all killed or taken prisoners: the rest of the army retired into their camp in the rocks, where that traitor, the count of Tripoli, had insnared them. The flight of that prince, whose capacity and valour they had a great opinion of, made the Christians think the affair was desperate. They passed the night among the rocks without water, in the month of July. Saladine, to add to the heat of the season, set fire to the woods that grew upon the mountain, and encircled the camp of the Christians; the soldiers, half dead with thirst and weariness, lay down upon the ground, giving themselves no concern about the enemy, as thinking death was not the worst of evils. Saladine having notice from some deserters, that there was no longer any order or command observed in the camp, attacked it, and found but a weak resistance. It was not so much a fight as a butchery. The Turcomans and Sarazens gave no quarter; rivers of blood

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\* Templarii robustissimo in hostem impetu procurrentes, primarum hostium turmarum densitatem ruperunt, et earum vel stragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verum tunc demum nostrorum nefanda proditio et nefaria cum hoste collusio claruit; comes enim Tripolitanus, cæterique optimates cum turmis suis, sprete dispositione regia, præclaram illam templi militiam, hostes fortiter proterentem, dum non sequerentur, periclitari fecere; a tunc ita templarii, confertissimis hostium cuneis, nullo sequente, immergi illico vel victima vel præda fuere. Will. Neubrig. l. 3. p. 430.

ran down between the rocks; the whole army was either destroyed or taken prisoners; the king, the grand master of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and a great number of the nobility and knights of St. John and the temple fell alive into the infidels hands. The Turks took likeways the true cross, which was usually carried into the field. The grand master of the hospitallers, after some feats of incredible valour, made his escape though all over wounds, and opened his way, sword in hand, through the enemy's squadrons: he reached Afcalon, but died the next day of his wounds.

SALADINE, who flattered himself that by the extinction of the military orders he should the more easily make himself master of the Holy Land<sup>a</sup>, notified to the hospitallers and templars who were prisoners of war, that they had no way to avoid death but by changing their religion, and renouncing Jesus Christ: but these noble warriors offered themselves with satisfaction to the slaughter; they were all put to death by the barbarians<sup>b</sup>; and the constancy and firmness with which they received it, animating the faith of the common soldiers, several of them that were only seculars, by an innocent fraud, cried out that they were templars, and, as if afraid of wanting executioners, they pressed forward, striving with one another which should be first sacrificed by the sword of the infidels.

THE sultan after this gave orders to bring the king into his tent, with the grand master of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and the other noblemen that were taken prisoners, none of whom expected a more favourable fate. Saladine, to remove the king's apprehensions, made him sit down by him, and seeing the unfortunate prince half dead with thirst and weariness,

<sup>a</sup> Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 43. Rog. Hoveden, p. 637. Herold. contin. belli sacri, l. 1. 7. p. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Milites templi et hospitalis quos in campo non voraverat gladius, ab aliis segregatè captivis Saladinus coram se decollari præcepit. Rog. Hoved. p. 637.

Quotquot templarii et hospitalarii inveniuntur, protinus decollantur iidem. Nangis ad an. 1187.



ness, ordered a liquor to be brought him that was agreeable to the taste, and cooled in snow. The king having drank, gave the cup to Renaud, but the sultan opposed it, and told the king by his interpreter, " 'Tis for you that I sent for this liquor, and not for that vile man, who is never to hope for quarter". To understand the meaning of these words, it must be observed, that among these infidels, the rights of hospitality were inviolable, and those barbarians never put their prisoners to death, when they had once given them any thing to eat or drink with their own hand.

'TWAS for this reason that Saladine hindered Renaud from drinking after the king; he reproached him heavily with the truces that he had violated, his robberies, and his inhumanity towards the prisoners, which he had taken rather, said he, as a robber, than according to the rules of war; and withal imputed him as the greatest of crimes, according to the principles of his religion, the design he had formed of surprizing and plundering Mecca and Medina. " You must then, to repair such a series of outrages, says the sultan in a louder tone, either renounce Jesus Christ immediately, or die a victim to our prophet's vengeance". Renaud, bold and intrepid even under the sword of the enemy, answered him, that a Christian did not know what it was to purchase his life by such a baseness. Saladine thereupon, transported with wrath, drew his scymitar and struck off his head, making a martyr of that noble man, who by so christian and brave an end, atoned for what was less justifiable in his manner of making war. The sultan, at the king's request, spared the life of the grand master of the templars, sending him to Damascus, with the king and the other prisoners, from whom he expected to draw a vast ransom.

THE kingdom of Jerusalem was in a terrible desolation; there were no troops nor any leaders to command them; the towns were left without inhabitants; the two military orders had lost the greatest part of their knights; and of the two grand masters, one was  
just

just dead of the wounds he had received in battle, and the grand master of the temple was a prisoner at Damascus.

IN this melancholy situation, the hospitallers that were left assembled to proceed to the choice of a new grand master. One might then have said of that great post, what St. Paul says of the episcopal office, on account of the sufferings and persecutions attending it, that it was a meritorious work to desire that eminent dignity. In truth, they were forced to offer a sort of violence to brother ER-ERMENGARD mengard Daps, to oblige him in that DAPS. dismal juncture to take the government upon him. This order that was lately so powerful and formidable to the infidels, was now almost extinct by the great number of knights that were lost in the late battles; and the few that had escaped the fury of the Sarazens, were in continual expectation of undergoing the same fate; the grand master at the same time being unable to discover any resource for himself and his brethren but an honourable death if they failed of victory.

SALADINE, to make his advantage of the general consternation, followed the torrent of his fortune; most of the fortified places of the kingdom opened their gates to him; the city of St. John d'Acre, destitute of military friars, its brave defenders, held out but two days; and of all the conquests of the Christians none were left but Jerusalem, Tyre, Acalon, Tripoli and Antioch: and of these two last places one was independent of the crown of Jerusalem, and the other was only held of it in fief.

To give a better notion of the deplorable condition of that kingdom, it may not be improper to insert here the circular letter which a templar, a sorrowful witness of this fatal revolution, wrote to his brethren of the west, after the battle of Tiberias.

“ BROTHER Thierrî grand preceptor, the poor  
“ convent and whole order, but now almost reduced  
“ to nothing, To all the preceptors and all our bre-  
“ thren of the temple, send greeting in him to whom  
“ we

“ we address our groans, and whom the sun and the  
“ moon adore.

“ WE cannot, our dearest brethren, express to you  
“ by these letters, nor even by tears of blood, all the  
“ calamities that our sins have drawn upon our heads.  
“ The Turcomans, that barbarous nation, having covered  
“ the face of the land, we advanced to relieve  
“ the castle of Tiberias, which those infidels were besieging;  
“ an engagement soon ensued, but the enemy having driven us  
“ into rocks and craggy mountains, our troops were cut in  
“ pieces; thirty thousand men fell in that fatal day. The king  
“ is taken, and what is still more deplorable, the precious  
“ wood of the true cross is fallen into the hands of the  
“ infidels. Saladine, to crown his victory, has cut off the  
“ heads of two hundred and thirty of our brethren who were  
“ taken in battle, without reckoning sixty others that we lost  
“ in a former engagement. The sovereign of the barbarians is  
“ already master of the principal towns of the kingdom. The  
“ Christians have nothing left but Jerusalem, Aſcalon, Tyre and  
“ Berytus, and even the garrisons and chief inhabitants of these  
“ places perished in the battle of Tiberias: so that it is impossible  
“ without the succour of heaven, and your assistance, to preserve  
“ them, &c.”

BUT this assistance was too remote, and there was no  
likelihood of its arriving time enough to stop the progress  
of Saladine's arms. That conqueror, after reducing St. John  
d'Acre, Jaffa, Napolouſa, Sebaſte, Nazareth, Sefurieth,  
Cæſarea, Sidon and Berytus, marched straight to the capital,  
and invested Jerusalem, the main design that he had in view.  
The queen was in it; but the city had no body to defend it  
but the inhabitants, the chief of which too, being Greeks by  
religion, were secret enemies of the] Latins. Saladine,  
who knew their disposition well, and thought himself already  
master of the place, refused to come to any composition with  
the queen. That princess, after a slight resistance, had desired  
to capitulate. Saladine sent

sent her word, that he was resolved to enter the place sword in hand, to revenge, as he said, the blood of so many Mussulmen massacred by the Christians in the time of Godfrey de Bouillon. The cruelty of this answer made the Latin Christians resolve to bury themselves in the ruins of the place: Men, women, and children, all took arms; and despair supplying the place of valour, they stood the infidels attacks with so resolute a courage, that the sultan, either apprehending some revolution, or at least fearing that the length of the siege might retard the other conquests that he proposed, consented at last to enter into a negotiation; and the treaty was signed on both sides the fourteenth day of the siege. It was agreed by the capitulation, that the queen should deliver up the town in the condition it was in, and without demolishing any thing; that the gentry and military persons should march out with their arms, and have a convoy to conduct them to Tyre or any other town they pleased; that with regard to the inhabitants, the natural Greeks might stay there, but all such as were Latins by descent, should be obliged to leave the place; and to shew, that he was master of their lives and liberty, he would make them pay for their ransom, the men ten crowns of gold, the women five, and two for every child; and that all who could not pay these respective rates, should remain slaves to the conqueror.

ALL the night long, which ushered in the execution of this dismal treaty, nothing was to be heard in Jerusalem, but the groans, wailings and cries of the miserable inhabitants, lamenting their fate, and that they were obliged to deliver up the holy city with their own hands to the infidels. Men, women and children, young and old, prostrated themselves before the holy sepulchre, bathing it with their tears, kissing and embracing it, and being unable to part from it, in fine, the day broke, and the dismal moment arrived, when the gates were to be opened to the victorious enemy. The infidels took possession of the place; but Saladine, attended with his principal officers, would

would not make his entry till all the Latin Christians were gone out. The first who appeared in the mournful procession, were mothers loaded with their little children, that were as yet unable to walk; others led by the hand such as were a little stronger; the men carried the provisions and the small household goods necessary for their families; the queen, encircled with the military men that were left, came after the people, accompanied with the two little princesses her daughters, the patriarch and his clergy, and followed by all the persons of distinction of both sexes. Saladine, as the queen drew near, advanced to meet her, spoke to her with great respect, and to comfort her, gave her hopes of setting the king her husband at liberty, in consideration of a moderate ransom. Some Christian ladies of the queen's retinue, whose husbands had been taken by Saladine during the war, passing before that prince, and being seized with a fresh sense of their afflictions at his sight, gave terrible shrieks, and held up their hands like suppliants. The prince enquiring what they had to ask him, one of the ladies coming up to him said, "We have lost our all, sir, but one word of yours can ease the grief that so sensibly afflicts us. Give us back our fathers, our brothers, and our husbands, that by the fortune of war are your prisoners, and we freely abandon to you all the rest. With pledges so dear as they, we cannot be entirely miserable; they will take care of us, and the God whom we adore, who provides even for the birds of the air, will provide for our children."

SALADINE, who had nothing of the barbarian in him but his birth, touched with the tears of these ladies, who had thrown themselves at his feet, after making them rise up, ordered all the prisoners that they claimed to be delivered to them. He added likewise to this grace some presents that he made them, and what shewed a great fund of humanity in this sultan, after his entry into Jerusalem, being informed of the care which the hospitallers took of the sick and wounded, he gave those knights, though enemies of  
his



his religion, leave to stay in Jerusalem a year longer, till the sick were entirely cured.

THUS Jerusalem, eighty eight years after the conquest of it by the first crusade, fell again under the dominion of the infidels. Saladine, before he entered into the city, caused the bells to be broken and melted down, and the patriarchal church to be washed with rose water. This church was built at first upon the old ruins of the temple of Solomon by the caliph Omar, who, in A. D. 636, having taken Jerusalem, made it the principal mosque. This mosque, which was by the infidels called Alaxa, was turned into a church upon the conquest of Godfrey de Bouillon; and the pilgrims were so imposed on by a false tradition, that they believed it to be the very temple of Solomon that was destroyed by the Romans, and rebuilt afterwards by the Christians. However this be, Saladine being master of the city, the queen retired with the princesses her daughters to Ascalon; the inhabitants of Jerusalem dispersed themselves into different places of Asia and Europe; some took refuge at Tripoli, others made their way to Antioch, and a great number, despairing ever to see the kingdom of Jerusalem restored, passed as far as Sicily and Italy. It was at this time, as we are told, that the nuns hospitallers of St. John, flying from the confusions of war, retired into Europe with the grand master's permission, where they afterwards made considerable settlements, as we shall see in the course of this work.

THIERRY, grand preceptor of the templars, in a letter that he wrote to Henry king of England, gave him an account of this strange revolution; and as such original pieces are of great authority in history, we fancy the reader will not be displeased to find a letter here inserted, that relates the miserable circumstances of these great events.

“ Know, great king, says the templar to him, that  
“ Saladine has taken the city of Jerusalem, and the  
“ tower of David; the Syrian Christians are allowed  
“ to guard the holy sepulchre only till the fourth day

“ after next Michaelmas ; the hospitallers are permit-  
 “ ted to stay a year longer in their houses, to take  
 “ care of the sick ; the knights of that order, who  
 “ are in the castle of Beauvoir, distinguish themselves  
 “ every day by their various enterprizes against the  
 “ Sarazens ; they have lately taken two caravans  
 “ from the infidels, in the first of which they found  
 “ the arms and ammunition which the Turks were  
 “ transporting from the fortrefs of la Fere, after they  
 “ had demolished it. Carac, in the neighbourhood  
 “ of Mont-royal, Mont royal itself, Sapheta of the  
 “ temple, another Carac, and Margat, which belongs  
 “ to the hospitallers, Castelblanco, Tripoli and Anti-  
 “ och, still hold out against all the efforts of the Turks.  
 “ Saladine has caused the great cross to be taken down  
 “ from the dome of the church, that was built on the  
 “ ground of Solomon’s temple, and for two days to-  
 “ gether it was dragged ignominiously through the  
 “ streets, trampled under foot, and defiled with dirt.  
 “ They have washed the inside and outside of that  
 “ church with rose water, by way of purification, in  
 “ order to make a mosque of it, and there they have  
 “ solemnly proclaimed the law of Mahomet. The  
 “ Turks have laid siege to Tyre ever since Martin-  
 “ mas ; a great number of military engines play upon  
 “ it day and night, throwing in continually square  
 “ stones of a vast bigness. Young Conrad, son to  
 “ the marques of Montferrat, has shut himself up in  
 “ the place, and makes a gallant defence, being well  
 “ seconded by the knights of St. John and the tem-  
 “ plars ; on the eve of St. Silvester, seventeen Chri-  
 “ stian galleys, with those brave friars on board, fail-  
 “ ed out of the port, with ten other Sicilian vessels,  
 “ commanded by general Margarit, a Catalan by na-  
 “ tion, and attacked the fleet of Saladine, in a man-  
 “ ner before his eyes ; the infidels were defeated ; the  
 “ great admiral of Alexandria, and eight emirs were  
 “ made prisoners ; they took eleven Ships, and a great  
 “ number ran a ground on the coast, which Saladine  
 “ set on fire, and burnt to ashes, for fear they should  
 “ fall

“ fall into the hands of the Christians. That prince  
“ appeared the next day in his camp, mounted on  
“ the finest of his horses, whose tail and ears he had  
“ cut, making thus a publick acknowledgment of the  
“ defeat he had received, and of the trouble it gave  
“ him.”

To have a right notion of what passed at the siege of Tyre, it must be observed, that Saladine, after the taking of Jerusalem, besieged Ascalon, which the queen surrendered to him, in consideration of his setting the king her husband, the grand master of the templars, and fifteen other noblemen at liberty; and by his treaty, Guy de Lusignan made a solemn renunciation of the title of king of Jerusalem. This prince, with the queen his wife, retired afterwards to a castle by the sea side, where they were rather hid than in a condition to defend themselves. Saladine, without troubling himself about an enemy whom he despised, marched from Ascalon to lay siege to Tyre, an ancient and famous city of Phœnicia, celebrated in holy writ for its king Hiram, the friend of Solomon, and renowned in history for the siege laid to it by Alexander the great, against whom it held out seven compleat months, and had not been then taken, if that prince had not joined the isle, in which it stands, to the main land, by means of a bank, which he raised to fill up the arm of the sea, which made it an island. The inhabitants, degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors, and dreading the miseries of a place carried by storm, were preparing, upon Saladine's approach, to go to meet him, and offer him the keys of the city, when young Conrad, the last of the marquess of Montferrat's sons, being come into the Holy Land, out of zeal to contribute to his father's liberty, who was then Saladine's prisoner, encouraged them to make an honourable defence, and offered them his service; but he added, that he would not shed a drop of his blood for such a coward of a prince as Guy de Lusignan, and insisted, that if he had the good fortune, as he hoped, to preserve the place, they should

engage by a solemn treaty, to acknowledge him for their lord. The Tyrians, deserted by their sovereign, and left to themselves, agreed to the condition. Conrad called in to his assistance a considerable number of the knights of St. John, who put themselves at the head of the inhabitants, and soon made such soldiers of them, that they seemed to be animated with the same spirit and courage; the very women did their part, either shooting arrows at the besiegers, or carrying victuals to their husbands, who lay upon the ramparts. Never was the place more bravely defended from the time that Alexander the great laid siege to it. Saladine, discouraged at the length of a siege that stopped the progress of his arms, resolved to raise it; but before he decamped, he caused the marquis's father, whom he had taken prisoner, at the battle of Tiberias, to be carried before the walls, and an herald being admitted into the place, declared to young Conrad, that they were going that instant to cut off his father's head, if he would not surrender Tyre to the sultan.

THE young prince, divided between two duties, which seemed to him equally indispensable, was to determine, whether he should save his father's life, or abandon a Christian people, to whom he had pledged his faith. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he affected a firmness, that went even to an indifference; "Go, says he, to the herald, tell your master from me, that he can't put a prisoner of war to death, that surrendered upon his parole, without the utmost dishonour to himself, and that, for my part, I shall think myself happy to have had a martyr of Jesus Christ for my father." After this they began to shoot afresh from the city; but the soldiers had private orders given them, not to point their arrows towards the place where the old marquis was exposed in chains. The sultan, who had no particular reason to destroy that prince, from whom too he expected a great ransom, sent him back to prison, and raised the siege. No sooner was he retired to a convenient distance,

stance, but the king of Jerusalem quitted his retreat, with a design to reap the fruit of young Montferrat's valour. He presented himself before the place, and was going to enter as the sovereign of it; but he found the gates shut, and the inhabitants cried out to him, that they were surprized he had forgot the duty he owed to his subjects during the siege; that he was come a little too late; that a braver person than he had taken his place, and acquired the lordship of Tyre by the justest of all titles, for having defended it valiantly at the hazard of his life against the infidels\*. Guy de Lusignan was forced to retire; but these reciprocal pretensions raised a sort of civil war between the two princes. The grand master of the templars, either because he thought the king's cause the justest, or by reason of the particular friendship contracted between them during their common imprisonment, declared himself openly against the marquis of Montferrat. He not only treated him as an usurper, but hindered supplies of provisions and ammunition from being brought into the place; and in prejudice of the common interests of Christianity, as well as in breach of that nice honour and fidelity, that the nature of a trust requires, he diverted to other uses a considerable sum of money which the king of England, charmed with the reputation of young Conrad, had sent him to fortify Tyre, and maintain a garrison in it. This we learn from a letter of young Conrad's to the archbishop of Canterbury: "I am become odious, says he, to Guy de Lusignan, formerly king of Jerusalem, and to the grand master of the templars, for having maintained, and for still maintaining the city of Tyre, against all the efforts of the infidels. They attack my honour, they wound my reputation; they hinder succours from entering into the place, and, what is of a more crying nature, the grand master of the templars has seized the money that the king of England sent me; which obliges me to complain to you with infinite concern. As for the hospitallers, I must

\* Will. Neutr. l. 3. c. 19. p. 432.



“ necessarily commend them, and I call God and  
 “ you to witness my sincere acknowledgments to men,  
 “ who, ever since they took arms for defence of the  
 “ place, have been continually rendering us very im-  
 “ portant services; and far from detaining, as the  
 “ templars do, that part of the king of England’s mo-  
 “ ney which they were to furnish us, we assure you,  
 “ they have spent above eight thousand pieces of their  
 “ own money in the defence of Tyre; and to prevent  
 “ its falling into the hands of the infidels, who, not-  
 “ withstanding their formidable power, were obliged  
 “ shamefully to raise the siege, &c.”

SALADINE, having given over that enterprize, turned his arms, with better success, against the principality of Antioch. He made himself master of twenty five towns and castles, into which he put strong garrisons, that kept the capital in a manner blocked up. The governors and magistrates in general, for fear of death or plunder, went a great way to meet the conqueror, and receive their chains; all fell before so formidable a power, and the Christians had nothing left but Antioch, Tyre and Tripoli.

THE count of Tripoli, the wretched instrument of the loss of the Holy Land, seeing his enemy dethroned, and become a fugitive and vagabond in his own dominions, summoned Saladine, pursuant to their treaty, to put him in possession of the crown, and deliver him the places of which he had facilitated the conquest by his flight at the battle of Tiberias: but the sultan despising the traitor, whose treason had been so useful to him, answered his pretensions only with the most cutting raileries. The count, enraged at his breach of promise, and seeing himself odious and execrable to both sides, fell into despair, his senses \* began to fail him, he ran distracted, and died soon after, raving perpetually with resentment and rage. When they stripped him, in order to lay him out, they found that he

\* Ex doloris vehementia in amentiam versus, horrenda morte deficit. Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 452.

he had turned Mahometan<sup>a</sup>. The countess his widow, by whom he left no issue, seeing herself without any resource, applied to Raimond, prince of Antioch, for assistance, and delivered up Tripoli and its dependences to him, as being the nearest of kin.

THE numerous armies of Saladine, and the rapidity of his conquests, leaving the Latin Christians no hopes but from the princes of the west, they deputed William archbishop of Tyre, author of the history of the Holy Land, to go and implore their succour. That ambassador went first into Italy, and gave Urban III. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, an account of the fatal event of the battle of Tiberias, and of the loss of Jerusalem.

ALL Europe was in a consternation at this dismal news, and the pope is said to have died of grief. Gregory VIII. his successor, who sat but two months in the holy see, appointed publick prayers and fasts upon the occasion. The people of Italy, in the height of astonishment and affliction, cried out, that they were unworthy of the name of Christians, and of ever having part in the kingdom of heaven, if they did not go to deliver the heritage of the son of God from the dominion of the infidels. A contemporary writer adds, that the cardinals made a resolution<sup>b</sup> to renounce all kind of diversions and pleasures, to receive no presents from any that had causes depending in the court of Rome, and never to mount a horse as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels; to be themselves the first in the crusade, to go to the holy war on foot, at the head of the pilgrims, and even to subsist by asking alms on the road. But there was a great deal more ostentation in these

<sup>a</sup> Res dissimulari non potuit; nam corpore defuncti nudato, quia nuper circumcisionis stigma susceperat, apparuit; unde palam fuit quod se Salahadino confæderans, sectam Sarraenicam ceperat observandum, postquam Tripolis urbis dominium filius principis Antiochiæ de jure obtinuit parentelæ. Nangis ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Firmiter inter se promiserunt quòd de cætero nulla munera recipient ab aliquo qui causam habeat in curia; non ascendent in equum, quamdiu terra in qua pedes domini steterunt, fuerit sub pedibus inimici. Roger de Hoveden. p. 636.

these discourses than zeal and true piety. The cardinals staid at Rome ; no alteration appeared in their conduct, and the embassay of the archbishop of Tyre would have had no better success than that of Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, before mentioned, had not the emperor Frederick I. Philip II. king of France, and Henry II. king of England, generously entered into the crusade with most of the princes of Europe.

POPE Clement III. successor to Gregory VIII. for want of more substantial succours, named the archbishop of Tyre for legate of the holy see, and appointed cardinal Henry bishop of Albano for his colleague. These prelates prevailed with the kings of France and England, to meet at a conference held between Trie and Gisors, a place that belonged then to the king of England as  
 1183. July 15. duke of Normandy. The archbishop of Tyre, overflowing with grief, laboured to to inspire into them the same zeal that he felt himself. He laid before that august assembly the groans of the holy city, that was again fallen under the tyranny of the infidels ; the loss of so many Christians sacrificed to the fury of the barbarians ; the captivity of some, the exile of others, and what was still more deplorable, the numbers of young children of both sexes that were born free, now made slaves, before they could be sensible of all their misery, and to be brought up in error after the infidels had prepossessed their minds, and imposed on their reason. He enlarged afterwards upon the various artifices and cruelties that these barbarians tried one after another to pervert such as were grown up ; and he made so moving a description of the dismal condition the Latin Christians were reduced to, that melting into tears himself, he drew them likewise from all his auditory.

THE two kings almost always at war with one another, were then ready to begin a new one ; but upon this report of the miseries of the holy city, all was pacified, and their clashing interests united in the single view of delivering Palestine from the dominion of the infidels.

infidels. Philip and Henry embraced one another, put on the cross, and promised to join their forces, and pass by concert into the east.

SEVERAL assemblies were held in their respective states, to raise the funds necessary for so great an armament; and they came to a resolution both in France and England, that such as would not take the cross upon them, should give at least the tenth of all their goods, moveable and immoveable, which occasioned this tax to be called the Saladine Tythe, because the main end in levying this money, was to defray the expences of the war, to be carried on against that prince. The orders of the Cisterians, Chartreux, Fontevrault, and the congregation of the friar Lazars were exempt from this subsidy. Petrus Blesensis pretended, from their example, that the secular clergy ought not to be charged with it, and wrote upon that occasion to Henry de Dreux, bishop of Orleans, and cousin german to king Philip. “ The prince, says he, to him in his  
 “ letter <sup>a</sup>, ought to exact nothing from the bishops  
 “ and clergy, but continual prayers for the success of  
 “ his arms; if the king <sup>b</sup> will needs engage in this  
 “ enterprize, let him not raise the expence out of the  
 “ spoils of the church and poor, but out of his own  
 “ particular revenues, or the booty that he shall  
 “ take from the infidels, with which he ought to en-  
 “ rich the church, and not plunder it, under pretence  
 “ of defending it. The church is free, says he, in ano-  
 “ ther place, in virtue of the liberty which Christ has  
 “ purchased for us; but if they load it with exactions,  
 “ this is to reduce it to a state of servitude like Agar.”  
 We see here a jingle of words, the same that we have already spoken of; and that under the equivocal terms of the church and liberty, it looks as if the  
 Christian

<sup>a</sup> Reverendissime et dilectissime pater mi, tuæ discretioni committo religiosorum quietem, pacem simplicium, causam Christi, et ecclesiæ libertatem. Epist. 112.

<sup>b</sup> Si autem proposuit hujus prerogationis iter arripere, non de spoliis ecclesiarum, non de sudoribus pauperum viaticum sibi et suis exhibeat, sed de redditibus propriis aut de præda hostili bella Christi conficiat. Idem. Epist. 121.

Christian church was composed only of the clergy, or that the favour of mankind had delivered us from something else besides sin.

THE eloquence of Peter Blesensis, which was ill employed on this occasion, did not hinder the raising of immense sums in France and England. Commissioners were appointed to collect the money, among which were an hospitaller and a templar, deputed by the two military orders, to solicit this armament, which they were to accompany themselves, and to serve for the principal guides to it\*.

RICHARD I. who had just succeeded Henry II. his father, when he received his crown, took upon him that prince's engagements for the relief of the Holy Land. He levied an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, which he embarked, with the necessary ammunition and provisions, on board a prodigious number of vessels of different bulk. This embarkation was made at Dover, from whence he passed into Flanders, and thence into Normandy, where he held a meeting of the estates of the country. 'Tis said, that during his stay in that province, a holy priest, named Fulk, incumbent of Neuilli, famous for his sermons, and a preacher of the crusade, after great encomiums on the English prince's zeal for the succour of the Holy Land, told him, with a courageous liberty, that to engage the blessing of heaven upon his arms, he ought to part with three pernicious passions, which he called the three daughters of that prince,

1189. pride, avarice and luxury; and that the king of England, the haughtiest man on earth, answered him bluntly, with a taunting re-  
 crimination, " I cannot dispose of my three daughters better, than by giving, as I do, the first to the templars, the second to the Cistercian monks, and the third to the bishops of my own domions." This prince

\* Colligatur autem pecunia illa in singulis parochiis, præsentibus presbytero parochiæ et archipresbytero et uno templario et uno hospitalario, et serviente regis, et Clerico regis. Rog. de Hoveden. p. 641.



prince soon after joined Philip Augustus at Vezelay, on the frontiers of Burgundy; and after passing the Rhone they took different roads. The king of France marched towards Genoa, where his fleet was waiting for him, and the king of England went to Marseilles, where he embarked; and the general rendezvous was at the port of Messina in Sicily.

BEFORE the two kings set out, and whilst they were busy in raising troops and money in their dominions, the two legates passed into Germany, and came to Mentz, where the emperor Frederic I. called Barbarossa, was holding a general diet of the empire on the same subject. He was a prince eminent for his valour, and though advanced in years, yet he generously took the cross upon him, together with Frederic duke of Suabia his son. Sixty eight princes or great lords of Germany, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; followed the example of their sovereign, and put on the cross; and in order to their march, the general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Ratisbonne, whither all that were engaged in the crusade had orders to repair on the twenty third of April the year ensuing.

THE Christian part of Spain had no share in this great armament of Europe. The kings of Castile, Arragon and Navarre, had their hands but too full in opposing the Moors and Sarazens, who had seized as is well known, upon the finest provinces of that great monarchy. The queen of Arragon, infinitely afflicted for the loss of the Holy Land, and acquainted with the dispersion and miseries of its inhabitants, resolved to found a monastery for ladies of the order of St. John, the better to preserve the memory of so many illustrious knights of that order, as had lately perished in Palestine.

THIS princess, named Sancha, was daughter to Alphonfus king of Castile, and wife to another Alphonfus the second of the name, called the chaste, king of Arragon, son to Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and afterwards king of Arragon, whom we  
have

have spoken of before, on occasion of the treaty between that prince and the grand master Raimond Dupuy, touching the succession of the crown of Arragon.

QUEEN Sancha his daughter, being married into a family that had long bore an affection to the order, espoused the same sentiments, and formed a design of founding a monastery of nuns hospitallers at Sixenne, a village situated between Saragossa and Lerida, and depending on the castellany of Emposta, a grand priory of the language of Arragon. The queen gave brother Garcia de Lifa, the then castellan, other considerable lands near Tarragona in exchange for it; and after communicating her project to Raimond Berenger, a knight and provisor of the order in Arragon, this pious princess laid the foundation of a palace rather than a convent; and as she considered, that this house might serve one day for a retreat to herself, and in future times to other princesses of the royal family, nothing was omitted with regard either to the magnificence and convenience of the buildings, or to the largeness of the inclosure about it, or in fine to the greatness and security [of the revenues. This royal convent was founded for sixty ladies of noble birth, who were to be admitted without any portion; and such as were of the kingdom of Arragon or Catalonia, were to be of an extraction so illustrious and so publickly known, that they should have no need to produce their proofs.

WE have observed, that historians do not tell us precisely to what part of Christendom the nuns hospitallers of the house of Jerusalem retired after the loss of that capital of Judæa. There is reason to think, that it was upon their account that this pious princess founded this famous convent in the year following, to serve them for a retreat and asylum; and we are the more inclined to embrace this opinion, because the priory of Sixenne was founded immediately after the loss of the holy city. But after all, as this is but a conjecture, founded merely on the agreement of the time, we shall only observe by the by, that this foundation

was

was followed by many others of the same order as well in Catalonia as in Italy, France and Portugal, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter.

THE monastery of Sixenne became soon the most famous in the kingdom. The king, at the queen's instance, endowed it with large revenues; pope Celestine III. put these nuns, like the hospitallers, under the rule of St. Augustine, as may be seen in the bull of that sovereign pontiff, bearing date A. D. 1193. Their habit was a robe of Scarlet or red cloth with a black mantle á bec, upon which was the white cross with eight points directly upon the heart; they had a particular breviary: they wore at church rochets of fine linen; and in memory of the queen their foundress they held a silver scepter in their hands during the office and divine service.

THE prioress presented to vacant benefices, and had even the privilege of giving the habit of obedience to such priests as served their church. She visits even now her lands with her dames assisting her, and is a member of the provincial chapters of the order in Aragon, has a voice and seat there after the Castellan of Emposta; and when the chapter of the order is held at Saragossa, the chapter of the cathedral send her her canonical portion as bendarefs of that church.

QUEEN Sancha, after the king her husband's death, retired into this monastery with one of the princesses her daughters, and it is said, that both of them embraced the monastick profession. As we shall have occasion to mention this holy house again on occasion of the alterations that happened afterwards in the government of it, we shall only observe here, that all manner of Christian virtues were practised there in an eminent degree; that these nuns hospitallers got up at midnight to sing praises to God; that their supplications and prayers were almost without intermission, and these holy virgins were continually lifting up their pure and innocent hands to heaven, to implore his blessing on the arms of the knights of St. John their brethren,

thren, and ask of God that he would be pleased to deliver holy Sion from under the slavery of the infidels.

THIS pious zeal, so general at that time, of contributing to recover the kingdom of Jerusalem, caused most of the nations of Europe to take up arms; and whilst the king's of France and England were making preparations for that glorious expedition, the most zealous, without staying for those princes, flocked from all quarters into Palestine.

WE have seen above, that Guy de Lusignan, upon his escape out of prison, finding himself a king without a kingdom, retired at first to a castle in the county of Tripoli, where he afterwards mustered together the broken remains of his fortune. Godfrey de Lusignan his brother brought him from the west a fresh body of troops of the crusade; various adventurers, Greeks, Latins and Syrians joined him, and there was formed in a short time a little army of seven or eight thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. This succour, weak as it was, gave him nevertheless some hopes of seeing a change in his fortune: and to secure himself a place of retreat, that should depend on no body but himself, he laid siege to St. John d'Acre, a strong place, with an haven capable of receiving the vessels and succours of the princes of the west. The hospitallers and templars joined the army: there arrived likewise three private crusades, which advanced before the great armies that were expected out of Europe. The landgrave of Thuringia and duke of Gueldres commanded the first, which was entirely composed of Germans: there came another made up of the people of the north, Danes, Frieslanders and Flemings: there arrived too a third, at the head of which were two princes of the house of Dreux, and a considerable number of the greatest lords of the kingdom: there came thither at the same time some Venetians, Lombards and Pisans; and Conrad of the house of Montferrat, prince of Tyre, forgetting his disputes with Guy de Lusignan, would needs share in the perils and glory of the enterprise.

THE Christians began the siege, and carried it on at first with all the courage and application imaginable. Saladine had put a strong garrison into the place commanded by Caracos, an old captain of great reputation, under whom Saladine himself, before he rose to that height of grandeur, made his first essay in arms. This general of the infidels made frequent sallies; they were continually in action; and we may say that these sallies were rather so many battles and engagements. Saladine on his side advanced with a formidable army to his succour; the Christians went out of their lines to fight him; Guy de Lusignan commanded the first body, composed of his own troops, of French, and the knights of St. John. The grand master of the templars was at the head of his knights, and the Germans, Frieslanders and other people of the north fought under his banner. The fight lasted a long time with equal animosity on both sides, and with doubtful success; what appears most certain is, that the Christians, though they lost the grand master of the templars, and a great many knights of his order, yet returned victorious into their lines, and Saladine could not force them to raise the siege, which was the only thing he aimed at.

THAT prince did nothing afterwards, but endeavour to intercept the Convoys of the Christian army. This occasioned a famine, which was soon followed with a contagious sickness. These two plagues destroyed more soldiers than the sword of the enemy. Guy de Lusignan saw four young princes his children taken off one after another, and Queen Sybille his wife to whom he owed the crown.

THE death of that princess occasioned afterwards new divisions between the king her husband, and the prince of Tyre. The Queen of Jerusalem left only one sister named Isabel, who at eight years of age was married to Humfrey de Thoron the third of the name. Conrad, a prince young and handsome, full of courage and ambition, found the way to please that princess.

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\* Chren. de Nangis ad an. 1189.



cess. There was no want of reasons to break off her contract with young Humfrey; the marriage being made against her will, perhaps in a prohibited degree as they pretended, furnished a pretext for it: it was at least in those times the common resource of discontented husbands. The princess's marriage was dissolved, and the bishop of Beauvais, without any regard to publick decency, married her the next day to the prince of Tyre. In consequence of this alliance and the princess's right, Conrad took on him the title of king of Jerusalem; Guy de Lusignan on his side, maintained, that the character of royalty was never to be effaced, and that no body could in his lifetime assume the title of king in Palestine: and to make the division still greater, Humfrey de Thoron, Isabel's first husband, disputed the sentence by which his marriage was dissolved, and put in his claim to the crown. Thus this titular kingdom, this sovereignty without subjects, had in the same army, and at the same time, no less than three kings, and the queen had two husbands living: but as it was apprehended they might turn their arms against one another, they obliged them to refer the decision of their pretensions to the award of the kings of France and England, who were set out from their dominions, and as they had advice wintered in Sicily.

DURING the stay those two princes made in that island, Richard having heard much talk of 1190. Abbé Joachim, who passed with the people for a great prophet, sent for him to Messina, and consulted him about the success of the crusade. The Abbé, without any hesitation, told him, that the holy city would not be delivered till the seventh year after its being taken by Saladine. "To what purpose then, said the king of England, are we come so soon? Your coming, replied the Abbé, was very necessary, God will give you the victory over his enemies, and exalt your name above all the princes of the earth".

THIS

THIS pretended prophet bore a very doubtful character; ſome looked upon him as a ſaint, others took him for a cheat. It is probable the man meant well, and that there was more fanaticiſm than hypocriſy in his conduct; he was beſides a good man, and of an aſtere life, but he had cracked his brain by meditations, or rather, by his dreams on the revelations. He bragged that he had the key of that myſterious book, and underſtood it as perfectly as St. John who wrote it. He took all his viſions and imaginations for truths; and if by chance he ſucceeded ſometimes in his predictions, he was miſtaken much oftener; as it happened upon what he had declared about the deliverance of the Holy Land, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

IN the mean time the emperor Frederic, though ſeventy years of age, had advanced before theſe princes, ſetting out immediately after eaſter, A. D. 1189. This prince, truly worthy of that auguſt title, after giving the law to the Greeks as he marched through their country, after defeating the ſultan of Iconium or Cogni who diſputed his paſſage, and having, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Mahometans, made his way into Cilicia, fell ſick and died in that province, upon bathing in the river Cydnus, as ſome hiſtorians relate; though others pretend he was drowned in it. The military orders, and particularly that of the hoſpitallers, loſt in Frederic a powerful protector, that during the whole courſe of his reign had diſpenſed his benefactions and favours with great bounty to the order in general, as well as the particular members of it.

THE duke of Swabia his ſon led his army on to the camp before Acre: but it arrived there much reduced and weakened by the fatigues of the road, by ſickneſs and his own victories, which coſt him abundance of men, and a great many officers of diſtinction. The Germans, at their arrival in the camp, found the army of the beſiegers in no better a condition; the continual ſallies of the infidels had much weakened it. The hiſtorian of this ſiege, who has left us a relation of it

in verse, tells \* us a passage of the knights of St. John, who seeing the Turks in a sally take a great number of prisoners, these brave warriors, says he, like a bear a going to be robbed of her whelps, got off their horses, flew into the midst of the enemies battalions, cut part of them in pieces, rescued the prisoners, and then mounting on horseback again, pursued the infidels to the walls of the city. But if the Turks were worried on this occasion, the change of air, the difficulty of being supplied with provisions, the continual combats they were engaged in, and the sickness that reigned, cost the Christians at least as many men, and particularly those of the west.

To make the misfortune still greater, the wounded soldiers of the Germans, whose language was not understood, laboured under great difficulties, not being able, in so melancholy a situation, to make either their ailments or their wants known. Some German gentlemen of the towns of Bremen and Lubeck, that arrived by sea, moved with the misery of their countrymen, took the sails of their ship, and made a large tent in which they put immediately the wounded of their acquaintance, and attended them with great charity.<sup>b</sup> Forty persons of Quality of the same nation joined themselves to them, and formed a sort of hospital in the camp. This noble and charitable society, like the knights of St. John and the templars, became insensibly a new hospital and military order.

POPE Celestine III. at the request of the emperor Henry VI. confirmed it afterwards in an authentick manner

\* *Hospitales milites ab equis descendunt,  
Ut urfa pro filiis, cum Turcis contendunt,  
Turci nostrum aggerem per vim bis conscendunt,  
Hec sagittis sauciant, hos igne succendunt,  
Et hospitalarii equos ascenderunt,  
Et Turces a latere maris invaserunt,  
Quos ad urbis mœnia per vim reducerunt,  
Et ex his in foveis multos occiderunt.*

Monachi Florentini, Iconensis episcopi, de recuperata Ptolimaide.

<sup>b</sup> Petri de Dusburg, sacerdotis ordinis Teutonicæ, Chronic. Prus. p. 13.

manner by his bull of February 23d, 1192. He prescribed these new knights for their rule, that of St. Augustine, and for their particular statutes, he appointed them those of the hospitallers of St. John, in what regarded the service of the poor and sick, and the statutes of the templars, in what related to military discipline. This new order, which was confined entirely to the German nation, was called the order of the teutonick knights of the house of St. Mary of Jerusalem.

THIS name was given them, because in the time that Jerusalem was in the hands of the Latin Christians, a German had, at his own expence, built an hospital and an oratory, dedicated to the holy virgin, for the sick of that nation. The habit of these new knights was a white mantle, charged with a black cross. They were obliged to the same three solemn vows with the hospitallers of St. John and the templars. Before they took the habit, they were to swear, that they were Germans of noble birth and extraction, and bind themselves for their whole life to the service of the poor and sick, and the defence of the holy places.

THIS last part of their institution was common to all the three military orders, who were always the generous defenders of the Holy Land. Cardinal de Vitri, a contemporary historian, and even an eyewitness, speaking of the founding of these three orders, and applying to them what is said in the book of Ecclesiastes, that a threefold cord is not quickly broken, adds to the testimony he had given in behalf of the two first orders, that it pleased divine providence to raise up a third, which was not less serviceable to the preservation of the Holy Land. In fact, it may be said, that these three bodies were the principal strength of the army, as well for going out on detachments, as in repelling the sallies of the garrison: but as they were not duly seconded by those of the crusade, who were divided among themselves, and as there were no chiefs with full command in the  
army,

army, nor any regular discipline observed, the siege advanced but slowly, and was even suspended in a manner by the differences that arose between Guy de Lusignan and young Conrad, in which the lords of the crusade embarked, every one according to his interest or inclination.

It was near two years that the siege of Acre had gone heavily on, and been spun out to a tedious length, when Philip II. king of France, who had been detained till then at Messina, by some new disputes with the king of England, who would not marry his sister as he had engaged to do, parted abruptly from thence, and appeared at last off St. John d'Acre, with a numerous fleet. This new reinforcement, and the presence of the prince who commanded it, put new life, as we may say, into the whole army, composed as it was of different nations, whom their manners, language and interests, had divided. The siege now was carried on in another manner; the soldiers, as well as the officers, fought to signalize themselves before the eyes of so great a king. That prince ordered engines to be made, which demolished a pannel of the wall, and made a large breach: the whole army cried out with eagerness to be led to the assault. Philip, who every day expected the king of England, with whom he had taken the cross, would needs defer an enterprize, the success and glory of which were certain, in order to share them with his ally. But these considerations, generous to excess, made the Christian army relapse into a state of inactivity; and the infidels making their use of it raised new fortifications within the place, which was in a posture of defence, at the king of England's arrival.

THAT prince was Richard I. who had lately succeeded his father, king Henry II. Queen Eleanor his mother had brought to him as far as Messina, Berengara infanta of Navarre, whom he was to marry. This princess and Jean of England, the king's sister, and widow of William II. king of Sicily, having expressed their desire of making the voyage of the east, Richard  
divided



divided his fleet into two squadrons, and put the two princesses on board that which led the van. Both the squadrons met with a violent storm in the Archipelago. The king of England made the isle of Rhodes, and the squadron of the two princesses came to an anchor on Good Friday, in sight of Limisso in Cyprus; several vessels that ran aground near that place were beat in pieces by the tempest. The sovereign, or rather the tyrant of the island, was by his mother's side of the imperial house of the Comneni: the emperor Emanuel had made him governor of the island of Cyprus; but this governour revolted, assumed the title of emperor, and, under the weak reign of Isaac Angelus, continued absolute master of the isle. He was by accident upon the coast when the princesses squadron appeared off it. That prince, perfidious and cruel in his nature, ordered the English ships that had run aground to be pillaged, and the soldiers and seamen that fell into his hands, to be laid in irons. He was even inhumane enough to refuse letting the ship in which the two princesses were on board, come into his ports during the storm. But the fair weather that followed, allowing the two English squadrons to join, Richard being refused the satisfaction he demanded for so barbarous a proceeding, forced his way on shore, seized on Limisso, cut in pieces the Greek prince's troops, pursued him without resting from place to place, took him prisoner at last, with the princess of Cyprus, his only daughter, and made himself master of the whole island, reaping as much satisfaction from the vengeance he took on the outrage offered the two princesses as from the conquest of a kingdom. Richard, after so glorious an expedition, which had cost him less time than a mere journey of pleasure, and before he left Cyprus, espoused the princess of Navarre. He set sail afterwards with his prisoner, whom he carried after him in irons, as a trophy of his victory: the miserable prince desired to be treated with more moderation, and put him in mind of his birth and dignity. The king of England,

who

who despised him, ordered, with a smile, that he should be put in chains of silver; and the Greek prince, who was as vain as he was cowardly, thought himself much relieved, and fancied them to be less weighty, because they were different from those of the other prisoners. Richard arrived at the Christian camp, put him into the hands of the knights of St. John, who sent him to be kept in their fortress of Margat; and the two princesses, at the king of England's instance, kept the princess of Cyprus with them, who was suspected of having in her turn put chains of another nature on her conqueror.

As the isle of Cyprus was too remote from England to be annexed to that monarchy, Richard sold it to the templars, for the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Those military friars took possession of it, and, to secure their authority, threw a considerable body of their troops into it. But the harshness of their government, and the haughty ways of these templars, alienated the minds of their new subjects. Besides, the Cypriots, who followed the Greek rites, could not bring themselves to obey those Latin monks. This was the source, or at least the pretext of well nigh continual war between the great men of that kingdom and the templars, who were obliged at last to abandon the island, and deliver it back to the king of England, as we shall observe hereafter.

THAT prince arrived at the Christian camp on June 8th, A. D. 1191. I shall not enter into the detail of all that passed in this famous siege. The two kings distinguished themselves in it by an extraordinary valour; Richard especially, by a daring resolution, which carried him always into places of the greatest dangers, from whence he ever came off victorious. But there was a certain fierceness in his manner, that made him less agreeable. Saladine was noways behind him in point of courage; he had all the bravery and intrepidity of the soldier, with all the skill of the officer, and was every day making new enterprizes against

gainst the Christians. The knights of the three orders exerted themselves in all places; the templars, on one of these occasions, lost their grand master, and the hospitallers of St. John, many of their knights; and the order would have been soon cut off in these continual combats, if the crusades, which from time to time arrived from Europe, had not supplied it with new recruits. A great number of young gentlemen, charmed with the extraordinary valour of the hospitallers, took the cross, at their arrival from the west, preferring at the same time the cross of the hospitallers before that of the templars, who seemed more proud and haughty than was suitable to the character of a religious society. All the world was for fighting under the banner of St. John; and those who did so, were as so many pupils and candidates, out of whom such were afterwards chosen for the religious profession, as gave the best proofs of their being sincerely called to it, and had distinguished themselves as much by their piety as their valour; two qualities, which it were to be wished the order would have as much regard to in the admission of knights at this time, as they have to the nobleness of their extraction.

WE have observed, that the infidels, making their advantage of the leisure the king of France had allowed them, out of a compliment to his ally of England, had fortified the place anew, so that it was no longer liable to be carried by storm. They were forced to begin their attacks again, which cost them abundance of men: a dysentery too, which raged among the western troops, occasioned by their excessive eating of fruit, carried off a great number of soldiers.

THE jealousy between the French and the English began to break out; and, to make the misfortune still worse, the old divisions between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat were revived. The king of France declared for the latter; the king of England for Lusignan; the princes and nobility, after their example, divided into parties; and as there was always a secret emulation subsisting between the two military orders,

orders, the hospitallers declaring themselves in favour of the king of Jerusalem, was a sufficient reason to engage the templars to quit his party, and embrace that of the prince of Tyre.

So general a misunderstanding making them less concerned about the success of the siege, the bishops that were in the camp omitted nothing to conciliate these fatal divisions. Several conferences were held on this subject; at last it was agreed, that Lusignan should keep the title of king of Jerusalem during his life, but that the prince of Tyre should be acknowledged in right of his wife indefeasible heir of the crown. The two pretenders consented to these conditions; but Conrad reaped no advantage from this agreement. That prince having refused to do the feignior of the mountain justice, in relation to a ship that the Tyrians had taken from him, was afterwards stabbed by two assassins, who, in the midst of the most horrible tortures, and whilst they slayed them alive, gloried in their having executed the barbarous orders of their cruel master.

PEACE being thus restored in the army, they resumed the care of the siege with new vigour. The attacks were in a manner continual, and the two kings, out of a noble emulation, pushed the work so briskly on their respective sides, that there was soon a sufficient breach to mount and give the assault. The infidels, after an incredible resistance, seeing the outworks of the place taken, their towers ruined, a considerable breach made, and the bravest knights of the Christian army ready to mount it, demanded a capitulation. Hostages were given on both sides; the town was surrendered, the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, with the governor, yielded themselves prisoners, on condition of being released upon their causing the true cross, and the Christian slaves that were in Saladine's hands to be restored, or otherways,

1191. of being left to the discretion of the conqueror. The Christians took possession of Acre on July 13th, and made it afterwards their place of arms.

arms. They assigned different quarters for the several bodies and nations that had contributed to reduce it, and were able to defend and maintain it: the hospitallers of St. John transferred thither their principal residence, which, since the loss of Jerusalem, had been settled at Margat. 'TWAS in Acre that their grand master Ermengard, in the year follow- 1192. ing, ended an illustrious life, which he had exposed so often against the infidels, and in defence of the Christians.

THE hospitallers, in a full chapter, chose brother Godfrey de Duiffon, an old knight, for his successor. It was none of this GODFREY DE new grand master's fault, that the tak- DUISSON. ing of Acre was not followed with the 1192. conquest of Jerusalem, the main design of the crusade; but jealousy of state, diversity of interests, emulation and animosity, raised such divisions among these different nations, that all the effect of this mighty armament was the taking of a single place. The crusade being composed chiefly of volunteers, they quitted the army, and filed off by degrees, after a siege that had lasted near three years. Philip king of France was obliged to leave Palestine, and change the air, as the only remedy to recover him out of a violent distemper, which was not without suspicion of poison, and made his hair and nails fall off. But at his going away, he left in the Christian army, a body of five hundred men of arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. The principal chiefs of different nations were going off from time to time, abandoning the Holy Land for a prey to the infidels. Richard king of England, before his departure, took Jassa and Ascalon, and made afterwards a truce with the Barbarians for three years, three months, and three weeks; and, if we may believe the historians of that age, they added, for greater exactness, three days and three hours. It is said, that Richard, before his departure, caused Guy de Lusignan to marry the princess of Cyprus, and made



over to him the sovereignty of that isle, which the templars had resigned back to him, and which the princes of the house of Lusignan possessed afterwards for near three hundred years. Henry count of Champagne, nephew to the king of England, and entirely attached to his interests, married at the same time Isabella, widow of Conrad, and by that marriage obtained a right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which he was in hopes to clear of the Sarazens.

THESE hopes were raised still higher by the death of Saladine, which happened at Damascus, on March 13th 1193. That infidel prince, one of the greatest captains of his age, thought, upon the retreat of the Christians, to enjoy the fruit of his victories in triumph; but death stripped him of all at once. When he felt himself near his end, he ordered the officer that carried his standard in battle to put in its stead a piece of cloth designed for his winding sheet, and carrying it through the streets, to cry aloud, "See here all that the great Saladine, conqueror of the east, carries off with him, of all his conquests and treasures." They say, that before he expired, he distributed considerable sums to all the poor of Damascus, without distinction of Mahometan, Jew or Christian, whether he was persuaded, that charity, or at least bare humanity, should be extended indifferently to all that are in misery; or else perhaps, though he had professed Mahometanism all his life, yet he might, in his last moments, be in doubt which of the three religions was the best and true one. At the same time, he divided his dominions between his eleven sons, who, after his death, thought of nothing but ruining one another. But Safadine, the brother of Saladine, and companion of his victories, made his advantage of these divisions, attacked his nephews, one after another, made away all of them that fell into his hands, and raised at last an empire to himself, very little inferior to that of Saladine's. These divisions, and other civil wars that broke out afterwards between the children of Saladine, gave the Latin Christians time to breathe.

POPE Celestine III. to supply them with succours, published a new crusade, contrary to the truce concluded by the king of England, which was still subsisting; and it is even said, that they received an express order from the pope, not to pay any regard to it. A great number of German barons put on the cross, came to Messina, and from thence passed into the Holy Land. Waleran, brother to the duke of Limburgh, having broke the truce by some hostilities, Safadine, provoked at this infraction, laid siege to Jassa, carried it by storm, and put above twenty thousand Christians to the sword. The Christians in Palestine seemed to be on the brink of ruin, if a civil war between the infidels had not afterwards obliged Safadine to renew the truce for six years. The count of Campagne, after this treaty, returned to Acre, where looking out of a window upon the troops as they passed in review, the bar that he leaned on failing, he fell into the castle ditch, and was killed.

THE grand master of the hospitallers, considering that so small a state as the kingdom of Jerusalem, encompassed as it was with formidable enemies, could never support itself without a king, proposed, some time after that prince's death, to the queen his widow, to marry Amaury de Lusignan, who had just before, upon the death of Guy his brother, succeeded to the crown of Cyprus. He represented to her, that her state being surrounded with powerful enemies, she might draw considerable succours from that isle in the neighbourhood of Palestine, and besides, Cyprus might serve her for an honourable retreat, if by misfortune the infidels should compleat the conquest of her own territories. The queen readily approved a proposition, in which she found at the same time her own interest and that of the state. The grand master undertook the negotiation, and managed it with such conduct, that, without exposing the queen, he brought the king of Cyprus to court her alliance. Nothing more was wanting to put the finishing hand to this great af-

fair but his presence. He was by no means at a loss for pretences to go to Acre; he saw the queen; was well received by her; and after they had, for form sake, communicated their design to the grandees of the state, they were married by the patriarch, and afterwards solemnly proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

HUMPHREY de Thoron, this princess's first husband, could not, without uneasiness, see her dispose successively of her person and crown to so many princes, who perhaps had less right to them than he. But as right, without power to support it, is little regarded in the case of sovereigns, this unfortunate lord found no body concerned at his misfortune: he was forced, for his own safety, to say nothing of his pretensions, and, like a divinity without a temple, he remained without any worship or adorers.

THE grand master, who had acted so great a part in the queen's last marriage, did not long survive the rejoicings which attended that ceremony; he 1194. died almost at the same time; and we have scarce any account left us of his government. The ignorance, in which people of quality were brought up at that time, has deprived us of the knowledge of a great number of facts, that might have embellished this history; but in those first ages of the order, the knights made much more use of their sword than their pen; I can't say indeed whether most of them could read. This at least is certain, that either for want of capacity or out of modesty, we have not one knight for above four hundred years, that has vouchsafed to give us an account of so many remarkable events, as are with difficulty traced out in national histories, and collections of treaties and public instruments.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K I I I .

**I**T is hard to say, whether it be the great distance of the times, or the negligence of the first historians, that we are to charge with our ignorance of the house and extraction of the first grand masters, and particularly of the successor of Duissou. This successor, in the ancient chronicles, is called brother Alphonfus of Portugal. The ALPHONSUS common opinion is, that he was de- OF PORTU- scended from the princes of that nation; GAL. but they do not tell us what branch he 1194. came of; only they agree, that it was of an illegitimate line. Some modern authors pretend, that his name was Peter, and that he was son to Alponfus I. king of Portugal. However this be, all writ-

ers that have mentioned him, represent him as a person of distinguished valour and piety, equally exact in the regular and military discipline, a scrupulous observer of the statutes, but naturally proud and haughty; and it soon appeared, after his promotion to the grand mastership, that the orders he gave in relation to the government of the society, had a tincture of his own rough disposition.

SCARCE was he acknowledged as grand master, when having his mind filled with notions of a perfection hardly practicable among warriors, and out of a view of reforming the abuses that had crept into it, he called a general chapter in the town of Margat, whither the order had, after the loss of Jerusalem, transferred its residence. To cover his main design the better, he set himself at first only to rectify a certain abuse which often confounded the secular gentry with the professed knights. Those gentlemen, upon their return into the west, and in their provinces, affected to wear the cross of St. John of Jerusalem. To understand rightly this particular fact, it must be observed, that such gentlemen as engaged themselves in the crusades or in pilgrimages, when they arrived in Palestine, served as volunteers under the banner of the order. There were some likeways that sent their children young into Palestine, to be bred up in the house of St. John, under the discipline of the knights, as the best school to form them in the art of war.

BOTH the one and the other, as long as they staid in the Holy Land, and fought under the standard of the order, were allowed to wear the cross; but they, abusing this indulgence, on their return into Europe, so as to found a claim of right upon it, the grand master, to prevent their being confounded with the professed knights, procured a statute to be passed in the chapter, that they should be considered only as auxiliary troops, and not be allowed to wear the cross, but only when they were fighting against the infidels under the banner of the order.



FROM this particular article of reformation, the grand master proceeded to others that concerned chiefly the knights professed; and to get them received the more easily, he began with his own house and equipage, which he reduced to a major-domo, a chaplain, two knights, three esquires, a turcopolier and a page. To each of the several officers of his household, he left only one horse to carry them. With regard to his person, he reserved only two led horses and a mule, an equipage indeed exceeding modest, but not very suitable to the governor of a great military order, who was every day at the head of an army.

FROM this particular regulation he assumed a right of reforming all the knights in general; after upbraiding them with what he called their luxury and effeminacy, he proposed several regulations; their diet, habit and equipages, all passed under a severe examination, and a rigid reform. It can't be denied, but the grand master's intentions were very good; his design was to revive the discipline established by Raimond Dupuy, which had been much relaxed since that time. It is reported, that hearing some mutterings in the assembly, he asked them, if they were more nice than their predecessors, and if they had not made the same vows in the most solemn manner before the altar? In vain did they represent to him the difference of the times, and that the way of life which he proposed was incompatible with the duties of a continual war, and with the obligation they were under, since the loss of Jerusalem, of being every day either on horseback or in the trenches. This only served to make him raise his voice, and tell them, with a tone and air of arbitrary command, I will be obeyed, and I'll hear no reply. The whole assembly at these words broke out into loud complaints, and an old knight told him the chapter was not used to hear their superiors speak as sovereigns.

PASSION and animosity soon entered into these warm disputes, which were carried on so far, that the knights by concert, with an obstinacy not to be justified,

fied, refused to observe the regulations he proposed. The grand master on his side, though only descended from a royal house by a by-blow, yet to prove as it were his legitimacy, affected all the state and haughtiness of the throne. Neither side caring to make any abatement, it came at last to an open revolt. The order fell into a sort of anarchy; and the grand master, finding he was to expect no more obedience from his knights, abdicated his dignity, and retired to Portugal. He was yet more unhappy there, and died at last in the civil wars that he engaged in. This we learn from several historians, though they are not agreed, either as to his own name, or that of the prince from whom he derived his being.

THE order, after his abdication, chose for his successor brother Geoffroy le Rat, of the language of France, a venerable old man, good natured, courteous, and no way forward; qualities which recommended him to the suffrages of his brother knights. There happened almost at the same time a new revolution, in the principality of the lesser Armenia, the consequences of which he prevented by his good conduct and management. We have observed, that two brothers, the most considerable of the nobility of that nation, the one called Rupin of the mountain, and the younger Livron or Leon, had, after the death of the renegado Melier, seized that little kingdom. Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and now count of Tripoli, pushed on by a boundless ambition, and in hopes of enlarging his own dominions at the expence of his neighbours, had prevailed with the prince of Armenia to come to Antioch, under pretence of a conference, and to enter into measures with him against the infidels, their common enemies, and had caused him to be arrested there. Livron some time after turned his own artifice against him; and, under pretence of treating for his brother's liberty, came to the rendezvous better attended than Bohemund, cut his retinue and convoy in pieces, took and carried him to a strong

a strong place, where he kept him prisoner, and would not at first hearken to any negotiation of peace.

EACH nation took arms in favour of their prince. The infidels, their neighbours, would not have failed making their advantage of a war so prejudicial to the Christians; but the patriarch and grand master, who saw the fatal consequences of this difference, interposed to make it up. Livron would not at first hearken to any proposal, either because governing the kingdom during his brother's captivity, he did not care to part with the sovereign authority, or perhaps, as the event shewed, because he designed to draw greater advantages from the treaty. However it was, he would not consent to the exchanging of the two prisoners, but upon condition that the principality of Antioch should for the future hold of that of Armenia, and that, as the pledge of a sincere reconciliation between the two houses, the eldest son of the prince of Antioch should, before his father was set at liberty, marry Alice, the only daughter of Rupin, and that the issue of that marriage should be declared, after their father, presumptive heirs of the principality of Antioch, but without any pretensions to that of Armenia, till after the death of Livron himself. Hard as these conditions were, Bohemund, impatient of recovering his liberty, ratified them all, and, after a consummation of the marriage, the two captive princes were released. He of Antioch returning into his own territories, to make provision for prince Raimond his second son, gave him the county of Tripoli; and after the death of his eldest, in prejudice of the children which that young prince had left of his marriage with the princess of Armenia, he resolved likewise to have him acknowledged for his successor in the principality, which occasioned great disputes, as we shall hereafter shew.

IN virtue of the truce which was still subsisting with Safadine, and the other successors of Saladine; the Christians of Palestine, and the two military orders, which were all the defence they had, enjoyed a little rest;

rest: both of them owed this transient quiet to a dreadful famine which then afflicted Egypt. That 1196. great kingdom, as is well known, owes all its fertility to the regular inundations of the Nile, which, spreading its waters over the surface of the earth, leaves behind it a slime mixt with nitre, that fattens the ground, and produces plenty in all the provinces through which it flows. This inundation had failed the former year, as we learn from a letter of the grand master of the hospitallers to the prior of England of the same order. We see there, that the miserable Egyptians were reduced to the extremity of browsing like beasts on grass, that fathers were not ashamed to sell their children for a livelihood, and that all Egypt was like a large charnel-house, but with this difference, that the dead lay there exposed without burial, and served for food to ravenous animals.

PALESTINE, adjoining to Egypt, and supplied from thence with most of its corn, suffered by this general famine; 'tis the subject of the grand master's letter to the prior of England. He adds, that the Italian war, occasioned by the rebellion of the towns of Lombardy against the emperor, was another scourge that afflicted the order; and the grand priory of Barletto in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, from whence the order and convent used to receive considerable supplies, particularly in corn, furnished them almost nothing, by reason of the wars between the popes and emperors. "We are forced, adds the grand master, "to buy every thing at an exorbitant price, as well "for the subsistence of our knights, as for the troops "which are in the pay of the order, which has obliged us to contract considerable debts, greater than "we can pay, without the supply we expect from "our brethren of the west." He concludes with exhorting them to solicit the king of England to send troops into the east, while the Egyptians were still labouring under the miseries of that calamitous state to which they were reduced, and at so favourable a juncture as the conclusion of the truce, now just ready to expire,

expire, when they might hope, if an army should arrive from Europe, to make a second conquest of the Holy Land, and re-enter gloriously into Jerusalem.

I do not pretend to determine, whether the expence the order of St. John was at in maintaining constantly a standing body of troops, or a spirit of interest, which is but too ordinary in communities, induced the grand master to deliver himself in this language: but certain it is, that James de Vitri, then bishop of Acre, and afterwards cardinal, a contemporary historian, that lived himself upon the spot, affirms <sup>a</sup>, that in his time the hospitallers and templars were as powerful as sovereign princes; that they possessed principalities, cities, towns and villages, both in Asia and Europe, and that in provinces which lay at a distance from Palestine, and the head seat of the order, they had their procurators, knights who were styled præceptors, and were very diligent in improving their estates, the revenue of which they remitted afterwards to the treasury of each order.

IF we may believe Matthew Paris, another contemporary historian, the hospitallers were at that time in possession, within the bounds of Christendom, of no less than nineteen thousand manors <sup>b</sup>, a term which the glossaries explain differently, with regard to the different countries wherein they are situated; but, generally speaking, by the term manor or manse, is meant as much land as a plough with two oxen can till

<sup>a</sup> Amplis autem possessionibus tam citra mare quàm ultra ditati sunt in immensum, villas, civitates, et oppida exemplo fratrum hospitalii Sancti Joannis possidentes, ex quibus certam pecuniæ summam pro defensione Terræ Sanctæ, summo eorum magistro, cujus sedes principalis erat in Jerusalem, mittunt annuatim: pari modo summo et principali magistro hospitalis Sancti Joannis, procuratores domorum, quos præceptores nominant, certam pecuniæ summam singulis annis transmittunt. Jac. de Vitriaco hist. Heir. p. 1084.

<sup>b</sup> Habent insuper templarii in christianitate novem millia maneriorum; hospitalarii vero novem decem, præter emolumenta et varios proventus, ex fraternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes, et per privilegia sua accrescentes. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1144 in Henr. III. l. 2. p. 615.



till in a day. And the same English historian informs us, that at same time only nine thousand manors belonged to the templars; hence arose that secret jealousy between the two orders, which flamed out afterwards, and put them on every slight pretence upon taking arms, and making open war upon one another.

THERE WAS at that time in Palestine a gentleman, named Robert de Margat, who, as a vassal of the hospitallers, was in quiet possession of a castle seated near that of Margat, and holding of it. The templars, under colour of some old pretensions, surprized the place, and made themselves masters of it by open force. This gentleman, thus driven out of his home with all his family, complained to the hospitallers his lords, who, after the loss of Jerusalem, resided, as we have already observed, at Margat. These knights, transported with courage, and misled by a false nicety of honour, sallied out immediately with a body of troops, clap ladders to the castle, scale the wall sword in hand, carry the place, and drive out the templars in their turn. This private affair soon turned to a general quarrel between the two orders, and the hospitallers were never met afterwards without being attacked. Their friends too interested themselves in the quarrel, and most of the Latins were divided. A civil war was kindling insensibly in a state where there was no sovereign of authority sufficient to repress the enterprizes of two parties so powerful and so exasperated. The patriarch and the Latin bishops were the only persons that interposed to put an end to dissensions, of which the infidels would not fail to make their advantage. Out of regard to them, the two orders agreed to a suspension of arms, and referred, as most Christians princes did at that time, the decision of their differences to the pope.

CARDINAL Lothair, of the house of the counts of Segni, scarce thirty seven years of age, had just 1198. succeeded pope Celestine III. in the chair of St. Peter. He was a prelate of irreproachable life and conversation, learned for the time he lived in, a  
great

great lawier, but unluckily too much preposseſſed in favour of the falſe decretals, which he made the rule of his conduct, though all of them ſpurious writings, aſcribed to the popes of the three firſt centuries, and forged in the middle of the ninth by a notorious falſifier called Iſidore, who, by publiſhing theſe ſuppoſitious acts, gave a terrible blow to the ancient diſcipline of the church, particularly in the point of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and the rights of biſhops. And though theſe falſe decretals are now a-days as much cried down as they deſerve to be, and the moſt zealous partiſans of the court of Rome are forced to give them up; yet all that they do, is to diſparage the author, without troubling themſelves to repair the miſchief that he did in ſome ages of ignorance. Innocent was very well qualified to remedy this diſorder, had he been but maſter of as much critical learning and penetration, as he had zeal and paſſion for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

'Twas before this ſovereign pontiff that the affair of the two military orders was brought. The hoſpitaillers on that occaſion deputed to Rome brother d'Iſigni prior of Barletto, and brother Auger præceptor of another houſe in Italy. The templars ſent thither on their part brother Peter de Villeplane, and brother Thierry. Innocent having examined into the pretenſions of both ſides, ordered, by a preliminary ſentence, before he would pronounce upon the merits of the cauſe, that the hoſpitaillers ſhould deliver back to the templars the caſtle they had taken from them; and that after the templars had reſided there quietly for the ſpace of a month, the gentleman who was the former proprietor of the caſtle ſhould have liberty to cite them before the judges at Margat, to produce their title, and the evidence of their claim; but that the hoſpitaillers, to avoid all ſuſpicion of partiality in their own magiſtrates and judges, ſhould on this occaſion have recourſe to thoſe of the principality of Antioch, or the county of Tripoli; that the order of St. John ſhould make choice of perſons of integrity; that

this choice notwithstanding, the templars should be allowed to except against, and challenge any of these foreign magistrates that they suspected; but withal, if they refused to submit to the verdict which should be afterwards brought in, the hospitallers should be empowered to put their vassal again in possession of his castle.

WE have a letter of this pope to the grand master and the whole order of the hospitallers, wherein he represents to them, with much force and persuasiveness, how unfuitable their proceeding and that of the templars was to the character of religious, if, says Innocent, we may give the name of religious to men, who are for deciding their rights by force and methods of violence. He adds, that though he knew well enough in the main, what party had right and justice on its side, yet he had chosen rather to make up the affair by an amicable composition, which the deputies of the two orders had agreed to in his presence, than to pronounce a rigorous judgment, which would have fixed a slur upon the party which had done the wrong. He goes on exhorting them both to maintain unity and peace with one another, and at the same time enjoins them, in virtue of their holy obedience, and on pain of excommunication, to determine the differences that should start up between them, in the manner directed by the rules which pope Alexander III. prescribed them. Innocent concludes his letter with threatening such as should prove refractory with all the weight of his indignation.

SOME foreign judges, according to his direction, took cognisance of this affair; the pretensions of the templars were declared groundless; the gentleman, who was vassal to the hospitallers, was again, put into possession of his castle; peace and quietness were restored between the two orders, at least in appearance, and the pope, satisfied with their submission, wrote afterwards to both, recommending to them the interests of the king of Cyprus.

We have already taken notice, that after the death of Guy de Lusignan, prince Amaury his brother inherited his crown; and that this prince having afterwards married Isabel queen of Jerusalem, she had prevailed with him to fix his residence in Palestine, in a state surrounded on all sides by the infidels. But Amaury having advice, that the isle of Cyprus was scarce in a quieter condition; that the inhabitants being of the Greek church could not bring themselves to obey a Latin prince, and that the emperor was tampering with them underhand by his emissaries, to gain them over to a re-union with the Greek empire; this king of Cyprus wrote to the pope, to lay before him the necessity he was under of returning immediately into his island, to secure his authority there.

INNOCENT was afraid, lest upon this prince's retreat, the hospitallers and templars, seeing no longer any body above them in dignity, should 1198. both pretend to the government of the state; to prevent therefore a competition, that must necessarily have very terrible consequences, he conjured the king, in the most pressing terms, not to abandon what was still left of the inheritance of Jesus Christ for a prey to the infidels and barbarians. But at the same time to, obviate the disturbances that might be raised in the isle of Cyprus in his absence, the pope wrote to the prince of Antioch, to the count of Tripoli his son, and to the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, recommending to them, to take care of the king's concerns, and, if necessity so required, to send into the island a body of forces, sufficient to maintain the royal authority there. "Amaury, says the pontiff in his letters, having been pleased to leave his own dominions, and the delicious abode of the isle of Cyprus, to dedicate himself to the defence of the Holy Land, it is but just, that the Christian princes, his neighbours, should interest themselves in the preservation of his crown."

History gives us no account of what these princes did upon this occasion; nor does it appear, that the

templars, who were odious to the Cypriots, and had been forced to give up the sovereign authority they had over them, sent any succours into the island. But we learn, from the ancient memoirs of the hospitalers, that the king, in concert with the grand master, chose out of them some knights, whom he intrusted with the government of that kingdom, and who passed over thither with a body of troops, capable of preventing and crushing the ill designs of the malecontents.

THERE happened shortly after, a surprizing revolution in the empire, and at Constantinople, which drew likewise a great number of hospitalers to that capital. For the better understanding so extraordinary an event, it must be observed, that the spirit of crusading, notwithstanding such a series of ill success as we have mentioned, still reigned in France. By the persuasion and moving discourses of the minister of Neuilli, an infinite number of princes, lords and gentlemen, put on the cross under the command of the marquis of Montferrat, an excellent general, and brother to the prince of the same name, who made that noble defence against Saladine at the siege of Tyre. The difficulty was, how to get this new army of the crusade into the Levant.

EXPERIENCE had shewn, that the way by land through the territories of the Greek and Mahometan princes, was equally difficult and dangerous. To avoid this inconvenience, the principal lords of the crusade sent deputies to Henry Dandolo, duke or doge of Venice, proposing to him, in consideration of a sum of money to be agreed on, and paid before hand, to furnish ships for transporting their army to St. John d'Acre. They entered into a negotiation upon this subject, and agreed at last, by a solemn treaty, that in consideration of eighty five thousand merks of silver, the republick should be obliged to transport four thousand knights or esquires, and twenty thousand foot into Syria, with their arms, and all necessary provisions and ammunition. The Venetians acquitted themselves  
of



of all the conditions of this treaty, and furnished even a much greater number of vessels and ships than they were obliged to, that they might not look like mere passengers in this voyage; and to have some share in the merit of the crusade, they fitted out, at their own expence, fifty galleys, with good land forces on board; and the doge, though fourscore years old, and decayed in his sight, was to mount the admiral, and make the voyage as one of the crusade.

THERE WAS nothing now that hindered those French princes and noblemen from setting sail but want of money; but it happens frequently, through accidents not to be foreseen, that it is not so easy to execute a treaty as to sign it. A great many of the French, to avoid paying their quota of the contribution agreed on, had, instead of going to Venice, embarked at Marseilles and different ports of Italy; so that the princes and noblemen who came at the head of the army to Venice, after selling their plate, gold chains and rings, could raise only fifty thousand merks of silver; and for want of the thirty five thousand remaining, the treaty was in danger of breaking off, and this holy design of miscarrying, when the zeal, magnanimity and ability of the doge provided for all difficulties, and brought on the affair again.

WHEN we see the conduct of this illustrious doge in the relation of Geoffrey de Villehardouin,<sup>a</sup> 'tis hard to determine which ought most to be admired, either his profound sagacity in council, or his courage and capacity in the conduct of an army, or his wonderful skill and contrivance in managing the tempers of men. Attentive always to the interest of his country, and still more to his own glory, he proposed, for the advancement of both, and in concert with the great council of the republick, to discharge the crusade of the thirty five thousand merks remaining, upon condition, that after their embarkation, and before they left the European seas, they would, by the way, assist him in reducing the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which

<sup>a</sup> Imprimerie Royale. an. 1657.

was part of the old demesne of the republick, but had some time before, out of a turbulent humour, revolted to Bela king of Hungary. Part of the gentlemen of the crusade, and especially the pope's legates, with some priests and monks, put scruples into the soldiery, as if it was unlawful to employ against Christians the arms which were designed against the infidels. But as it was impossible to go without the Venetian fleet, as the sedition and revolt of the inhabitants of Zara was a dangerous precedent, and moreover, as the princes of the crusade might be useful to obtain reasonable conditions for them, the doge's proposal was accepted. They set sail, and after a favourable voyage, landed in Dalmatia, and invested Zara. The place did not hold out long against so considerable an army; the inhabitants opened their gates to their old masters; but this diversion having spent the season proper for their passage into Palestine, they were obliged to winter in Dalmatia. 1202. Nov. 10.

UPON the approach of spring, the army of the crusade was preparing to re-imbark, when there arrived ambassadors from Alexis Comnenus, whose sister Irene was married to Philip duke of Suabia, and emperor elect of Germany. The Greek prince sent these deputies to solicit the princes, as they had employed their arms in favour of the Venetians, to make the like enterprize for restoring his father, the emperor Isaac Angelus, to the throne of Constantinople, another Alexis, brother to that emperor, having deprived him of his crown, and keeping him shut up in a dungeon; a new incident that requires a fuller explanation.

We have observed in several places of this work, and it is plain from the original historians, that the ambition and treachery of most of the Greek princes had made the throne of Constantinople a scene of the most bloody tragedies. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, that perfidious prince, who, in concert with the infidels, procured the destruction of the emperor Conrad the third's army, dying after a reign of considerable length, left the empire to his son, a young prince

prince hardly thirteen years old, contracted to Anne or Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII. king of France. But after a reign of three months, if we may give that name to the government of so young a prince, who was himself governed by prince Andronicus his uncle or cousin, the traiterous Andronicus caused him to be strangled, and seized the empire.

ISAAC Angelus, of the same house of the Comneni, but only by the female side, under pretence of revenging the young emperor's death, surprized the tyrant, got him into his power, and after putting him to death, with the most cruel tortures, set up himself for emperor. He had reigned already near ten years, when his brother Alexis, whom he had ransomed out of captivity among the infidels, formed a dangerous conspiracy against him, seized his person, and deprived him at once of his sight and crown. Young Alexis, Isaac's son, made his escape, and, to secure himself against his uncle's cruelty, took refuge at the court of the emperor Philip of Suabia. Philip, busy in opposing Otho of Saxony, his competitor for the empire, was not in a condition to give young Alexis any considerable succour: but these two princes, hearing with what facility the princes of the crusade had reduced Zara for the Venetians, flattered themselves, that it was not impossible to engage them, in their behalf, to turn their arms against the usurper. With this view, whilst the Christian army was still in Dalmatia, young Alexis sent ambassadors to implore their assistance against a tyrant and a traitor, who had dethroned his own brother, and kept him loaded with irons, and buried as it were in a dungeon. These motives, of such a nature as could not but move the generosity of the princes of the crusade, were seconded by offers of considerable sums; and young Alexis promised, after the emperor his father's restoration, to put on the cross, and join the Christian army with ten thousand men.

THE French and Venetian nobility, of which the army was composed, reflecting that the last crusades of Europe had miscarried only through  
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the perfidiousness of the Greek princes, and that so long as they could not be assured of Constantinople, and of the streight which joins Europe in a manner with Asia, it would be almost impracticable to transport the chiefs of the crusade into Palestine, and maintain them there, entered into a negotiation with the ambassadors. The doge, intrusted with the common interests of both nations, managed it with his usual capacity, and after several conferences, came to an agreement with the ministers of the Greek prince, that in case the princes of the crusade \*restored the emperor Isaac to his throne, the father and son should pay the Latins two hundred thousand merks of silver for the charge of the war; that young Alexis should join their army in person, and march with them into the east; or else, if the interest of the emperor his father detained him at Constantinople, they should send a reinforcement of ten thousand men of their best troops, with a year's pay advanced; and that in order to secure the conquests which they hoped to gain either in Egypt or Palestine, they should always maintain a standing body of five hundred horse there at their expence. The princes, out of a religious motive, and to engage the pope, the primum mobile of the crusades, to allow of this diversion, insisted likewise, that the ambassadors should oblige themselves, by this treaty in their master's name, in case God blessed the arms of the crusade with success, to exert their authority, and use all their endeavours to put an end to the schism, and bring the Greek church under subjection to that of Rome. The ambassadors having no other resource, subscribed to every thing, and returned into Germany, from whence prince Alexis set out immediately, and came with the utmost expedition to Dalmatia, and upon his arrival, ratified the treaty made by his ambassadors with the princes of the crusade.

THESE Latin adventurers, if we may give that name to the princes and noblemen that composed this little

\* Nangis ad an. 1203.

little army, finding their own private interest as well as that of religion in this treaty, set sail with a favourable wind, and, landing in the territories of the Greek emperor, advanced up to the walls of Constantinople. Six thousand French, and about eight thousand Venetians, in a foreign land, and an enemy's country, without provisions, or any other succour but their courage and their arms, undertook the siege of the capital of a great empire, in which it is said, there were not fewer than two hundred thousand men armed for its defence. The soldiers of the crusade made several attacks both by sea and land; all the leaders did wonders; and particularly the illustrious doge of Venice, then above eighty years of age; and though his sight was almost gone, he put himself at the head of his troops, where, by his example still more than by his words, he animated his men, gave the proper orders, and commanded in the action. The Greeks on the other hand lined the wall with archers and soldiers, who, with showers of arrows, stones and fire works, repulsed the besiegers, and there was no appearance that a handful of Latins could carry a place defended by an innumerable multitude of people. But the usurper<sup>a</sup>, stung with remorse of his conscience, and still more uneasy with the fear of being delivered up by some secret enemies to the lords of the crusade, fled away by night in a bark with his family and treasures, and his flight made the soldiers and inhabitants drop their arms, and open their gates to the Latins; the self same day a tyrant deserting his own army, and become a fugitive, the lawful prince delivered out of prison and re-established on the throne, and the courtiers with the principal citizens applauding a success which the evening before they had opposed with all their forces. The first care of the old emperor was to make prince Alexis his son partner with him in the empire. This ceremony was performed on August 1. 1203. The chiefs of the crusade attended him afterwards into most of the provinces of the empire, where they

<sup>a</sup> Alexis III.



they established his authority. But they were ill recompensed for it: Alexis seeing himself quiet on the throne, put off, under various pretences, paying the sums he was obliged to by the treaty. His wiles were his ruin. The Greeks, afraid of being made subject to the church of Rome, hated him, and the breach of his word rendered him odious to those of the crusade.

A PRINCE of the family of Ducas, called Murzulphle, because of his thick eye brows which  
 1204. met together, formed a design to dethrone him: he got by base compliances, and a continual series of flattery, the ascendant over his mind; he governed the empire absolutely, and at the same time that he persuaded the prince not to comply with the demands of the Latins, his emissaries gave out, that the emperor detained them at the gates of Constantinople, only to force the inhabitants to acknowledge the pope's authority. The people hereupon mutiny, run to arms, and cry, that Alexis ought to be deposed. The emperor Isaac his father, worn out with years, died at that time of grief, to see his misfortunes break out afresh: Alexis in confusion applies to his benefactors, and conjures them to send some of their troops into the city for his security. The marquis of Montferrat, forgetting his ingratitude, promised to come to his relief; and it was agreed, that one of the gates of the city should be kept open for him the night following. The perfidious Murzulphle gives private notice of it to the mutineers; this news encreases the uproar; the whole city take up arms, and resolve to elect a new emperor. Murzulphle, the silent ring-leader of the revolt, mistrusting the inconstancy of the people, to make a trial of the danger, caused a young man of great birth but no interest to be chosen emperor. His name was Nicholas Canabe. The false Murzulphle, seeing all the people out of aversion to his nephew, running in to put the crown upon his idol, secretly secures the person of that phantom of an emperor, and goes at night to the palace, awakens the prince, and advises him to withdraw from the fury of

a mutinous populace, that were in quest of him, as he said, to put him to death. The young emperor abandons himself to his perfidious advice, follows him; and Murzuphle, under pretence of concealing him, carries him into a lonesome part of the palace, where the unhappy prince, as soon as he entered, was seized and put in irons. The usurper strips him of his buskins wrought with eagles, and the other marks of the imperial dignity, puts them on himself, and, attended with his relations and accomplices, presents himself to the people, exhorts them to break off all correspondence with the Latins, and proposes to make a war upon them. This discourse, which flattered the animosity of the unruly multitude, is received with great applause. They proclaim him emperor on the spot: and not to let the zeal of the people cool, he gets himself crowned. History does not tell us what became of poor Canabe, who disappeared at once, and was never heard of afterwards. As to the emperor Alexis, whose life gave him great uneasiness, he twice together caused poison to be mixed with that prince's food; but the poison not working quick enough, this barbarous wretch, impatient to be rid of him, went into the dungeon where he was shut up, and strangled him with his own hands.

How just an indignation soever the lords of the crusade had against young Alexis, yet they lamented his unhappy fate, and resolved to revenge his death. War was proclaimed against the tyrant, who made preparations to carry it on, and put the inhabitants in arms. The troops of the crusade laid siege to the place a second time; they brought the same courage to the enterprise; and, without amusing themselves with the ordinary forms of war, they attempted a *scalado*; and after a combat, which lasted almost the whole day, they seized upon some towers, where they fortified themselves during the night. They were resolved to carry on the attack at break of day, but were agreeably surprized by some of the inhabitants, who informed them that the usurper was fled. In the morning

ing they renewed their attack, when the weak resistance they met with, and the terrible disorder and confusion the city was in, made them soon sensible that the surprizing news was true. The French and Venetians enter Constantinople sword in hand, break into the palace and houses of the principal nobility, and commit all those disorders, which are the ordinary effects of the fury and greediness of the soldiery.

THE next business was to elect an emperor. The chiefs of the crusade referred the choice to twelve electors, six of them French, and six Venetians; and it was agreed, that whatever nation the emperor was of, the patriarch should be taken out of the other. If the doge had been a competitor for the empire, 'tis certain he would have had the best interest. But that wise prince, considering that the imperial dignity in a Venetian would be the ruin of a republick government, renounced it both for himself and his nation; so that there was nothing more to do, but to make a good choice among the French, and other nations that composed the army. Most of the votes seemed determined in favour of the marquis of Montferrat; and indeed it looked as if they could not without injustice refuse the dignity to a prince, whom they had chosen already out of so many others, to be their own general, and who, by his valour and conduct, had made them masters of Constantinople. But the politick doge, dreading his great qualities, and afraid of seeing the empire united to the dominions which that prince was already possessed of in Italy, determined most of the electors in favour of Baldwin count of Flanders, from whom there was no such danger to be apprehended. That prince was crowned with great solemnity in the church of St. Sophia. Thomas Morosini was chosen patriarch of Constantinople; and the marquis of Montferrat had afterwards for his share the kingdom of Thessalonica, and the Venetians most of the islands of the Archipelago.

BALDWIN could not be ignorant of the aversion which his new subjects had to the government of a  
prince

prince subject to the church of Rome. To remove this prejudice, and bring them to an uniformity of belief, so necessary to the tranquillity of a state, he procured from pope Innocent \* some clergy and monks, remarkable for their learning and virtue, who used their endeavours to put an end to the schism, and unite the two churches. He invited at the same time the hospitallers of St. John into his dominions, gave them considerable estates in the provinces which held of the empire, and restored them the possession of the two houses which they had in Constantinople, till the usurper Andronicus drove them thence. Geoffrey de Ville-hardouin, marshal of Champagne and Romania, tells us in his history, that Matthieu de Montmorency, one of the chief leaders of the crusade, dying in this famous expedition, was buried at Constantinople in the church of St. John of the hospital of Jerusalem<sup>b</sup>.

THERE was not a Christian prince within either Asia or Europe, but would have some hospitallers in his dominions. Magnificent hospitals and churches were at that time built for them at Florence, Pisa and Verona. Besides these foundations for the knights, the hospital nuns of the same order had some considerable houses in those three cities, in which these pious sisters made piety, charity, and all Christian virtues flourish. We must not omit to mention here the blessed sister Ubaldina, whose memory is held in singular veneration at Pisa, and over all the order. This holy nun was born about the middle of the twelfth century, at the castle of Calcinaya, in the county of Pisa. As soon as she was of age to chuse for herself, she took the habit, and professed herself in the house of St. John de Pise. Nature formed her generous and beneficent; grace rendered her charitable: she was the mother

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\* See the epistles of Innocent III. Books 13. 14. 15. and 16.

<sup>b</sup> Lors lor avint une mult grant mesavanture en l'ost que Mathius de Montmorency que ere un des meilleur chevalier del royaume de France, et des plus prisiez et des plus amez fû moirs, et ce fû grant diels et grant domages, un des greigners qui avint en l'ost, d'un seul home, et fû enterrez en une yglise de Monseigneur St. Jehan de l'hôpital de Jerusalem. Ville-hardouin, p. 80.

ther of the poor; the sick met with a relief always at hand in her assiduous care; there was no kind of misery but she brought a remedy for it, or gave consolation under it; and when her duties allowed her some moments to herself, she spent them before the cross, and in a continual meditation upon the death and passion of our divine Saviour.

THAT she might be worthy to partake of the benefits of that great mystery, she crucified her body with surprizing austerities. From the time of her profession she never left off her hair cloth, a board served for her bed, her fastings were continual, her food bread and water, with a few roots: she was particularly industrious in her penances; she sought eagerly after all occasions of practising some secret mortification; had she a taste, a bias, a natural inclination or aversion for any thing, as soon as she perceived it, all was sacrificed; she was, as we may say, a continual martyr; and if her sex and profession did not allow her to bear a share with the knights her brethren in the torments to which they were exposed, when they fell into the hands of the infidels, it may be said, that by the pious cruelties wherewith she mortified her body, she was their companion in sufferings, and the cross which she wore outwardly, was not so much an ornament as a mark and character of that which she had so deeply engraved in her heart. Having lived in a continual exercise of these virtues, the blessed Ubal-

1206. dina died about A. D. 1206. The authors of her life mention several miracles which it pleased God to work by her intercession; but the first and greatest of all was a lively faith, an unbounded charity, a spirit of mortification, and that combination of virtues, of which, for the honour of the order of St. John, it may be said, there were at that time very eminent examples.

WE have seen above, that the grand master, at the request of Amaury de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and at the pope's recommendation, had sent a body of knights into that island, to keep the subjects thereof



in the obedience they owed their sovereign. That prince, king of Cyprus, and king likewise of Jerusalem in right of queen Isabel his wife, died this year without any issue by her; and the queen outliving him but a few days, the two crowns, which by their marriage had been united upon their heads, were divided again by their death.

MARY, the eldest daughter of queen Isabel, and Conrad of Montferrat prince of Tyre her second husband, was acknowledged heiress of the crown of Jerusalem; and Hugh de Lusignan, son to Amaury by his first wife, succeeded the king his father in the crown of Cyprus. This young prince married the princess Alice, half sister to Mary by the mother's side, and daughter of Isabel and Henry count of Champagne her third husband. The Christians of Palestine, finding themselves destitute of a sovereign, who was as necessary to keep the great lords of the kingdom in their duty, as he was to oppose the arms of the infidels, sent the bishop of Acre, and Aimar, lord of Cæsarea in right of his wife, as their deputies to king Philip Augustus, to desire him to recommend a husband to them for the young queen of Jerusalem, that would be capable of defending her dominions.

THE king named them John de Brienne, a young nobleman full of valour, wise, capable of governing a state, and of commanding an army, such a one indeed as the pressing occasions of the Holy Land, and a tottering throne required. The young count, not considering the vast number of enemies wherewith that little kingdom was encompassed, suffered himself to be dazzled with the empty title of king, and the circumstance of owing it entirely to his own merit and reputation. He received the king's proposal with all due acknowledgments, and having taken such measures as he thought necessary with the ambassadors of Palestine, he sent them away before him, charging them to assure the queen and grandees of the kingdom, that he would come to Acre with a formidable

army, and in a condition, after the truce was expired, to begin the war again with success.

THE ambassadors, returning into the east, gave out, that the count de Brienne would arrive immediately at the head of a powerful crusade, composed of the most warlike nations of Europe, and commanded most of them by their own sovereigns. They even named the princes who had put on the cross, the number of their troops, and the fleets they were to put to sea. The noise of this armament, which they were magnifying continually, as it commonly happens in speaking of things at a distance, and such as flatter our hopes, raised the courage of the Christians, and alarmed the infidels. Safadine proposed to the council of regency to prolong the truce, offering in that case to restore them ten such towns or castles as lay most for the convenience of the Christians.

THE grand master of the hospitallers, who, by the knowledge he had of the affairs of Europe, did not see that any such mighty succours could be sent as the ambassador gave them hopes of, was of opinion, that they should make their advantage of the fear of the infidels, and accept the truce they had proposed. The master of the Teutonick order, and most of the lords and barons of the country were of the same sentiments; but the grand master of the templars and the prelates opposed it, though, says Sanut<sup>a</sup>, the advice of the grand master of the hospitallers was certainly best. The very proposing of it indeed by the hospitallers was a sufficient reason to make the templars contradict it. This grand master of the hospitallers died about A. D. 1206. The historians of that time do not acquaint us with his extraction; but there is in Touraine a very ancient and noble family of the name of Rat, from which, in all probability, this grand master

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<sup>a</sup> Magistri quoque hospitalis et Alamannorum cunctique barones treugas prolongare vellent; magister tamen templi, ac prælati, licet esset utilius, minime assenserunt. Mar. Sanut. c. 3. p. 206.

was descended. The order chose in his place brother Guerin de Montaigu, a French man by nation, and of the language of Auvergne, who, in a short time after his election, did considerable service to the Greek Christians of Armenia Minor.

POPE Innocent III. writing to the bishops of France, represents to them, in one of his letters, the miserable state of the Latin Christians of the east, according to the advices he had received from those parts. The sovereign pontiff adds<sup>a</sup>, that, to make the misfortune still greater, Raimond count of Tripoli, second son to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and Leo king of Armenia, contested for the succession of that principality, even before the sovereign's death; that the inhabitants of Antioch, supported by the templars, had declared themselves for the count, and the hospitallers had taken the king's part; that the infidels too had engaged in the quarrel to make their advantage of it; that the sultan of Aleppo was raising forces in favour of the count of Tripoli; that Dennequin, another Turkish prince, was leading a considerable succour to the king of Armenia; and, what is more deplorable, continues the pontiff, Safadine, sultan of Egypt and Damascus, the mightiest of all the infidels, has levied numerous armies, without declaring as yet in favour of any party, and, in all appearance, with a view to make his advantage of all events, and to raise his empire on the ruin of both.

WE have observed already, that of the marriage contracted between young Bohemund, eldest son of the prince of Antioch, and Alice, daughter to Rupin of the mountain, there was issue a son, named also Rupin, who, after the death of young Bohemund his father, pursuant to the treaty of peace made with Leo king of Armenia, his great uncle, had been declared by old Bohemund his grandfather presumptive heir of his dominions. But Raimond count of Tripoli, se-

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<sup>a</sup> Ep. 271. vide Ep. 370. ejusdem, quæ extat apud Rog. Hov. fol. 454, edit. Lond. an. 1598.

cond son to old Bohemund, pretended, that such declaration ought not to take place, and that the right of succession, immediately after the prince his father's death, belonged to him, and not to his nephew: these were the pretensions of the two contending parties.

THE king of Armenia, though brought up in the schism, seeing his dominions surrounded by those of the Latin princes, pretended to reconcile himself to the catholick church. He had wrote several times to the pope, to declare, that he acknowledged his authority, and had likewise obliged his patriarch, whom the Armenians call the catholick, to take the like step. But to speak the truth, this union was only temporary, and the pretended submission of the Armenians lasted no longer than they had need of the protection of the holy see.

LIVRON renewed his protestations at this juncture, and at the same time made pressing instances to Innocent, intreating him to require the templars to make no more opposition to the rights of his nephew, but to conform themselves to the conduct of the hospitallers, who, said he, after being convinced of the justice of young Rupin's claim, had declared in his favour. This prince, in another letter, desires the pope to interpose his authority, that this great affair might be determined in an amicable manner, and begs, that he would be pleased, to take upon himself the nomination of impartial judges; amongst which, he particularly recommends to him the grand master of the hospitallers.

WHILST this difference was in agitation at the court of Rome, Soliman de Roveniden sultan 1209. of Iconium, of the race of the Selgeucidian Turcomans, entered Armenia, at the instance of the count of Tripoli, and destroyed all before him with fire and sword. Leo gave immediate advice of it to the pope; and that pontiff, at his request, engaged the hospitallers to undertake the defence of his dominions. The grand master de Montaigu drew a strong body into the field and joined him; upon which they

they marched against the sultan, and after several engagements, and a bloody and obstinate battle, the Turcoman prince was defeated, his army cut it pieces, and those that escaped from the sword of the conquerors, had great difficulty to get back into Bithynia, with the sultan who commanded them.

THE Armenian prince, either out of gratitude, or to engage the hospitallers still more closely in his interests, granted them in property the town of Saleph, with the fortresses of Chateauneuf and Camard. He sent the deed of this grant to pope Innocent III. who confirmed it by his bull, bearing date in the thirteenth year of his pontificate. The sovereign pontiff prevailed afterwards with the count of Tripoli, to agree to a truce with the king of Armenia, and ordered the two legates that he kept in the east, to force the refractory side to it by all spiritual methods, and to make use likewise of the assistance and arms of the hospitallers, to maintain peace in that part of Christendom. Prince Rupin, nephew to Livron, two years after made the like application to pope Honorius III. to obtain the assistance of the hospitallers, as may be seen in the brief of that pope. This was not the first time that the popes had made use of the arms of the hospitallers in the east, against princes that did not think themselves bound by the thunders of the Vatican.

THOSE pontiffs employed them no less serviceably at the same time against the Moors and Saracens of Spain, and Mahomet Enacer Miramolin, king of Morocco, having entered Castile, at the head of a formidable army, brother Guttiere d'Ermegilde, prior of the hospitallers of Castile, upon the orders he received from Rome and from the grand master, came to offer his service to king Alphonfus VIII. at the head of a large number of knights, and of the vassals of the order.

RODERIC, archbishop of Toledo, speaking of these knights in his history: the military brothers the hospitallers



pitallers, says that prelate<sup>a</sup>, inflamed with zeal, took up arms in this country, to maintain our holy religion, and drive the infidels out of Spain.

A FAMOUS French hospitaller, called brother Guerin, minister of state to Philip Augustus, and general of his army, rendered at the same time services every way as important to the church, and to his country. He was brought up in this kingdom, in a dangerous heresy, which, under pretence of a higher spiritual perfection, undermined the foundations of religion. A clergyman of the diocess of Chartres, named Amaury, a subtle logician, was the author of it. At least Rigord, a contemporary historian, affirms, that the disciples of this doctor maintained publicly, that as the laws of the old testament, given, as they said, by the eternal father, had been abolished by the gospel and the new law of Jesus Christ, so this was to be suppressed in its turn by the law of charity, which was the work of the Holy Ghost; that under this law of pure love, the use of the sacraments was as unnecessary as that of the legal ceremonies of the old law. He added, that paradise and hell had no existence but in the imagination of men; that the pleasure of doing good works was the true paradise, and that sin and ignorance made all our hell. He required nothing of his followers, for the whole practice of religion, but only the love of God, the flame of which, he said, was capable of purifying even adultery itself.

THESE errors, being spread abroad by men of parts and eloquence, perverted great numbers of persons, and particularly many women, who are always fond of novelty. Brother Guerin<sup>b</sup> of the order of the hospital-  
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<sup>a</sup> Fratres etiam militiæ hospitalis, qui fraternitatis caritati insistentes devotè, zelo fidei, et Terræ Sanctæ necessitate accensi, defensionis gladium assumpserunt. Hi sub uno priore Gutterio Ermegildi, &c. Roderic. Toletanus, t. 2. l. 8. c. 3. p. 130. de rebus Hispanicis.

<sup>b</sup> Hault consors aviez ou bon vesque Garin,  
Par Dieu et par son sens eustes moult d'amis,  
Proudom fu, et l' Ajax scachié certainement,

lers of St. John of Jerusalem, who, in the reigns of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. his son, had a great share in the government, employed his pains and authority to stop the progress of this new sect. He was one of the most learned men of his age, and at the same time the greatest officer of his nation; and it was not easy to determine, whether, in the management of the state, his valour, or his piety and wisdom had the ascendant. During the vacancy of the dignity of chancellor, the king had appointed him to do the functions of it. The chancery being vacant, says the historian of that time<sup>a</sup>, this wise minister took care to have the principal leaders of these fanatics punished: there were several that acknowledged their errors, and the most obstinate went to join themselves to the Albigenses, a sort of Manichees, who admitted two principles, a good and an evil one, to which they ascribed all the actions of men. They were called Albigenses, from the town of Albi in Languedoc, most of the inhabitants of which were infected with this heresy. The pope, to extirpate them the shortest way, caused a new crusade to be preached up against them, annexing the same indulgences to it as were granted for the war of the Holy Land, requiring from such as engaged in it only forty days service.

THIS easy way of getting indulgences, drew an infinite number of the crusade into Languedoc, and deprived

Bien le sceut votre peres qui l'ama durement,  
 Moult fu de haut conseil et de tous biens fu plains.  
 Et ere bien entechiez de loyal cuer certains,  
 Puis le tens Char'emaine, qui fu un Arcevesques,  
 Qu'en apela Turpin, ne fu si bon Evesques  
 Volontiers effauçoit l'onor de sainte Eglise,  
 Sire, et les vos droits gardoit il sans faintise.  
 Moult l'ama li bons Rois qui Felipes ot non  
 Et apres votre pere qui Dex face pardon,  
 Et la bon Roine l'amoit et tenoit chier,  
 Qu'en votre cort n'avoit nul meilleur Conseiller.

*Joinville, p. 165. in the sermon of Robert de Sainceux.*

<sup>a</sup> Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti Franc. Regis. p. 208. an  
 1209.

prived the Christians of the Holy Land of their succour; which was the cause why John de Brienne, at his setting out for Jerusalem, could not possibly get together above three hundred knights, instead of those mighty armies, that were to insure him an easy entrance into Palestine. They were strangely surprized to see him land at the port of Acre, with so small a company, sufficient indeed for the retinue of a king, but contemptible in regard to the hopes that had been given them, and to the necessities of the state.

NEVERTHELESS that lord, after marrying the young queen, took the field, to signalize his accession to the crown by some action worthy of his courage. He ravaged at first all the frontiers of the enemy, and took some castles of small consequence; but several bodies of Sarazens advancing to beset him, he was obliged to retire; and thought it advantage enough, to have made his escape from such mighty enemies.

HE wrote immediately to the pope, to give him an account in what condition he found the Holy Land; and added, that what they called the kingdom of Jerusalem, consisted only in two or three places, which they could maintain no longer than the civil wars lasted between the brother and sons of Saladine, and that unless a new crusade was sent into Palestine, he should soon be a king without a kingdom or subjects.

INNOCENT was sensibly affected with this sad news. That pontiff, like most of his predecessors, besides the zeal which made him intent upon the recovery of the Holy Land, interested himself particularly in these wars, whereof the popes were regarded as the heads, and wherein their legates pretended to command with an authority superior to the generals, and even the princes that engaged in these pious expeditions; a new sort of sovereignty, unknown in former ages, which, under pretence of opposing the invasions of infidels, subjected vast armies of Christians to the pope's orders, and in many instances when sovereigns were at the head of them.

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THE pope, full of these great views, and designing to succour the new king of Jerusalem, was thoroughly persuaded, that nothing but a new crusade could bring those numerous armies into the field, that were the terror of the barbarians. To raise therefore troops in most of the dominions in Christendom, he resolved, after the example of Urban II. the first author of the crusades, to call a general council: and besides the bulls for that purpose, he caused publick notice to be given of it by a great number of ecclesiasticks and religious, who spread themselves over all Europe, and in their sermons, cried up the merit of such voyages, and exaggerated perhaps a little too much the general indulgences which were annexed to them. But the execution of this pious design, was suspended by a formidable alliance 1210. made against France, in which a great number of the sovereigns of Christendom were engaged. These princes made preparations of war on all sides, and when troops were every where in motion, the pope saw it was by no means proper to require any bishops to take a journey; and the rather, because when they should be met together, they could not propose at such a time to draw any succour from France and Germany, the surest resources of all the crusades.

OTHO IV. emperor of Germany, was at the head of this league against France; and among his allies were John king of England, the counts of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne and Salisbury, natural brother to the king of England, Henry duke of Brabant, Frederic duke of Lorraine, Thibault count of Luxemburgh, and Philip de Courtenay, marquis of Namur, son of Peter de Courtenay count of Auxerre. It may perhaps be surprizing, to see, among the enemies of France, the duke of Brabant, who was the king's son-in-law, the count of Bar his subject, whose son too was in the French service, Ferrand de Portugal a vassal of the crown, to whom the king had given the heiress of Flanders in marriage, and the marquis of Namur, a prince

prince of the royal blood ; nor could these princes be well excused from the crime of defection and rebellion, if it was not known that some of them held their principal territories under the empire ; that they were feudataries of it, and that, if they had not joined the emperor's army, that prince, who had invaded the Low Countries with an army of an hundred thousand men, would have begun with stripping them of their great fiefs. Hence it is, that the count of Bar, though a vassal of the crown, to preserve the county of Luxembourg, was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to furnish his quota of troops to the emperor, and lead them in person to the imperial camp.

THE principal chiefs of this alliance were so persuaded, that the king could not resist them, that they had beforehand divided his dominions amongst them, and dismembered the finest provinces of this great kingdom from the body of the monarchy.

THE emperor indeed had reserved the sovereignty in chief, and the supreme demesne of the crown to himself ; but the king of England claimed for his share all the provinces about the Loire ; Renaud de Dammartin count of Boulogne, a secret enemy to the king, and the warmest promoter of the league, had set his heart on the Vermandois and the neighbouring provinces, which lay convenient for him, and the count of Flanders was promised Paris, the isle of France, and that part of Picardy which adjoins to Paris.

THIS was, as we may say, to sell the bear's skin before he was killed ; these princes had to do with an enemy not easy to be beaten. Philip II. king of France, so justly siled Augustus by posterity, without  
1214. being daunted at the number and force of his enemies, advanced towards Peronne, at the head of forty thousand men, most of them well disciplined troops, besides thirty five thousand militia, drawn out of the neighbouring provinces, which formed a large body of infantry. Most of the princes and barons of the kingdom attended the king ; the gentry were summoned, all the gentlemen flew to the succour



cour of their country, and no other knights were as yet known, but such as had acquired that glorious title by their valour, and had distinguished themselves by uncommon bravery in the field.

THE king of France, at the head of this brave gentry, thought himself invincible; and though he had little more than sixty thousand men in his army, he resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country; he left Peronne the twenty third of July, fell into Flanders, and encamped near Tournay. The emperor on the other hand advanced as far as Mortagne, which is but three leagues distant from it, and intrenched himself there. Besides above two hundred thousand men that he had in his army, he was posted too advantageously to be forced in his camp.

THE king, to draw him out of his intrenchments, made a motion towards Hainault. The emperor taking this march for a flight, and fearing that in his retreat he should ravage the province of one of his allies, marched the same way, and arrived in the plain of Bouvines, on Sunday July 27. The king was come thither only some hours before him; and, as he thought of nothing but penetrating into Hainault, his vanguard had already passed a bridge that he had laid over the Marque, when he was advertised by his scouts, that the allies were advancing in order of battle, i. e. with standards displayed, their horses barded, and the serjeants, a sort of dragoons attached to the service of the men of arms, ordered to dismount, and marching a foot before them. The king immediately dispatched the hospitaller Guerin, who acted as marshal de bataille, to take a view of the enemy. The long experience he had acquired in the wars of the east, and the laurels he had gathered in a series of engagements with the infidels, made him fill that honourable post, without the least jealousy or envy from the greatest lords of the kingdom.

HISTORY has not transmitted to us either his surname, or that of his family. 'Tis certain, that as he was an hospitaller of St. John, he must have been of

noble extraction: this is all we can say on that head. His piety and learning had occasioned his being elected bishop of Senlis; but he was not yet consecrated, and we are going to see on this occasion new proofs of his capacity in the art of war. Rigord, a contemporary historian, who was in the king's retinue, speaking of this knight, "He was, says he, a very brave officer, of admirable conduct, of a steady judgment, and so great penetration, that he saw into all events that could happen." Le Breton, another contemporary historian, adds, "That he had the entire affection and confidence of the king his master, and was the first person in the kingdom after him." Yet, says Rigord, "though this illustrious knight shone with all the lustre that royal favour could give him, he never would, in the height of his authority, quit the the habit of his order, which he wore always under his armour." Such was this famous hospitaller, who did so much honour to his nation and his order. The king, who depended entirely on him for the conduct of the army, having ordered him, as we have just said, to go and view the enemy, he took Adam viscount de Melun, one of the bravest noblemen in the kingdom, along with him; and, putting himself at the head of a body of horse, he advanced to a rising ground, from whence he discovered the march and disposition of the army of the allies, and leaving the viscount in that post, with orders to amuse the enemy without engaging, he returned in all haste to the king, and told him, that he was much mistaken, if he was not going to be attacked by the emperor.

PHILIP immediately called a council of war. It was there debated, whether the troops should continue to pass the river, or whether the vanguard that had crossed it, should not be ordered to march back again, and give battle to the enemy. Most of the general officers were of opinion, that they should avoid an engagement that day, because it was an old custom of the nation, never to fight on a Sunday; they said,  
the

the French had always made a scruple of shedding blood on that holy day ; besides, the soldiers were fatigued with a long march, and the allies being so much superior in troops, it was proper to wait the coming up of the gentry, who were on their march to join the army ; and therefore they ought to make all the troops pass to the other side ; that the river would serve for a barrier, and the enemy would not hazard passing it in sight of so strong an army as the king's.

THE hospitaller Guerin, who, from his long experience in the art of war, judged that they could hardly avoid an engagement, told them, that they debated about a matter which was not in their power ; that the enemy was too near, and, if they continued passing the whole army over the river, they would expose their rear and hindermost troops to be cut in pieces. Nevertheless, as he was almost the only person of this opinion, and the emperor's troops had at that very moment made a motion, as if they would march towards Tournay, it was resolved, by a majority of voices to pass over the river ; but the emperor's army wheeling about, and falling at once upon the body commanded by the viscount de Melun, fully justified the soundness of Guerin's judgment. The king saw plainly, there was no avoiding an engagement ; so the van was immediately ordered to repass the river, and the knight, who acted as marshal de bataille, drew up the forces in order of battle, assigning every troop their proper post. Superior in capacity to the enemy's generals, he contrived to get the sun in his back, which darting in the enemy's eyes, afforded him the same advantage, especially in the heat of the dogdays, as Hannibal had against the Romans at the battle of Cannæ. The monk Rigord, the king's chaplain and physician, who in this battle kept always near his master's person, says, " That he saw the hospitaller Guerin, after having ranged the army in Battalia, ride among the ranks, pass along the squadrons and battalions, and exhort every one to fight bravely for the defence of their king and country." He

adds, " That this illustrious knight, after the signal of battle was given, on account of his election to the bishoprick of Senlis, would not engage among the combatants, but contented himself with giving his orders, and directing the different brigades of the army to be led on at the time there was occasion for them."

THERE was scarce ever a battle in France disputed for so long a time; all closed in together, and fought with equal fury; the king performed prodigies of valour; six score French gentlemen were killed by his side; and he himself had like to have been lost; he received a stroke of a lance in his throat; his horse was slain under him, himself trampled under the horse's feet; two single gentlemen, Montigny and Tristan, to save their master, made him a rampart with their bodies, and sustained all the efforts of the enemy; the king leaps upon Tristan's horse; and putting himself at the head of a body of his gentry that had just come to his succour, charges the enemy afresh, and breaks through a squadron of Germans that made head against him; nothing is able to stand against the fury of the French, who, before the eyes of their prince, and breathing vengeance for the danger he had run, make a terrible slaughter. They push on; they pierce even to the person of the emperor, who was in the centre of that squadron. De Trie gives him a thrust with his lance, which makes his cuirass useles; Mauvoisin seizes the bridle of his horse, and the young count of Bar, whose father as count Luxemburg, was in the army of allies, seizes the emperor by the neck: Desbarres seneschal of Anjou coming up, takes him by the middle to pull him off his horse; all of them ambitious of the honour of taking an emperor prisoner: but the Germans coming up in shoals to his succour, drive off the French, open him a way to retreat; and that prince mounting a fresh horse, still stunned with the danger he had been in, without any regard to his glory, betakes himself to flight. The king seeing him gallop off, could not help saying with a smile,

smile, to the lords about him, " My friends, you'll see nothing more of him to-day but his back."

THE emperor, by his flight, carried off most of the troops; those whom their courage still kept in the field, and who resolved to dispute a victory already lost, were cut in pieces. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Salisbury, Eustace of Hainault, an hospitaller of St. John; Hugh Manges president of the emperor's council, and thirty lords bannerets, were taken prisoners. Otho, despised by the Germans, abdicated afterwards the empire. The king of England, odious to his subjects, passed the rest of his days in a civil war; and the victory of Bovines, so exceeding glorious to Philip, restored peace and tranquillity over all Europe:

THE pope, to improve the present calm, and engage the princes of the west in a common league against the infidels, called a general council at Rome, in the church of Lateran. This was the twelfth œcumenical one, and the fourth of Lateran. There were present at it four hundred and twelve bishops, including two patriarchs<sup>2</sup>, and seventy one primates or metropolitans. There came thither ambassadors from Frederic II. king of Sicily, emperor elect of Germany, from Henry emperor of Constantinople, from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus and Arragon. The pope opened the council with a very moving discourse, concerning the loss of the Holy Land, and the obligations that all Christians were under of endeavouring to deliver it from the yoke of the infidels. " That land, " says he, which was watered with the blood of our " divine saviour, is profaned, and the place where " the son of God was adored, is become a temple of " the devil; what a scandal and reproach is it, that " the son of Hagar should keep the mother of all the " faithful in bondage? We must break her chains, " my dearest brethren. I am ready to put myself at " your head: I give up myself entirely to your dis-

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"posal;

<sup>2</sup> Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1213.



“ pofal ; ready, if you think it proper, to go myfelf  
 “ to kings, princes and people \*, to try if I can, by the  
 “ force of my cries, engage them to take arms, and  
 “ revenge the injuries done to the faviour of mankind,  
 “ who is now chafed out of the land which he pur-  
 “ chafed with his blood, and in which he accomplifh-  
 “ ed the myfteries of our redemption.”

HIS difcourfe drew tears from the whole afsembly. The princes and lords that were prefent, agreed unani- moully to put on the crofs ; and the fathers of the council made a particular decree, by which they fixed the rendezvous of the cruſade on June 1. A. D. 1217. “ Then, ſays the council, ſuch as will paſs  
 “ by ſea ſhall aſſemble at Meſſina or Brundifium,  
 “ and the land armies ſhall begin their march the  
 “ ſame day.”

THE biſhops, after breaking up, preached the cruſade in their dioceſes, with great zeal and ſucceſs. The emperor Frederic, Andrew king of Hungary, Leopold duke of Auſtria, Louis duke of Bavaria, and an infinite number of princes and prelates, French, Hungarians, Dutch, Frieſlanders and Norwegians, put on the crofs: but every one, at taking the badge of his engagement, reſerved to himſelf the right of fixing the time of his departure for the Holy Land, and his ſtay in it, which he regulated according to the ſtate of his health, or ſituation of his affairs. Thus the emperor, whom they thought obliged to put himſelf at the head of the firſt body of the cruſade, was hindered by the troubles of Italy; and beſides, he had not yet received the crown of the empire at Rome; a ceremony which the popes of thoſe times had forced the princes that were elected emperors to ſubmit to.

ANDREW, king of Hungary, was the firſt that ſet out for the ſuccour of the Holy Land, at the 1216. head of an army compoſed of different nations.

He was a prince highly valuable for his piety, and an extraordinary zeal for the adminiſtration of  
 juſtice.

\* Conc. Lat. 4. Sermo prim.

justice. He marched his army by land as far as Venice, where he embarked for Constantinople. This prince, before he left his dominions, received a letter from pope Honorius III. who, two years before, had succeeded Innocent III. That pontiff exhorted him to undertake nothing in the war against the infidels, without the knowledge and advice of the grand master of the hospitallers. The king, in answer to this, told him, that he was so well satisfied of the grand master's valour and capacity, that he had wrote to him already agreeable to his holiness's sentiments, and had desired him to meet him in the isle of Cyprus, about the feast of our lady in September, as well to Sept. 8. confer together upon measures relating to the campaign, as to take the benefit of the grand master's squadron, for his securer arrival in the port of St. John d'Acre. These circumstances we learn from the very brief which this pope sent to the grand master, and the whole order of the hospitallers, exhorting them in the most pressing terms, to give the king of Hungary, the duke of Austria, and all the leaders of the army, their advice, and the succour they might stand in need of.

THE king of Hungary, before he passed the Bosphorus, was obliged to stay some time at Constantinople, to wait the arrival of the Italians that engaged in the crusade, who were daily expected. During his abode in that great city, there happened in his dominions and in his own house, a fatal accident, which shortened that prince's stay in the east, and made him less serviceable to the Latin Christians of Palestine. His majesty, when he was leaving his own territories, committed the regency of them to the palatine of the kingdom, named Bancbannus, whose zeal and fidelity he had long experienced: he recommended to him at parting, to preserve peace with the princes his neighbours, and particularly to administer exact justice to all his subjects, without regard to the birth or dignity of any person whatsoever. The palatine, during the king's absence, omitted nothing to make a suitable

suitable return to the confidence he was honoured with; and whilst he was entirely taken up with the affairs of state, his wife, a lady of admirable beauty, endeavoured, by her constant attendance about the queen, to divert the melancholy which the absence of the king her husband might occasion.

SUCH was the situation of the court of Hungary when the count of Moravia arrived at it. He was the queen's brother, and she loved him tenderly. Nothing was to be seen at first, but feasts and diversions; but in the sequel, the flattering poison of love crept in among these innocent amusements. The count of Moravia became desperately enamoured with the regent's wife, and had the assurance to declare his passion to her. The lady, who was yet more virtuous than she was beautiful, answered him only by the sternness of her looks. Resistance produced its usual effect, and the criminal desires of the count became thereupon but the more violent. His passion, which was gaining ground continually, threw him at last into a deep melancholy: he cared no more for plays, diversions, shows, and all those vain amusements, with which the great world so seriously idle away their time: Solitude was his only pleasure; but the queen, out of a complaisance natural to women for this sort of malady, to wean her brother from so lonesome a way of life, made use of various pretences to keep the regent's wife about her, or to send for her whenever she removed from the palace. The lady easily saw through the dishonourable motives of this seeming fondness, and, to avoid all conversation with the count, feigned herself for some time to be ill; but that pretence being over, and her own birth, as well as her husband's quality, not allowing her to be absent any longer from court, she returned to the palace. The count, for fear of disobliging her, dissimulated his sentiments, and a behaviour full of respect succeeded in appearance to the violence and extravagance of his passion.

THE regent's wife, encouraged by this discreet conduct, continued going to court<sup>a</sup>; when the queen, under pretence of talking to her in private, led her into a by-place of her apartment, where shutting her in, she abandoned her to the criminal desires of her brother, who, by concert with the queen, was hid in the closet. The regent's wife went thence with confusion in her looks, and resentment in her heart; she immured herself in her house, where she did nothing but bewail in private the count's villainy and her own dishonour. But the regent being one day about to take his place in her bed, the secret broke from her, and carried away by the excess of her anguish, "Don't  
 " come near me, sir, says she, shedding at the same  
 " time a torrent of tears, but quit a wife that is no  
 " more worthy of the chaste embraces of her husband;  
 " a wild wretch has violated your bed; and the  
 " queen his sister was not ashamed to betray and de-  
 " liver me up to his violence. I had before now ta-  
 " ken vengeance on myself for their crime, if religion  
 " had not restrained me from making away with my-  
 " self. But that prohibition of the law does not re-  
 " gard an injured husband: I am too criminal, since  
 " I am deflowered: I ask my death of you as a fa-  
 " vour, to keep me from surviving my shame and my  
 " dishonour."

THE regent, though in the height of affliction, and in all the fury of resentment, told her, "That an involuntary fault was rather a misfortune than a crime, and that the violence done to her body did not fully the purity of her soul; that he begged of her to be easy, or at least to take care to conceal the occasion of her sorrow. A common interest, adds he, obliges us both to dissemble so horrible an outrage, till we can revenge it in a manner suitable to the enormity of the offence."

HIS design was to make the count feel the first effects of it; but hearing that he was gone away privately to return into his own country, the regent, enraged  
 that

<sup>a</sup> Honfin. Dec. 2. p. 279.

that his victim was escaped, turned all his resentment against the queen herself. He went to the palace, and persuaded the queen to go into her closet, under pretence of showing her some letters, which he said he had just received from the king. As soon as he saw himself alone with her, after reproaching her with the criminal correspondence she had held with the count, and her treachery to his wife, the furious palatine plunged his dagger in her heart; and going out of the cabinet in a rage, he publickly before the whole court proclaimed his shame and his vengeance.

WHETHER it was surprize or respect that hindred them, no body offered to meddle with him; he mounted his horse without any obstacle; and taking some noblemen with him, who had been witnesses of this fatal catastrophe, he set out for Constantinople, where he arrived before the king left that city. He went immediately to the palace where that prince dwelt, and presenting himself before him, with an intrepidity hardly to be paralleled, " Sir, says he to  
 " him, when I received your last orders at your leav-  
 " ing Hungary, you recommended to me, in a par-  
 " ticular manner, to do exact justice to all your sub-  
 " jects, without regard to any one's rank or condi-  
 " on: I have done it so to myself; I have killed the  
 " queen your wife, who had prostituted mine; and,  
 " far from seeking my safety in an unworthy flight,  
 " I here bring you my head; dispose as you please of  
 " my life; but remember, that it is either by my  
 " life or death that your subjects will judge of your  
 " equity, and whether I am guilty or innocent."

THE king heard this surprising discourse without interrupting him, and even without changing colour; and when the regent had ended, " If the case be as  
 " you say, replies the prince to him, return into  
 " Hungary, continue to administer justice to my sub-  
 " jects, with as much exactness and severity as you  
 " have done it to yourself: I shall stay a short while  
 " in the Holy Land, and at my return I will examine  
 " upon



“ upon the spot whether your action deserves commendation or punishment.”

THUS Bonfinius, the historian of Hungary, relates the fact: but Duglos, commonly called Longinus, pretends, that the death of that princess was caused by a conspiracy of some Hungarian lords, who were incensed at the queen for bringing some German princes, her relations, to court, and giving them the principal posts of the kingdom. There are other authors too, who maintain, that this princess died before the king her husband quitted Hungary to go to the Holy Land.

BE that as it will, his majesty embarked soon after, and arrived without any obstacle in the island of Cyprus. He found there the grand master of the hospitallers of St. John, with the principal officers of his order; and after conferring with them about the state of affairs in the east, he put to sea again with Hugh de Lusignan king of the island. They had a prosperous voyage; and, without meeting with any opposition from the infidels in their passage, the whole Christian fleet arrived in the port of St. John d’Acre. The king of Hungary, on his landing, would not lodge in the palace of the king of Jerusalem, which was made ready for him, either to prevent any dispute about the ceremonial among the several princes then at Acre, or because the fatal death of the queen, and the tragical circumstances that attended it, were true, as Bonfinius pretends, and the crime she was accused of, the vengeance that one of his subjects had dared to take of it, and the doubt he was tormented with by fits as to the queen’s guilt and the regent’s fidelity; all this had thrown him into a deep melancholy. He retired to the hospitallers, and near the grand master, whose pious and solid discourses were more agreeable to the temper of his mind. There is no describing the religious sentiments which that prince felt in seeing the charity practised in that holy house with regard to the poor and pilgrims: and what encreased his surprize and admiration, was to see those knights so fierce and dreadful, when armed in the field, become like other  
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men in their house, and employ themselves, in virtue of their obedience, in all the most humbling offices about the poor and sick.

THE king of Hungary would needs visit at the same time the towns of Margat and Carac, which the hospitallers were still masters of: he found there the same regularity and discipline, as in the principal house of St. John d'Acre, i. e. he saw there a number of holy friars and brave soldiers, all inflamed with zeal for the conquest of the holy places. There is indeed no reproaching these military friars with any thing, but a little too much niceness in regard to the templars, upon what the men of the world call the point of honour.

THIS prince desired to be admitted into the order as a brother, that so he might partake in the 1218. good works of the hospitallers<sup>a</sup>. He gave seven hundred merks of silver to the order for ever, to be levied every year upon the salt works of Saloch in Hungary; and as the knights of Carac were continually in action against the infidels, he stipulated expressly in the deed of his grant, that of these seven hundred merks, sixty of them should be applied to the particular occasions of Raimond de Pigna, governor of the fortress of Carac, and his successors in the same government. The instrument of this endowment is still subsisting in the archives of the vatican; and there is an extract given of it in Rainaldi's continuation of Baronius.

WE see there the attestation that this prince gives to the merit and virtue of these knights; " Lodging, says  
 " he, in their house, I have seen them feed every day an  
 " innumerable multitude of poor, the sick laid in good  
 " beds, and treated with great care, the dying assisted  
 " with an exemplary piety, and the dead buried with  
 " proper decency. In a word, continues that prince,  
 " the knights of St. John are employed, sometimes  
 " like Mary in contemplation, and sometimes like  
 " Martha

<sup>a</sup> Reg. Henorius III. t. 1. f. 276. Rain. t. 13. num. 16. p. 230.

“ Martha in action ; and this noble militia consecrate  
 “ their days either in their infirmities, or else in en-  
 “ gagements against the infidel Amalekites and the  
 “ enemies of the cross.” It is thus that the king of  
 Hungary speaks of them\*.

THAT prince having advice that Coradine sultan of  
 Damascus, and son to Safadine, had taken the field,  
 in order to besiege St. John d’Acre, drew immedi-  
 ately out of the town, and advanced towards the enemy  
 with the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the two  
 grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, the  
 master of the Teutonic order, and all the troops that  
 were in the place. The infidels, surprized at so ex-  
 peditious an armament, and the boldness with which  
 the Christians marched against them, entrenched them-  
 selves with care : several of their parties however that  
 went out a foraging were cut in pieces. Coradine did  
 not think it advisable in this juncture, to come to a  
 decisive engagement against an army that had three  
 kings at its head, but retired into his own territories.  
 The Christians pursued him for some time, ravaged  
 his frontier in their turn, and then, as winter was  
 coming on, they separated. The king of Cyprus went  
 to Tripoli, where he fell sick and died, a little after  
 he quitted the army. The king of Hungary, before  
 he left Palestine, bathed himself with all his troops in  
 the river Jordan, on St. Martin’s eve ; a religious ce-  
 remony used out of devotion by pilgrims, when they  
 were not hindered by the Turks and Sarazens. In  
 fine, this prince, after having spent three months in  
 Palestine to perform his vow, being pressed by the re-  
 membrance of the misfortunes that had since his ab-

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fence

\* Nec immerito cùm illic hospitati videremus innumerum pau-  
 perum cœtum diurno pastu quotidie sustentari, fessos languidorum  
 artus lectisterniis, variisque ciborum copiis refici, mortuorum cor-  
 pora cum debita veneratione sepeliri, ut in genere singulorum re-  
 feramus quæ per singula generum enarrare non possumus, ut  
 Mariam et Martham, sacratissimum sæpe dictæ domûs hospitalis  
 collegium, nunc variis sincerè contemplationibus, nunc contra Dei  
 adversarios, et hostes Crucis Christi, adversus etiam Amalec, in-  
 cessabili perfectæ militiæ conflictu, de die in diem dimicare. Rai-  
 naldus, t. 13. n. 16. p. 280.

sence happened in his kingdom, set out upon his return thither. All the instances that the patriarch of Jerusalem could make him, nay, the terrors of excommunication which that prelate thundered out against him, could not keep him longer in the Holy Land; and after a long voyage, and various dangers, he arrived safe in his dominions. His first care upon his return was to have the affair of Bancbannus tried before him; and after hearing the witnesses himself, and examining the various circumstances of that unhappy affair, he was equitable enough to declare the regent acquitted of the queen's death.

THE king of Jerusalem, the duke of Austria, and the hospitallers, after his departure, advanced into the enemy's country, and reformed the castle of Caesarea, whilst the templars and Teutonic knights on the other hand built, or rather repaired a fortress, situate on an eminence adjoining, which was called the castle of the pilgrims. These two places covered St. John d'Acre, and served at the same time to extend their contributions upon lands at that time in the hands of the infidels.

AFTER this expedition, the king, the duke of Austria, and the two grand masters, and the master of the Teutonics, returned to St. John d'Acre, where arrived about the same time a considerable fleet of Germans, Frieslanders and Dutch, commanded by William I. count of Holland, a succour which very seasonably supplied the place of that which they had just lost by the precipitate departure of the king of Hungary.

THE king of Jerusalem, seeing himself sustained by these troops of the crusade, and having advice that they were likeways preparing a new army in most of the ports of Italy, resolved to carry the war into Egypt, thereby to oblige the infidels to abandon Palestine; and in a great council held, at which were present the king, the duke of Austria, the grand masters and the bishops, it was agreed to besiege Damietta, the most regular fortification of that kingdom.

This

This resolution being taken, they embarked their troops at the latter end of May, and set sail. The Christian army in three days time landed in Egypt, and made their descent without any opposition in a place situated westward of Damietta, and separated from it only by an arm of the Nile.

THE Christians at first met with no resistance, but in a large tower or castle, fortified as well as art could make it at that time, built in the 1218. middle of that arm of the Nile, and bravely defended by the garrison. My design is not to enter into the detail of all that passed at the attack of this advanced work, which covered the town of Damietta: I shall only observe, after Matthew Paris, that the knights of St. John on this occasion supported their ordinary reputation. These warlike friars, tying two ships together to make them steddier, advance boldly to the wall, clap ladders to it, mount through the midst of the fire works, javelins and stones, and without being daunted at the fall of their companions, push on to gain the top of the rampart. But the mast of one of the ships failing, the ladders broke, and most of the knights falling into the water, being encumber'd with the weight of their armour, were drowned\*. The loss of these brave soldiers did not cool the courage of their companions of the order and the crusade; they renewed the scalado several times, but still without success, till the Germans at last clapping a new invented machine to the walls, made themselves by that means masters of the tower, the taking of which opened a way for attacking the place.

THE sultan foreseeing that the loss of this advanced work would draw after it that of Damietta, is said to have died of grief. The Latin historians call this sultan by the name of Safadine; but the Arabians give him that of Melic-el-adel-Aboubeker son of Job: he had fifteen sons, and some time before his death had

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divided

\* Hospitaliariorum, proh dolor! scala confracta, simili modo cum malo cecidit, et milites strenuos, et alios armatos, Nilum demerfit. Matt. Paris, ad an. 1218. t. 2. p. 301.



divided his dominions between the six eldest. Melic-el-Camel, the eldest of all, had Egypt, and Coradine Syria: Haran, a town of Mesopotamia, was Achrof's share, and Bosra in Arabia, that of Salech Ismael; the two next had likeways some towns for their portion. The nine others continued in these territories, under the power of their elder brothers; and, to provide for their subsistence, Safadine settled two of them in Jerusalem, where they enjoyed the tribute that the western Christians paid at the gates of the city; two others discharged the same office at Mecca, and enjoyed likeways the revenues arising from the offerings of the Mahometan pilgrims, who flocked thither in great numbers from Asia and Africa; and as for the five last, they had in all probability some pensions assigned them suitable to their birth and rank in the state.

THE Christians in the mean while continued the siege of Damietta with great vigour, and received about that time new succours from the west. A crusade composed of Italians, French, Germans and English, arrived in Egypt, and joined the camp. The pope had put cardinal d'Albano at the head of this army, as legate of the holy see, a prelate proud and haughty, self-conceited, and one who would always have his own opinion carry it in the council of war, before even the sentiments of the king and his generals, as if the pope, with the bulls of his legation, had given a cardinal the talents necessary to form a great captain. The sultan of Egypt on the other hand called in his brother the sultan of Syria to his succour, a prince that loved war, and managed it with success, but cruel, bloody, and the only one of all the children of Safadine that resembled him most, as well in his vices as his valour.

THE young sultan, besides the army which he commanded in person, made likeways new levies, and before he set out for Egypt, demolished the fortifications of Jerusalem, and leveled the walls, designed thereby either to strengthen his army with the gar-  
rison

rison of the place, or to prevent the Christians, who he apprehended, if they took Damiata, would return into Palestine, and fortify themselves in the capital, which was the great aim of all their enterprizes.

THIS prince in a march of twenty days crossed the deserts which divide that kingdom from Egypt, and joined sultan Camel his eldest brother, who was advanced to meet him. After this junction they drew near the Christian camp, in order to force them to raise the siege. The besieged were every day making sallies with all their forces, and the besiegers were at the same time obliged to sustain the attacks of the two sultans, who tried all manner of ways to throw succours into the place.

THE English historian, whom I cited above, tells us, that the three military orders<sup>a</sup> were in a manner the only persons who were able to make head on all sides against the enemy, and were, as he says, like a wall of brass, to shield the rest of the soldiery on all occasions; that the hospitallers in particular, behaved always with extraordinary valour; that in the last sally before the place was taken, the marshal of the order was killed at the head of his company; that many of the knights had the same fate, and that some were taken prisoners.

THE sultan seeing with pain, that he could not carry his point, and cause the siege to be raised, for the obtaining a peace, and to save Damiata, the key of his kingdom, he offered the Christians to restore them the true cross that was taken at the battle of Tiberias, to deliver up the city of Jerusalem, and even advance the money necessary to rebuild the walls, and repair the fortifications. He offered too the castle of Thoron, and some other places, but insisted on keeping Carac-

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and

<sup>a</sup> Rex verò Jerusalem, cum templariis, et domo Teutonicorum, et hospitalis sancti Johannis, impetum paranorum sustinuerunt, et pro muro fuerunt fugientibus, quoties illas suas facies ostendebant. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. ad an. 1. 19.

Templarii triginta tres capti sunt, vel interfecti, cum mareschalco hospitalis sancti Joannis, et fratribus quibusdam ejusdem domus. Idem. tom. p. 2. 306.

and Montreal, two fortresses situated on the edge of Arabia, from whence the Christian garrisons in their excursions had often carried off the caravans that were going out of devotion to Mecca ; and this prince, who was religious in his way, according to the principles of his sect, chose rather to subject himself to an annual tribute, than restore two places, the soldiers of which might disturb the Mahometans in the exercise of that part of their religion.

FROM the little we know of the character and manners of these different nations it is plain, that we can't consider these wars, which lasted so long, under any other notion than as religious wars, and this in regard of the infidels as well as the Christians, both making it a part of their worship, to visit at least once in their life, the tomb of the author of their religion. The popes and caliphs equally annexed spiritual recompences to those pious voyages ; and if there came shoals of Christian pilgrims from the west to Jerusalem, Mecca drew at least as many Musulmen from Asia and Africa, error cloaking itself with the same motives as truth.

THIS was the reason which induced the sultan to keep the castles of Carac and Montreal: saving 1219. this article, that prince wished with passion to see the siege of Damietta raised. The king of Jerusalem for his part was of opinion to accept of conditions that answered all the wishes and desires of the crusade ; but the legate, who assumed an unlimited authority in the army, maintained, that the sultan's proposals ought to be rejected, and that the critical moment was come for making an entire conquest of Egypt, the fate of which would determine that of the king of Jerusalem. The imperious legate's sentiment prevailed in the council of war over that of the king of Jerusalem, who vexed to find that he was not master of his own troops, under pretence of fetching new reinforcements, retired to St. John d'Acre. The success nevertheless seemed at first to justify the legate's advice ; Damietta was carried in an attack made by  
 night,

night, or rather was taken for want of men to defend it; the inhabitants and soldiers being all destroyed, either in engagements, or by famine and want of provisions, above fourscore thousand men having died in the place during the siege. The Christians entering the town found every where a dismal solitude, and the few inhabitants they met with in some houses had staid there only because they were so weak, that they had not strength to get out of doors. Cardinal James de Vitri, who was at this siege, bought a good number of sucking children, designing to have them baptized; but above five hundred of them, he says, died soon after, in all probability of the famine which they and their mothers had suffered.

THE legate, proud of this good success, and seeing himself absolute master of the army, made them advance into the heart of Egypt, contrary to the advice of all the chiefs, and engaged between the branches of the Nile. The sultan opening the sluices, and cutting the banks of the river, it overflowed the place where the Christians were encamped: they then found themselves shut up in an island, with as little ability to subsist there as to get out of it; this first misfortune was soon succeeded by a famine; and the army being ready to starve, was forced to make a truce of eight days with the infidels. To get bread to eat, and liberty to retire, they were obliged to quit Damietta, and deliver up all the slaves and prisoners that were at Acre and Tyre. The Sarazens on their part engaged to restore the true cross, and all the captives they had at Babylon in Egypt, or Grand Cairo and Damascus, to conduct the army to a place of safety, and supply them with provisions in their retreat. Every thing was executed punctually on both sides, except the restitution of the true cross, which the infidels in all probability had lost. The Christian army dispersed after this accident, and the legate's presumption hindered the king of Jerusalem from recovering his kingdom.

YET as in public misfortunes every one labours to vindicate himself at the expence of others, the private enemies of the knights of St. John and the templars, accused them to pope Honorius III. of having diverted to their own profit the vast sums that were remitted out of Europe into Palestine, for the expences of the crusade, and the subsistence of the army. This calumny having spread thro' most countries of Christendom, the pope thought himself obliged to examine into it, and wrote upon that occasion to the legate, the patriarch, and chief leaders of the army. Public and private informations were given in, but they ended only in the confusion of the slanderers. The legate, the patriarch, and the principal officers of the army, wrote back to the sovereign pontiff, that they heard with grief the abominable calumny with which some had endeavoured to blacken the reputation of the military orders; that they themselves were witnesses to the contrary; and that these generous knights had spent the revenues of the two houses, and exhausted their substance to supply the expence of the siege; that the order of St. John alone had advanced above eight thousand byzantines; that they had lost abundance of their knights, and that pursuant to the spirit of their institution, they had prodigally thrown away their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Christians. The pope being acquainted with the truth of the matter, to do the knights the justice that was owing to them, ordered the legate himself to proclaim their innocence in his name: and this pontiff wrote at the same time to the bishops of France, England and Sicily, to take care in their several diocesses to extinguish so black a calumny. "We will, and require you, adds the pope<sup>a</sup>, to honour, love and cherish them, as the noblest defenders of christianity."

THERE

<sup>a</sup>Volumus et præcipimus, ut eos tanquam veros Christi athletas et præcipuos Christianæ fidei defensores studeatis honorare, diligere ac fovere, eorum super hoc declarantes innocentiam, et fidei virtutes constantiam prædicantes. *In archivo Vaticano, ex registro Honorii III. tom. 7. fol. 30.*



THERE could be no surer proof given at that time of the purity of a person's faith, and his adherence to the holy see, than by taking the habit of one of the military orders; several princes themselves, and many of the greatest lords would die, and be buried with the cross. 'Twas with this view that Raimond count of Tholouse and marquess of Provence took the habit. 'Tis well known, that this prince, one of the greatest and most powerful feudatories of the crown of France, was suspected of having caused a legate of the pope's to be dispatched, and of favouring the Albigenes, and on that account was joined in an excommunication pronounced against these heretics his subjects, and in consequence thereof, deprived of the greatest part of his dominions. There was nothing of so mortifying and humbling a nature in canonical penances but he submitted to it, in order to get free from that fatal censure; but those who had shared in the spoil; kept the doors of the church always shut against him, for fear of opening him a door into his dominions. They would willingly have owned him as a catholic, if he could have been brought to renounce the county of Thoulouse. In fine, that prince, who had so much reason to preserve the dominions which he derived from his ancestors for young Raimond his son, thought he should find better access, and less difficulty with the pope, than with his legates and ministers, and resolved to go to Rome. As soon as he arrived there, he demanded an audience of the pope, which was easily granted. The pope considering the birth, the dignity and age of that prince, received him in full consistory. Raimond, after mentioning the greatness of his ancestors, their virtues, and the purity of their religion, made a confession of his faith, and laying his hand upon his breast, to vouch the truth of his discourse, he protested by all that is dear to a Christian, that he had never departed from the principles of the faith, nor from the submission he owed to the vicar of Jesus Christ. He insisted next on the shameful penance which the legates had imposed upon him, and  
which

which he had gone through in the town of St. Giles, where he was dragged in sight of his subjects, with a halter about his neck, and lashed in the most ignominious manner. He denied absolutely the murder of the legate that had been the cause of it; and concluded with complaining of Simon de Montferrat, general of the league against the Albigenes, who under the veil of religion sought only to raise himself a great estate and possessions in Languedoc.

It is said, that the pope could not refrain from tears at the relation of this prince's misfortunes, and that he wrote likeways to the legates in his favour: but whether they were persuaded that Raimond was an heretic in his heart, or whether they only pretended it, to perpetuate an inquisition, the whole authority of which was vested in them, they paid little regard to the pope's orders. This prince, to undeceive the public at least, some time after his return from Italy, declared by a public and authentic deed, that he obliged himself to take the habit and cross of the hospitallers, and that in case he was prevented by death, his intention was, that they should bury him in the church of the hospitallers at Tholouse: there was not in that age a more authentic mark of perfect catholicism.

His historian relates, that from that time this prince, in imitation of the hospitallers, fed a certain number of poor every day, and caused them to be cloathed annually. He was seen, says he, every morning at the church of Notre-Dame de la Daurade on his knees, and bare-headed, making long and fervent prayers; and in a word, practising all the exercises of a true hospitaller. 'Twas in this disposition that he was seized with a fit of an apoplexy. He sent immediately for Jourdain abbot of St. Sernin, to reconcile him to the church, and give him the sacraments, and at the same time the hospitallers of Tholouse were made acquainted with the extremity the prince was reduced to. But when the abbot of St. Sernin arrived, he had lost his speech, yet he lifted up his eyes to heaven;

his hands were joined together, he gave all the signs of repentance that can be required of a good Christian, and in his looks might be read the sentiments of his heart. The hospitallers of St. John coming in haste, threw over him a mantle of the order, which some were for pulling off, under pretence of the excommunication; but the count held it fast with his hands, and devoutly kissing the cross sowed upon the mantle, he died presently after; and the abbot of St. Sernin, frightened as he was with the thunder 1221. of the Vatican, with which that prince was struck, could not help saying to the standers by, "Pray to God for him, I believe him saved." He pretended too to keep his body, because he died in his parish; but the young prince would have his father's intentions observed. The hospitallers carried him into their house, which he had chosen for his burial. Yet by reason of the excommunication, they durst not bury him in the church, but put him decently in a coffin, where his skull was found whole in 1630.

FRANCE in the year following lost king Philip II. and the order of the hospitallers a generous benefactor. This prince falling ill, and finding himself in a weak condition, made his will; July 14, 1222. and, among a great number of pious legacies, bequeathed one hundred thousand livres to the king of Jerusalem for the defence of the Holy Land, and the like sum to the hospitallers of St. John and the templars\*. Brother Guerin or Garin, first minister<sup>b</sup>, who had suggested these holy legacies to the king, was named executor, together with Bartholomew de Roye chamberlain of France, and brother Aimer treasurer of the temple. The queen, after the king her husband's death, founded a priory at Corbeil for thirteen chaplains

\* See le miroir Histor. l. 13. c. 15. p. 160.

<sup>b</sup> Rex Philippus viam universæ carnis ingreditur, relinquens tria millia librarum Parisiensium in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, centum millia in manibus regis Joannis, et centum millia in manibus magistri hospitalis, et centum millia in manibus magistri templi. Sanut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 210.

chaplains of the order of the hospitallers, upon condition of saying there every day three masses, for the rest of the soul of that great prince. The foundation was approved by the grand master de Montaigu, and by the council of the order, and confirmed by the bulls of pope Honorius III.

IN the mean time, as the affair of the Holy Land was at that time the common affair of all  
1223. Christendom, a famous assembly was held at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, to consider of succours to be sent thither. Pope Honorius III. and the emperor Frederic II. came to Ferentino, the one from Rome, and the other from his kingdom of Sicily; and from beyond sea arrived John king of Jerusalem, the patriarch of that city, the legate Pelagius, the bishop of Bethlehem, Guerin de Montaigu grand master of the hospitallers, a commander of the templars, and Herman de Saltza, fourth master of the Teutonic or German knights. The pope pressed the emperor to perform the promise he made when he put on the cross, of leading in person a powerful succour to the Holy Land: and to engage him in the affair, the empress Constantia his wife being dead, Herman de Saltza proposed a match between him and the princess Yolante, only daughter and heiress of the king of Jerusalem. The master of the Teutonics managed this negociation so skilfully, that the marriage was agreed on, and the emperor promised with an oath to go into Palestine, in two years from the next midsummer. He afterwards married the princess, but contrary to his express promise given to the king of Jerusalem, of letting him enjoy that kingdom for his life, he obliged him, by a forced abdication, to resign the crown. The pope was mediator of this great affair: it was the interest of these pontiffs to remove the sovereigns of Europe, and especially of Italy, as far from their countries as might be. The emperor's voyage and residence in Palestine rid him of the presence of a mighty prince, who would abate nothing of his sovereign authority; so finding  
his

his own interest at Frederic's being at a distance, and, to make so harsh a proceeding appear less odious in the eyes of Brienne, he represented to him, that so potent a prince as Frederic would defend the Holy Land with more zeal and warmth, and that he would make much greater efforts if he fought for his own interests, than if he was only to defend a crown which he saw actually upon another's head, and the succession whereof could not but appear to him at a great distance. John de Brienne gave his consent to what he could not help.

THE pope did not fail to notify this new disposition to most of the sovereigns of Europe, that they might serve as witnesses of the emperor's engagements. The late king of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the hospitaliers, travelled afterwards over France, Spain, England and Germany, to obtain succours. France immediately paid in all the money which Philip Augustus had left by his will for so holy an expedition. Thibaud count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, who was joined by Peter de Dreux, formerly count of Bretagne, and several French lords, Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England, and a great number of English gentlemen, put on the cross; but they set out for the Holy Land most of them at different times. The emperor had sent his lieutenants before with a good body of troops, till, as he said, he could go thither in person: But as Palestine was then destitute of the presence of its king, and without any chief or sufficient authority, most of these succours became unserviceable through the different views of the commanders. There was no regular design formed and pursued; one made a truce with the infidels, and another broke it, without considering the injury that such a conduct must do to the affairs and reputation of the Christians. The military orders too were still divided; every one's aim was solely for himself; and when the grand master of the hospitaliers returned to St. John d'Acre, he found Palestine in a manner without any government, and destitute of



that bond so necessary in civil society, and which makes all the members join together, to promote the common good of the state.

THE count of Tripoli, a fierce and enterprising prince, had taken the advantage of his absence to seize several castles, which either belonged to the order, or were in their custody. He seized likewise a house of theirs at Tripoli, where he caused one of the knights to be flayed alive, and another that opposed these violences to be stabbed<sup>a</sup>. The grand master, at his return, demanded satisfaction for these cruelties; but not obtaining it, he wrote to the pope, who used his good offices and remonstrances with the count, but in vain. The sovereign pontiff was obliged at last to excommunicate him; but neither was this sufficient to bring him to a compliance. Then the grand master, with the pope's leave, entering the count's territories at the head of the hospitallers, the sight of those troops made more impression on that cruel and savage prince than all the thunders of the Vatican. Raimond made the order a reasonable satisfaction for the injuries he had done them, and restored all that he had usurped. The grand master, at the pope's instance, threw likewise part of his troops into Cyprus, on pretence that the coasts of that island were frequently infested by Corsairs: but the true reason was, to hinder at the same time Raimond prince of Antioch, who had married queen Alice, widow of king Hugh, from seizing on that kingdom, to the prejudice of Henry, who was still a minor<sup>b</sup>.

THE emperor being employed in Lombardy against the rebel towns, which had entered into a league  
1225. to throw off his authority, desired the pope to dispense with his voyage to the Holy Land for two years longer. The sovereign pontiff granted his request,

<sup>a</sup> Domum ipsam quam ipsi habent apud Tripolim capiens violenter, rabie concitatus diabolica, unum ex ipsis excoriari, et alium, ut dicitur, occidi fecit, præter id quod quibusdam eorum crudeliter, et honestè tractatis damna eis gravia et injurias irrogavit. Rainaldi, tom. 13. 1226. num. 55. 56. 57. p. 639 et 639.

<sup>b</sup> Sanut l. 3. c. 10. p. 221.

request, upon the following conditions : that at the term of two years, ending in August, he should go over in person within that time ; that for the two years following he should maintain two thousand knights there ; that at three different times he should defray the passage of two thousand other knights, with their equipages, at three horses a knight ; that he should keep fifty gallies well mann'd in the port of St. John d'Acre ; that he should deposite an hundred thousand ounces of gold for the expence of this armament, in the hands of John de Brienne the patriarch, and the master of the Teutonic order ; and in case it should please God to take him out of the world, before he could pass into the Holy Land, or his voyage should be deferred, that then this great sum should be disposed of according to the advice of the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars ; all which conditions the emperor submitted to, as appears from that prince's diploma recited by Rainaldi <sup>a</sup>.

FREDERIC, having obtained the time he moved for, employed it honourably in making preparations suitable to so great an enterprize. An hundred gallies and fifty ships were fitted out by his orders, in the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; and several German princes, with an infinite number of the crusade, repaired to Brundisium. In the middle of August, A. D. 1227, that is, within the term stipulated with the pope, the emperor himself embarked with a fleet that carried near forty thousand men : but after three days sail he fell sick, as did also several princes and lords of his court, and among the rest, the landgrave of Hesse. The landgrave's illness growing dangerous, the physicians were of opinion, that

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<sup>a</sup> Et si nos, quod Deus avertat, in terra illa vel citrà, ante passagium memoratum obire contigerit, vel aliàs quacunq; de causa forsitan non transferimus, rex et patriarcha, et magister domus Teutonicorum, ad laudem et consilium magistrorum hospitalis et templi, ac aliorum proborum hominum de terra expendent eandem pecuniam bona fide sicut melius viderint expedire utilitati Terræ Sanctæ. Rain. tom. 13. ad. ann. 1225. num. 4. p. 347.

the land air would be of more benefit to him than all the remedies of their art; they thereupon put into the port of Tarento, where the landgrave died, leaving his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, in a state of widowhood, a princess not above twenty years of age, and of great virtue. The emperor escaped with only some fits of an ague; but pope Gregory IX. (who had just succeeded Honorius III.) a pontiff that treated sovereigns with a high hand, being persuaded, notwithstanding the landgrave's death, that the emperor's illness was a mere pretence, excommunicated him publicly in the great church of Anagni, where he then was. The sovereign pontiff ushered in this solemn ceremony with a sermon, in which he took for his text these words of the gospel, "It must needs be that offences come;" and enlarging much upon St. Michael's victory over the dragon, he fell abruptly upon the excommunication, which he was going to thunder out against the emperor. I give this short taste of the pope's style, because the style ostentimes shews the genius and character of the age. Gregory wrote afterwards circular letters to all the bishops, to acquaint them with the severity he thought himself obliged to use with regard to that prince: he had fixed, says the pope in that letter, the month of August, A. D. 1227. for the last moment of his departure; and yet he was scarce at sea a few days before, under pretence of sickness, he landed again, and returned to enjoy a lazy life as usual. The pontiff, writing in particular to the bishops of Apulia, says, "Since the emperor Frederic neglected his own  
 "salvation, and deferred performing the vow he had  
 "made of going to the Holy Land, we have drawn  
 "against him the medicinal sword of St. Peter, pub-  
 "lishing, out of our great tenderness for him, the sen-  
 "tence of excommunication against him."

THE emperor, surprized and provoked at the pope's conduct, sent on his part a public letter, by 1228. way of manifesto, to all the sovereigns of Christendom, wherein, after appealing to God for the reality of the sickness, which had forced him to  
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put ashore, he complains, in very bitter terms, of the pope's precipitation, and declared, that he would put to sea again as soon as he had recovered his health. In the letter that he wrote in particular to the king of England, which Matthew Paris has transmitted down to us, he runs out into invectives against the court of Rome: "The Romans, says he, are inflamed with such a passion for scraping money together out of all the countries of Christendom, that after draining the revenues of particular churches, they are not ashamed to rob even sovereign princes, and endeavour to make crowned heads their tributaries. You have yourself, says he to the king of England, had a very sensible proof of this, in the person of king John your father. You have that of the count of Tholouse, and of so many other princes, whose dominions they have laid under interdicts, which they would never take off till they had put on their chains, and submitted to be slaves. What may not be said of the unheard-of exactions which they impose upon the clergy, and the open or palliated usuries with which they infect the whole Christian world? And yet, in spite of these notorious robberies, these blood-suckers would palm the court of Rome upon us for the church our mother. The spirit and conduct of both shew us plainly the difference between them. The court of Rome sends its legates into all quarters, with power to punish, suspend and excommunicate; whereas the true church, actuated by a spirit of charity, sends out her ministers only to propagate the word of God; the one aims at nothing but amassing wealth, and gathering where she has not sowed, but the other has deposited her treasures in holy monasteries, to provide for the poor and pilgrims; and yet these Romans, unworthy of that honourable name, without either courage or nobility, swelled with a vain opinion of their learning, would fain set themselves up above kings and emperors. In a word, adds that prince, the church was founded upon poverty and simpli-

“ city, and no body can lay any other foundation  
 “ than that which was laid by Jesus Christ himself,  
 “ who is the corner stone, as well as architect there-  
 “ of.”

THOUGH there is no excusing the rough language that runs throughout this letter, yet it is certain, that the popes often made use of this pretext of the crusades, to keep princes and their subjects in a dependence on the court of Rome : nor is it less true, that most sovereigns, on the other hand, were not sorry to see the dukes, counts, and other great vassals of their crowns, go abroad on these remote expeditions, and, by their absence, which was often followed by their death, leave them a more absolute authority in their dominions. Thus did interest and ambition make their advantage of a pious institution, which was originally designed only to deliver the churches of the east from the tyranny of the infidels.

In the mean time the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, and most of the prelates of Palestine, wrote to the pope, acquainting him with the miserable and calamitous state to which they were reduced, by the emperor's not arriving in August. The militia of the crusade, say they, which were come into Syria, to the number of near forty thousand men, are gone back into the west, on board the same ships that brought them : there are only about eight hundred knights that stay behind, and these all demand leave to return, or insist that we break the truce. A council was held upon this occasion; and the duke of Limburg, who commands here for the emperor, was of opinion to begin the war again ; but it was argued, that this would be a dangerous undertaking, with forces so much inferior to those of the Sarazens; and that without it was not very honourable to break a treaty which had been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. Those  
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\* Sed aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter illud quod positum est à Domino Jesu, ac stabilitum. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. A. D. 1228. p. 347. et 348



of the council, who were of the duke's sentiments, replied, that the pope having in general excommunicated all such of the crusade as did not actually repair to the Holy Land, though he knew very well, that the truce was to last two years longer, it was plain, that the visible head of the church did not expect that they should keep it. Hereupon they have resolved to march to Jerusalem; and in order to come the easier at it, and to facilitate the conquest of that capital, they have determined to secure Cesarea and Jassa, the fortifications of which were afterwards to be rebuilt.

THE letter ended with very pressing instances for new succours. The pope inserted a copy of it in one of his letters, which he addressed to all the Christian world, bearing date December 23d, 1227; from whence it is no difficult matter to conclude, that it was his intention they should break the truce that had been made with the infidels.

IN the mean time, he continued thundering against the emperor with more animosity than zeal; he even excommunicated him afresh upon Maundy Thursday: but the Roman barons, and all the people, scandalized at the pope's passion, and to see him treat a Christian emperor, and king of the Romans, in so shameful a manner, took up arms in his favour.

THE pontiff, who saw with pain, that he was not master in the capital of the Christian world, retired to Perugia with all his court. The emperor was not satisfied with only driving him out of Rome. That prince, cruel and revengeful in his nature, used great severities towards all whom he thought attached to the pope. The hospitallers and templars, devoted to the interests of the holy see, suffered cruel persecutions from the emperor's officers in the dominions that he possessed in Italy<sup>a</sup>; they turned these knights, under various

<sup>a</sup> Tum etiam quia templarios et hospitalarios bonis mobilibus, et immobilibus quæ habebant in regno, temere re spoliabant Rain. ad. ann. 12.8.

various pretences, out of the lands which they possessed, took all from them, even to their very slaves, and plundered their houses. The emperor did not stop here; but, to make the pope feel the weight of his resentment, he sent troops into his territories, who ravaged Marca d'Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as if he had a mind to insult the power of the keys, he made use, in this expedition, of Sarazen soldiers his subjects in Sicily, that their incredulity might make them proof against excommunication.

THIS we learn from a letter of the pope's directed to the bishops of Apulia: "That we might not seem, says the pontiff, to compliment men to the prejudice of the church's interest, we have publicly excommunicated the emperor Frederic for not going to the Holy Land, or supplying the money and troops he had promised, and for stripping the hospitallers and templars of their possessions in the kingdom of Sicily. We followed this excommunication with a general interdict upon all churches, where he shall offer to assist at divine service; and if, notwithstanding our just inhibition, he does assist there, we shall proceed anew against him as against a declared heretic. In fine, if he continues to despise the censures of the church, we shall absolve all those that have sworn fidelity to him of their oath, particularly his subjects in Sicily, because, according to the sentiments of pope Urban II. we are not obliged to keep faith with those that oppose God and his saints, and despise their commands." A maxim directly opposite to that of Jesus Christ, who said, "That his kingdom was not of this world, and that we must render to Cesar the things that be Cesar's."

YET, whether the emperor feared the consequences of these threats, or was apprehensive that John de Brienne, who had made only a forced abdication of the crown of Jerusalem, might get before him, and re-establish himself on the throne of Palestine, he resolved at last to set out upon his voyage thither. But  
before

before he embarked, to hinder the pope from taking any advantage of his absence, he wrote him word, that he had left full powers with Rinaldo duke of Spolletto, to make an amicable determination of all differences between them. The pope was far from approving a voyage, that seemed to render the excommunication null; and therefore wrote back to him, that he expected he should not cross the sea as one of the crusade, till he was absolved from the censures of the church. But the emperor, not regarding this prohibition, embarked at Brundisium, and arrived happily in the port of St. John d'Acre, on September 8th, A. D. 1228.

THE patriarch with his clergy, the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars at the head of their knights, the magistrates, and all the nobility and gentry then in Acre, went to receive him at landing, with all the marks of respect due to his dignity. But orders coming afterwards from the pope to the patriarch, to denounce him publicly excommunicated, with an express injunction to the military orders not to obey him\*, brother Guerin de Montaigu, grand master of the hospitallers, and the grand master of the templars acting by concert, refused openly to join the army, if the emperor gave the word of command in it<sup>b</sup>. Though this prince had but eight hundred horse, and ten thousand foot, yet he took the field, and advanced towards Jaffa, the fortifications of which they had resolved should be rebuilt before they engaged in the siege of Jerusalem. The emperor, besides these troops, was likewise followed by the Teutonic knights, who, being his subjects did not think themselves obliged to pay any deference to the pope's orders. The hospitallers and templars, though they

\* Prohibentur quoque hospitalarii, templarii et Alimanni illi attendere, vel in al quo obedire. Idem lib. 3. part 11. c. 12. p. 213.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. de Nangis. ad. an. 1252. ex Spicil. tom. 11. p. 521.

they would not join the body of the army, followed at a distance, for fear the Christians should fall 1228. into some ambuscade of the Sarazens. The emperor being very sensible how necessary their succour was to him, thought it best to dissemble a little in such a juncture. He consented to a negotiation; and after several expedients had been proposed, it was agreed, that, without mentioning the emperor, the council of war should issue out orders in the name of God and Christendom<sup>a</sup>; and after this precaution, which the knights thought themselves obliged to take, upon account of the pope's orders, they joined the army which marched without opposition to Jaffa, and restored the fortifications of the place.

AFTER the emperor's departure, Rinaldo moved for an audience of the pope to treat of peace; but the pontiff refused to hear him: so Rinaldo continued to make war upon the pope's subjects, pillaging the open country, and taking towns; and it is reported, that in the heat of action, and the transport that attends the carrying of places sword in hand, some priests and clergymen were killed, others maimed, and several hanged.

“THE emperor, says the pope in one of his letters written to cardinal Romanus, makes use of the Sarazens, his subjects, to destroy the houses of the hospitallers and templars, who have hitherto preserved what is left of the Holy Land with their blood<sup>b</sup>.” He adds, that the templars having, upon a certain occasion, recovered, by force of arms, the effects belonging to them, which the Sarazens had carried off, a lieutenant of the emperor's came up, wrested them out of their

<sup>a</sup> Magistri hospitalis sancti Joannis et templi responderunt, quia summo pontifice, et cui obedire volebant, erant prohibiti ei obsequi vel parere, pro utilitate tamen terræ et populi christiani parati erant juxta alios pergere, dummodo præcepta vel banna ex parte sua nullatenus proclamarentur. Sanut. *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> Christianis odium exhibit manifestum ad exterminandas domus hospitalis et fratrum militiæ templi, per quas reliquæ Terræ sanctæ hætenus sunt observatæ. *Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1228. p. 348. et 349.*

their hands by main force, and gave them back to the infidels: " For, continues the pope, those knights, so  
 " brave in their persons, and so terrible to the Sara-  
 " zens, profess by their institution, never to draw  
 " their swords against Christians\*. This lieutenant  
 " moreover turned them out of their houses, and  
 " took from them an hundred infidel slaves, which the  
 " the two orders had in the convents of the two Sici-  
 " lies: it looks as if his design was to destroy the  
 " two orders, or at least to reduce them to depend  
 " for the future entirely upon the emperor."

The pope, to oppose something more terrible to the emperor than excommunications and manifesto's, levied two armies, putting at the head of the first John de Brienne, whom the emperor had forced to abdicate the crown of Jerusalem; the counts of Celano and Roger d'Aquila, subjects of Frederic, but rebels against him, and protected by the pope, commanded the other; and in this war the leaders of both parties committed unspeakable cruelties, as if the popes soldiers were afraid of being out-done in inhumanity by the Sarazens in the emperor's army.

THOMAS Daquin, one of the emperor's lieutenants, did not fail to give him advice of it. " The  
 " pope's troops, says he in his letter,<sup>b</sup> burn 1229.  
 " villages, carry off the cattle, imprison the  
 " inhabitants, and oblige them, by force of torments,  
 " to ransom themselves. There is no sort of cruelty  
 " but they exercise it on your subjects, without con-  
 " sidering that they commit all these violences in the  
 " territories of a Christian emperor, who is actually  
 " in arms for the defence of the Holy Land. All the  
 " clergy of the empire cry out, and demand with what  
 " conscience the common father of Christians can  
 " make war on the first prince in Christendom; and  
 " whether he has forgot that when St. Peter was draw-  
 " ing his sword, our Lord ordered him to put it up in  
 " the scabbard, saying, whoever smiteth with the  
 " sword,

\* I. sis non audentibus, juxta ordinis sui instituta, manum arma-  
 tam contra Christianos erigere. Matt. Paris, p. *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 353.



“ sword, shall perish by the sword. They are astonish-  
 “ ed too, how a person, that excommunicates robbers  
 “ and incendiaries every day, can now thunder out  
 “ the censures of the church against the king of the  
 “ Romans. Take proper measures, sir, for the securi-  
 “ ty of your people, and withal of your own person ;  
 “ for John de Brienne, who refuses you the august  
 “ title of emperor, has ships in readiness, in most of  
 “ the ports of Italy, to surprize you in your return.”

THE emperor had advice afterwards, by other letters, that the pope's generals, after driving the Imperialists out of Marca d'Ancona, had forced them to retire into the kingdom of Naples; that they had seized St. Germans, and most of the other towns in that kingdom, as far as Capua. That the pontiff's emissaries had prevailed with several towns<sup>a</sup> in Lombardy to take up arms in his favour; that this new alliance made war upon such other places as still preserved their allegiance to the empire, and that the pope had sent a legate in their army, who directed all the steps of it. This was the source of the two factions so remarkable in history by the name of Guelphs and Gibbelins; the first of which declared for the popes, and the other ranged themselves under the banner of the empire.

FREDERIC, enraged at this news, and regarding the pope no longer under any other notion than that of his mortal enemy, resolved to return in all haste for Italy, to defend his own dominions. But that he might quit Palestine with some shew of honour, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that his person was not safe, and that the hospitallers and templars, at the pope's instigation, were endeavouring to deliver him up to the Sarazens. This Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, relates, with more particular circumstances, and says, that<sup>b</sup> the inhabitants of the Holy Land, and especially the templars and hospitallers, instigated

<sup>a</sup> Milan, Verona, Piacenza, Vercelli, Lodi, Alexandria, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Turin Novara, Mantua, Brescia, Bologna et Faenza.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 358.

instigated by the devil and the father of discord, and urged by the revengeful spirit of the pope, gave secret advice to the sultan of Egypt, that the emperor was to go, out of devotion, to bathe in the river Jordan, and that he would perform the journey on foot, and with a small retinue, so that he might easily dispatch him, or at least seize his person: That the sultan, upon receipt of this letter, the seal of which he knew, conceived an utter abhorrence of the perfidiouſness of these knights, and that, far from making any use of it, that prince generously sent the letter to the emperor, who had already received several intimations of this traiterous design; that his Imperial majesty dissembled his knowledge of it, till a proper time came to revenge the injury; and that this was the true reason of the hatred he shewed afterwards to these two military orders. It must nevertheless be owned \*, adds Matthew Paris, that the templars were more blamed for this piece of treachery than the knights of St. John.

HOWEVER that be, as the emperor wanted only a pretext of quitting the Holy Land without dishonour to himself, he entered privately into a negotiation with the sultan of Egypt for a truce, which was concluded for ten years. He published afterwards the conditions of it, which consisted chiefly, as he said, in the restitution of Jerusalem, which the sultan gave up to the emperor, with the cities Bethlehem, Nazareth, Thoron and Sidon; allowing him likewise the liberty of repairing the fortifications of these places, and of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; which city was left entirely to his disposal, except the temple, which, with the court and inclosure about it, was to remain in the hands of the infidels, with the privilege of the free exercise of their religion in it.

THIS treaty being executed, a great number of Christian families, upon the emperor's word, returned to Jerusalem. Some monks, and even nuns, drawn by the holiness of the place, took possession again of

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their

\* Verumtamen hospitalarii minorem notam infamiae super hec facto contraxerunt. *Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 357.*

their convents, and began to repair them<sup>a</sup>. But it was not long before they discovered the illusion of the treaty which had nothing real in it but a design of amusing the Christians of the east, and imposing on those of the west<sup>b</sup>. For the emperor, instead of raising again the fortifications of the towns, which he pretended were yielded to him, though this was necessary to secure the possession of them to the Latin Christians, rejected with contempt the offers made him by the hospitallers and templars, of contributing to put those places in a condition of defence: So they continued still dismantled, and consequently in the power of the infidels, who were then masters of the field, with forces infinitely superior to those of the Christians; and the emperor having acted, as we may say, this comedy in the east, embarked in the month of May, and arrived happily in his kingdom of Sicily.

THE war resumed a new vigour from the emperor's presence. That prince, who was a great soldier, carried it on with better success than the pope's generals; he drove them out of most of the places they had seized in his absence. John de Brienne likewise quitted the command of the army of the holy see, and returned into France to prepare for his voyage to Constantinople, whither he had been invited after Robert de Courtenay's death, to take care of the empire. The pope, despairing to get the better of his enemy by temporal arms, had recourse to spiritual ones, which he managed with much better success; and, after renewing the excommunication against the emperor, he added this clause to it: "And forasmuch as that prince, out of a visible contempt of excommunication, has made no step of submission to our orders, we declare all his subjects absolved of their oath of fidelity to him." A terrible attempt, which authorized the revolt of all that

<sup>a</sup> Vide epist. Geroldi patriarche. Hier. idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Sibi fratribus templi et hospitalis presentantibus solemniter et instanter, quod si vellet firmare, sicut promiserat, civitatem, ipsi ei quantum possunt consilium et auxilium ad conficiendum compararent. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 359.

that were malecontent. The emperor, in fact, was so terrified with it, that he used the interest of several cardinals, and divers prelates, whom he caused to come express out of Germany, to bring the pope to a better temper. The negotiation lasted almost a year; and the vanquished prescribed terms to the victorious side. The emperor, before he could obtain peace, was obliged to swear that would submit to the pope's orders, without any exception. He 1230 was absolved upon this condition; and, among other articles, extorted from that prince, it was said, that he should, within the time prescribed him by the church, repair all the damages he had done to the orders of the hospitaliers and templars; that he should pay the charge of the war, and reimburse the holy father all the money he had been obliged to furnish for the defence of the patrimony of St. Peter. \*

THE emperor, to get rid of the excommunication, whereof he dreaded the consequences, subscribed to all these conditions, and executed them, particularly with regard to the hospitaliers and templars. But that prince, retaining always a keen resentment against those two orders, had no sooner received his absolution, than, under one pretext or other, he began to persecute them again. Henry de Maura, lord chief justice of the kingdom of Sicily, on both sides the Faro di Messina, sequestered all their effects and possessions; and, upon their complaints, the pope sent a nuncio to Frederic, to demand satisfaction of him for those violent proceedings. " If 1231. " you really wish, as you are obliged to do, " says the pontiff to him in his brief, that the affairs " of the Holy Land may go on prosperously, far from " persecuting the hospitaliers and templars, you ought " to give your imperial protection to two orders, that, " with infinite trouble, and continual fatigues, and " in the midst of a thousand dangers, to which " they are daily exposed, support that tottering state;

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" and

\* Rain. ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 405. n. 9.

† Idem ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 413.

“ and it is the most effectual means to render you  
 “ both acceptable in the sight of God, and honour-  
 “ able in the esteem of men :” And the pontiff con-  
 cludes his letter with conjuring him, in the most pres-  
 sing terms, to restore the effects and possessions that  
 had been so unjustly taken from the hospitallers of St.  
 John, and the templars. - Frederic received the nuncio  
 well, and promised to have a great regard to the pope’s  
 recommendation ; but instead of that, tho’ he was on-  
 ly the subaltern sovereign of the isle, he renewed his  
 persecutions ; and, to revenge himself on such of his  
 Sicilian subjects, as, during his excommunication, had  
 declared in favour of the pope, the lord in whom the  
 direct dominion was vested, and supreme sovereign of  
 that kingdom, he obliged them to put on the cross ;  
 and, by a sort of banishment, which he cloaked with  
 the pretence of religion, and that of succouring the Ho-  
 ly Land, he sent them away thither, without ever al-  
 lowing them to come back, or return into their coun-  
 try, even after they had accomplished their pilgrim-  
 age.

THE order of St. John, suffering still under the per-  
 secution of that prince, lost, this year, their  
 1230. grand master Guerin de Montaigu, a gentle-  
 man of noble extraction in the province of  
 Auvergne, but who by his virtues added a greater lustre  
 to his family than he derived from it. The knights  
 of St. John, assembling in chapter, chose,  
 BERTRAND in his stead, brother Bertrand de Taxis,  
 DE Taxis. who, following the steps of his predeces-  
 sor, applied himself as closely to the af-  
 fairs of the state, as to the government of the order.

PALESTINE, which, from the time of John de Bri-  
 enne’s abdication, had been deprived of the presence  
 of its sovereign, was, like a ship without a pilot, tossed  
 continually by new tempests, and must infallibly have  
 perished, without the constant succour of the hospital-  
 lers and templars. I say nothing of the Teutonic  
 knights, because since A. D. 1226, the greatest part  
 of them were gone into Prussia ; the inhabitants of  
 which



which, being idolaters, had entered into a barbarous war against the Christians their neighbours, massacred the priests at the foot of the altars, and put the sacred vessels to profane uses. Conrad duke of Mazovia called in the Teutonic knights to his assistance, and, for a beginning of a settlement, gave them the whole territory of Culm, with all the lands they could conquer from the infidels. Herman de Salza, <sup>a</sup> master of the order, deputed one of his knights, named Conrad de Lansberg, to conclude this treaty, which was signed by three bishops of the country, Gonther of Mazovia, Michael of Cujavia, and Christian of Prussia. Hereupon the Teutonic knights went into those northern provinces, where, in a continued series of wars, they acquired successively an entire sovereignty to themselves, the royal and ducal 1232. Prussia, Livonia and the duchies of Courland, and Semigallen, all provinces of a vast extent, and sufficient to form a great kingdom.

FROM what we have now said it appears, that the defence of the Holy Land was left only in the hands of the hospitallers and templars. The emperor indeed, who was very sensible that that little state could not support itself, had, before his departure, promised the two grand masters, and the principal lords of the country, that he would, at his return home, send a considerable body of troops thither, and maintain them at his own expence: He gave his word likewise to send thither prince Conrad his son, to whom the kingdom of Jerusalem belonged in right of the empress Yolant his mother, daughter to John de Brienne, and the princess Mary. But that prince, being, at his return, taken up with the design of establishing the imperial authority over all Italy, reserved his whole force for the execution of that great project, and seemed to have entirely forgot the interests of Palestine. The princess Alice, half sister by the mother's side to queen Mary, being, as well as the latter, the issue of queen Isabel of Jerusalem, and at this time Widow of Hugh de

Z 3

Lusignan

<sup>a</sup> Dusburg. chron. Pruss. part 2. c. 1. p. 28.

Lusignan king of Cyprus, passed into Syria, in hopes of making an advantage of the emperor's absence at such a distance, and demanded the crown of Jerusalem<sup>a</sup>. But whatever ill treatment the two military orders had received from the emperor, the two grand masters opposed the pretensions of this princess, and told her, that nothing but prince Conrad's death or voluntary abdication, could give her any right to the crown. The emperor having advice of these notions, and fearing lest the queen dowager of Cyprus should at last gain over the two orders to her interests, sent a body of German troops into Palestine, and put over them as his lieutenant Richard Fitz Auger marshal of his army. This general, landing at Acre, instead of mild and pacifying measures, and instead of endeavouring to render his Master's government and his own authority agreeable to the inhabitants  
1232. of the town, and the lords of the country, treated them with excessive rigour, laid upon them imposts unheard of before in Palestine, and taxed the richest citizens<sup>b</sup>. He deprived some of their estates, harassed others, and treated them all as he would have treated infidels in a conquered country. The inhabitants and principal nobility, after enduring, for four or five years together, all the oppressions that avarice, supported by absolute power, could lay upon them, having lost their patience as well as their effects, and, being left without any resource but their courage, ran to arms, drove the Germans out of the town, and obliged them to take refuge in Tyre, the only place they had left, where John d'Hybelin, lord of Berytus, and Jassa, at the head of the gentry, prepared to besiege them.

THE emperor, surprized and alarmed at this news, had recourse to the pope's authority, desiring him to exert it in his favour, with the grand master  
de

<sup>a</sup> Sanut. l. 3. c. 13. p. 214.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, lib. 3. part. II. c. 13. p. 214.

de Taxis, and the knights of St. John: And to regain the esteem and confidence of that order, which he had persecuted so long, he put the 1238. knights again in possession of all the effects and estates he had so unjustly taken from them.

THE pope, at this prince's instance, sent the archbishop of Ravenna to the Holy Land, as legate of the holy see, and gave him very pressing letters to the grand master and council of the order, wherein he exhorted them to use their prudence, and the authority they had in Palestine, to quiet these disturbances. The grand master, upon receipt of the pope's brief, exerted himself to the utmost for a reconciliation. By his own conduct, supported with the power of his order, he brought matters to bear, and re-established the emperor's authority in St. John d'Acre, and the other towns of Palestine.

THE forces of the Latin Christians being considerably weakened in the Holy Land, by a victory which the sultan of Aleppo gained about that time over the templars, the grand master of the hospitallers sent his summons, and drew a great number of knights from the west. There went, says Matthew Paris, from the hospitallers house of Clerkenwell in 1239. London, a great number of knights with banners displayed, preceded by brother Theodric their prior, a German by nation, who set out for the Holy Land, at the head of a considerable body of troops in their pay. These knights, says he, passing over London bridge, saluted, with their capuce in hand, all the inhabitants that crowded to see them pass, and recommended themselves to their prayers<sup>a</sup>.

WHILST the order was drawing out of England this succour for the Holy Land, it furnished the Christian kings of Spain, who were continually at war against the Moors of the country, with a much more considerable one. Don James, the first of the name, king of Arragon, having driven the Moors out of the  
isles

<sup>a</sup> Fratres vero, inclinatis capitibus, hinc et inde capitibus depositis, se omnium precibus commendaverunt. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1237. p. 444.

isles of Majorca and Minorca, undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. He fitted out a strong fleet, and his land army consisted of above sixty thousand men. The power of the kings of Arragon never made so formidable an appearance before. This mighty force did not discourage Zael king of Valentia, the bravest of all the princes of the Moors: but as he had not an army strong enough to keep the field against that of Don James, he threw himself into his capital. The Christians soon invested the place: He made a gallant defence; and, though besieged both by sea and land, the king of Arragon could not gain an inch of ground, but what cost him the bravest of his soldiers. The Moors made frequent sallies, in which there was always much bloodshed. The success of the siege grew every day more and more doubtful: Don James, seeing his troops diminish, called in the hospitallers of St. John to his succour. Brother Hugh de Forcalquier, castellan of Emposta, and lieutenant to the grand master, arrived in the camp at the head of a considerable number of Spanish knights; and, to make this succour the more serviceable, he had reinforced them with two thousand foot levied, at his own expence, among the vassals of the order.

It was no little satisfaction to the king to see him arrive so well attended. The siege soon put on a new face. A laudable emulation ran through the Christian army. The knights distinguished themselves as usual by their intrepidity, and carried several advanced works sword in hand. Zael, straitened by the loss of these posts, shut himself up in the heart of the town. He held out there for some time longer; but, pressed at length by want of provisions, and having lost the choicest of his garrison, he capitulated, and surrendered the place to the king of Arragon. The rest of the kingdom followed the example of the capital; every thing fell before the power of the conqueror, and the crown of Valentia was united to that of Arragon. Don James publicly acknowledged, that he owed this important conquest to the valour of the hospitallers. He recom-  
pented

penfed them, like a liberal and generous prince, with the town of Cerviera, and all its dependencies, with Aicola, Alcocever, and the plain of St. Matthew, all which he gave in absolute property to the order.

BUT recompences of fo considerable a value, and which ferved as a testimony of their valour, excited afterwards the envy and indignation of the neighbouring bishops; for the castellan of E pofita receiving orders from the grand master, whole lieutenant he was in Arragon, and in the principality of Catalonia, to make a detachment from thence of the servants and vassals of the order, for the peopling of those towns, which were then full of infidel inhabitants; and this colony setting up the cross, and refusing, in virtue of their ancient privileges, to submit to the payment of tythes, they were strangely surpris'd to hear, that the bishops, instead of lending their assistance for the conversion of the Moors that were left in those places, had laid a general interdict upon all the country granted to the order by the king of Arragon.

IT was not without great indignation that the pope received the news of this invasion of the privileges granted to that military order by so many of his predecessors. He immediately took off that unjust interdict; because, according to the bulls of the sovereign pontiffs, the order was subject to no jurisdiction but that of the holy see, and he made a decree, with severe penalties annexed to it, that no one for the future should disturb the subjects of an order, the members whereof employed their fortunes and lives only for the defence of Christendom.

YET, in contempt of this solemn prohibition, the bishop of St. John d'Acre began a fresh dispute with the knights in the east, upon the subject of the right of tythes, under pretence, that since the loss of Jerusalem, and the settlement of the order in St. John d'Acre, they had acquired in that city, and in other parts of his diocese, several kinds of possessions, that did not belong to the order from the first times of its foundation.



on. This prelate kept his design and measures secret; and, under a quite different pretence, made a voyage and waited upon the pope. He represented to him, that the hospitallers, by means either of their conquests or acquisitions, swallowed up all the revenues of the bishops. He received, at the same time, the bitter complaints that Foulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem, had made to Adrian IV. on account of the interdicts and burials before mentioned; and he concluded with beseeching his holiness, to publish an explanation of his predecessor's bulls, agreeable to the rights of bishops, and such as might serve to limit the privileges of the knights.

THE pope referred the examination of these grievances to cardinal James de Pecoraria, to whom that pontiff had committed the affairs of Palestine. The bishop of Acre laid before him a long memorial of these grievances, in which the order of St. John was treated with no great tenderness. The cardinal communicated it to brother Andrew de Foggia, who resided then at the court of Rome, as procurator general of the hospitallers. That knight maintained the interests of his order with a proper zeal, and shewed plainly, that the bishop of Acre, under pretence of new grievances, did nothing but revive the old pretensions of the clergy of Palestine, that had been rejected in the assembly of Ferentino. The pope, upon the cardinal's report of the case, referred the judgment of it to the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Tyre, and the abbot of St. Samuel d'Acre. The bishop could not have wished for judges that were less exceptionable; yet these prelates, though interested in the affair, being withal justly sensible, that they subsisted themselves only by the succour of these knights, obliged their colleague to desist from his pretensions.

I know not whether it be to this prelate, or any other enemy of the order, that we are to ascribe the account given the pope about this time, that the hospitallers gave themselves up to shameful irregularities, and

and that a Greek and schismatical prince, who was actually at war with the Latins, was assisted by them with arms and horses. Gregory IX. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, a pontiff of a warm and fiery disposition, wrote immediately about it to the grand master, and the whole order, in terms dictated by a furious zeal. The exactness, which the duty of a faithful historian requires, does not allow me to pass over his brief in silence, especially since it is recited at length by the annalist of the church.

“ WE have heard with grief, says the pope, that  
 “ you keep in your houses women of a loose life, and  
 “ live disorderly with them; that you are no longer  
 “ exact in observing your vow of poverty; and that  
 “ some particular persons among you enjoy great estates in property; that, in consideration of an annual retribution, you protect, without distinction, all that are admitted into your confraternity; that, under this pretence, your houses serve for an asylum to robbers, murderers, and heretics; that, in opposition to the interest of the Latin princes, you have furnished arms and horses to Vatacius, an enemy of God and the church; that you daily retrench something of your ordinary alms; that you alter the wills of such as die in your hospital, not without suspicion of forgery; that you allow no persons that are there to confess to any priests, but those of your order, or such as you give salaries to. It is alledged likewise, adds the sovereign pontiff, that many of your brethren are suspected of heresy.”

THE pope, at the end of this brief, exhorts the grand master to correct these great abuses, allowing him, for that end, only three months time; and if it be not done within that term, by the same brief, which bears date March 12th 1238, he orders the archbishop of Tyre, to repair to the head-house of the order, and, in virtue of the apostolical authority, to set up about an immediate reformation of that great body of military friars, as well in the head as in the members.

'TIS not a little surprizing, after the honourable testimony that Andrew king of Hungary, an eye-witness, had, in 1218, given of the virtue of these knights, that we find, in this pontiff's briefs, such grievous reproaches against the order. Perhaps they might arise from the hatred and calumny of their enemies: perhaps too, and it is probable, the pope would not have made such a stir about them, if he were not convinced of their irregularities. So extraordinary a change in their houses, if it be true, should make the holiest and most austere societies tremble, when they reflect, that they may, in less than twenty years, degenerate from their primitive regularity, and fall into the most terrible disorders.

WHATEVER be the case, as to the truth or falshood of these accusations, it is certain, that in the same age, and under the same pontificate, the spirit of mortification and charity still made an eminent figure among the hospitallers, and several of the knights of those times are even now honoured as saints.

SUCH are the blessed Hugh, Gerard Mecati of Villamagna, Gerland of Poland, all hospitallers of the order of St. John, who lived in that age, and deserved to be canonized in the opinion, and by the anticipated suffrages of the Christian world.

THE blessed Hugh, preceptor or commander of the commandry of Genoa, devoted himself to the service of the poor and pilgrims in the hospital under his direction. The verbal process of his life, drawn up after his death by Ctho de Fietchi, archbishop of Genoa, upon express orders from pope Gregory IX. says, that his life was one continual penance, attended with fervent prayers, and a boundless charity to the poor and pilgrims. According to the archbishop's account, he never eat meat; his fast lasted the whole year round, Sundays only excepted. He always wore a long hair-shirt tied upon his flesh with an iron chain; a table served him for his bed, and he placed it in a gratto below the hospital on the side towards the sea. He passed the whole of the day, either in prayer, or in attend-

attendance on the sick; and if any pilgrims came in, he washed their feet, and kissed them with profound humility. 'Twas in a continual practice of these virtues, that the blessed Hugh finished at last the sacrifice of himself.

THE blessed Gerard Mecati lived almost at the same time. He was born at Villamagna, a town about three or four miles from the famous city of Florence. He entered himself early in the order of hospitallers, as a serving brother, and discharged all the duties of his place with an ardent zeal and charity towards the poor. Having passed part of his life in the hospitals of the order, a desire of greater perfection, and the love of retirement and solitude, made him procure the permission of his superiors, to end his days in a desert. He shut himself up in a poor cottage, without any cloaths, but a long hair cloth, or any food, but herbs and wild fruits. Paul Mimi, in his treatise of the gentry of Florence, speaks of the blessed Gerard in these terms: "Gerard Mecati, a native of Villamagna, was a serving brother in the illustrious order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and we may justly call him a second Hilarion." It was about A. D. 1142, that this pious hermit ended his days, and was translated to the society of the saints.

BROTHER Gerland of Poland, others say of Germany, knight of the order, who lived at the same time, was no less illustrious for his piety than his valour. He spent part of his life in war against the infidels. His superiors sent him afterwards in the retinue of the emperor Frederic II. to take care of the interests of the order. He soon became an example to all the court; and, having acquitted himself of his post to the grand master's satisfaction, he retired, with his permission, to the commandry of Calatagirona, where he spent the rest of his days, leading a life truly angelical. I shall not insist on his application to prayers, or his continual austerities, I shall confine myself entirely to the virtues of his condition, and those of a true hospitaller. He was a father to the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator, and amicable compound-

er of all differences ; all which examples prove, that at that time the spirit of charity and love of mortification were not extinct in the order, as an unknown informer would have persuaded the pope. As for that pontiff's reproaching the hospitallers with having supplied a Greek prince called Vatacius with arms and horses, I can scarce find any better grounds for this than for the other accusations, with which some have endeavoured to blacken their character. All that the pope says of this Vatacius, whom in his brief he stiles an enemy of God and the church, depends on a train of events, which, with regard to the history I am writing, it may be proper to clear up.

AT the time of the last revolution and disturbance at Constantinople, which occasioned the taking of that capital of the empire by the troops of the crusade, some Greek princes, descended most of them from imperial houses, to avoid submitting to the authority of the Latins, retired into different provinces of the empire, cantoned themselves there, and set themselves up for sovereigns. Isaac, or as others call him, Alexis, Comnenus went to found a new empire on the borders of Cappadocia and Colchis, the city of Trebizund, situated on the Black Sea, being made the capital of it. The Princess Michael and Theodore Comneni seized on the empire and Albania; and Theodoro Lascaris, the most potent and formidable of them all, after having conquered the greatest part of Bithynia, defeated the Turcomans that were in possession of it, and killed the sultan of Iconium in battle with his own hand. He assumed the imperial ornaments at Nice, with the title of emperor, which he left to John Ducas his son-in-law, surnamed Vatacius ; which would make one suspect, that this prince was descended of the imperial house of Ducas only by the female side.

EXCEPTING the point of schism, he was one of the greatest princes of his age, wise, vigilant, and indefatigable, always mindful of events, and on the watch to observe the state and disposition of the kingdoms adjoining to his own. All these provinces afforded him



so many enemies. He looked upon the possessors of them, whether Christians or Mahometans, as usurpers; but, wise in the ordering of his designs, he took his measures so well, that he never had but one enemy at a time to oppose. He scarce ever wanted pretences to make war, and, if he did not carry it on with success, he was still less at a loss for means to bring about a peace. Thus, to prevent the pope's sending of succours to the Latin emperors of Constantinople, he affected a great zeal for the union of the Greek church with the Latin, and carried the matter so far, as to have conferences held upon the subject in his own palace, wherein he assisted himself, and, to encourage a complying and reconciling temper, assumed the character of a disinterested mediator. 'Twas by such a politic conduct, as much as by his valour, that, after driving the Latin emperors out of Asia Minor, he carried his arms into Europe, and advanced to attack them in the very centre of the empire.

SUCH was the famous Vatacius, with whom the hospitallers were accused of holding correspondence. But if we reflect that this Greek prince was often engaged against the same infidels, with whom the knights of St. John were continually at war, why should it be thought strange, that in a common cause, and as allies, they should assist that prince with horses and arms: besides, as the hospitallers had some houses in Constantinople, I do not see how it can be imputed to them as a crime, that they kept some measures with so powerful a prince, who was on the point of making himself master of that capital of the empire.

THAT empire, of which the princes of the crusade had made so glorious a conquest, had, from the very moment of their gaining it, lost much of its ancient grandeur and power. Besides the isles of the Archipelago, of which the Venetians and Genoese had made themselves masters, we have seen, that the marquis of Montferrat, for his share of the conquest, had Thessaly and the adjoining provinces erected into a

into the palace by night, and seize the mother and daughter. The mother was put into a sack, and thrown into the sea, and the conspirators, after cutting off the nose and lips of the daughter, retired. The emperor flattered himself, that he should find the rest of the lords of his court ready to revenge so horrible an insolence; but, to his great surprize, he heard that some of them were actually concerned in it, and that the rest did not scruple to own, that they would have done as much, if they had suffered the like crying injustice. Robert, enraged to see himself despised by his subjects, and to meet with domestic enemies that surpassed barbarians and strangers in cruelty, took shipping for Italy. He was not without hopes of procuring a powerful succour from thence, and returning into his dominions at the head of an army, that would strike terror into his enemies, and command the respect of his subjects; but, after wandering through several countries, he died at last upon the road, through excess of grief, unable to survive the insolent and contemptuous manner in which they had treated him.

NEVER was the empire in so deplorable a condition: over-run with divisions both within and without, and attacked on all sides by mighty enemies, it had no resource left, nor any successor in the Imperial throne, but the third son of Peter de Courtenay, called Baldwin II. a young prince, hardly nine or ten years old, and consequently incapable, by his age, to govern the state, especially in so terrible a juncture.

IN this dismal situation, the French lords of Constantinople had recourse to John de Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, constituting him regent and protector of the empire; and, to engage him to undertake the government, they conferred upon him the very title of emperor, to enjoy it during his life, but without prejudice to the rights of the lawful heir, agreeable to an old custom used in France, where the tutors and guardians of young noblemen, in their minority, are stiled lords of their estates, and hold them as such of the supreme lords.

JOHN de Brienne repaired to Constantinople, took upon him the government, repulsed and defeated the emperor Vatacius and Azen king of Bulgaria, who threatened Constantinople with a siege. But, as that prince was then above fourscore years old, the empire could not reap all the advantages they might have justly expected from his valour and long experience in the conduct of armies, if he had been less advanced in age. Every one's thoughts were now taken up with dismal presages of the short duration of the empire of the Latins. Young Baldwin himself was even obliged to travel into Italy, and other kingdoms of Christendom, with John de Bethune his governor, to implore succour. All Asia had their eyes fixed on the emperor Vatacius, a prince of the greatest power and abilities that had been for a long time upon the throne of the great Constantine. He wanted nothing in a manner but the capital, and it was not doubted but he would soon make himself master of that. The Christians, possessed with an high opinion of his valour, looked upon him as the only prince capable of maintaining them in Palestine. I know not whether the regard the hospitallers shewed that great prince, were imputed to these sentiments of esteem they had for him; but, certain it is, that the reproaches it drew upon the grand master from the pope, made so deep an impression on him, that he was inconsolable; and the miserable condition to which he saw the Holy Land reduced, without succour, without troops, and without a sovereign to command them, gave the finishing stroke to his life. In his stead was chosen brother Guerin or Guarin, whose surname and country we are entirely ignorant of.

1240.

GUERIN.

WE only know, that he was intrusted with the government of the order in difficult times. Palestine was then destitute of its sovereign's presence, and in no subjection to his representatives. The hospitallers and templars, the whole force in a manner of the Holy Land, were likewise unluckily divided on account of some treaties

ties which each of them had severally made with different infidel princes.

THIBAUD V. of the name, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre in right of Blanche of Navarre his mother, made about that time an expedition into Palestine at the head of a crusade; but their ill success, and the loss of the battle of Gaza, obliged him afterwards to conclude a truce with Nazer emir of Carac. The templars were the persons that negotiated this treaty, which the king of Navarre signed out of an impatient desire to return home; and those knights made likewise a league offensive and defensive with that infidel prince, against the sultan of Egypt, but the hospitallers refused to be comprehended or concerned in it, either because they found the treaty disadvantageous, or because they complained the templars had carried on this negotiation without their knowledge or consent<sup>a</sup>.

THE king of Navarre, receiving advice, that Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, was on the way, and expected every moment, embarked in great haste with the remains of his crusade, to prevent the English prince's being witness to his disgrace. Richard, upon his arrival, found, that the emir of Carac, who in some measure was dependent on the sovereign of Damascus, had it not in his power to maintain the truce. That prince, therefore, at the head of the crusade advanced immediately up to Jassa, where he gave audience to an envoy from the sultan of Egypt, then actually at war with the sultan of Damascus, who came to offer him another truce. Richard consented to it, with the concurrence of the duke of Burgundy, count Gaultier de Brienne, nephew to John de Brienne king of Jerusalem, the grand master of the templars, and part of the lords of the country; and it was stipulated by this treaty, that the infidel prince should order all the Mahometans out of Jerusalem that were settled in it; that he should re-  
store

<sup>a</sup> Prædicta enim treuga procuratore templariorum firma est, Hospitaliariorum interveniente consensu. Sanut. l. 3. p. 216.

store Bethlehem, Nazareth, and several villages and castles, necessary to secure the road to the capital of Judæa; that all prisoners should be released on both sides; and that the Christians should be at liberty to rebuild the fortifications of Jerusalem, and the other places yielded to them. \* The English prince, though he did not perform any military exploits, yet concluded this treaty, which was no less useful, and was executed before his departure: but the templars, out of spleen to the hospitallers, refused, in their turn, to be comprehended in it; so that whilst two truces were on foot, the templars and hospitallers continued each in a state of war, the one against the sultan of Damascus, the other against the sultan of Egypt; and these dissensions would have been fatal to the state, if those sultans, and most of the descendents of Saladine and Safadine, had not been divided at the same time by civil wars. 'Twas owing entirely to those intestine disturbances of theirs, that the Latin Christians saw themselves at last the masters and sole inhabitants of Jerusalem. The patriarch came back thither with all his clergy; the churches were reconsecrated; the holy sacraments were administered there, with infinite satisfaction to all that were present, and the grand master of the hospitallers carried the patriarch all the money that was in the treasury of the order, to contribute to rebuild the walls of the holy city.

THE work, however, notwithstanding all the hands employed in it, advanced but slowly, and they had scarce thrown up some slight entrenchments, when Palestine was overflowed with a deluge of barbarians, called Corasmins. They were a people lately come out of Persia, and descended, as it is said, from the ancient Parthians; at least they inhabited their country called Yrac Agemy, or the Persian Hyrcania. Others place them in Couvarzem near Corasan; but it is a question, whether these Corasmins were not originally natives

\* *Literæ comitis Richardi, continentes summam suæ peregrinationis. M. Paris in Hen. III. ad ann. 1241. p. 566. et 567.*



tives of the kingdom of Carisme, which Ptolemy calls Chorasnia, from whence these barbarians, being most of them shepherds, and without any fixed abode, might have passed into some of the provinces of Persia. However this be, they were involved in the famous revolution, that happened twenty years before in the higher Asia, which Genchizcan, the first emperor of the old Mogul Tartars, reduced under his power. Octay, son to Genchizcan, and successor to that conqueror, or else prince Keiouc his son, caan or great cham, others say, Tuly, Genchizcan's third son, who had Persia for his portion, being incensed against this people, who had killed some of his officers that were levying taxes of them, drove them out of his dominions.

THESE people, pagans by religion, cruel and brutal in their nature, and barbarians above all that ever bore the character, roved up and down in different countries, without being able to find any fixed and secure abode, or any prince that would suffer them in his territories<sup>a</sup>: odious to the Mahometans as well as Christians for their robberies and cruelties, they were looked upon as the common enemies of mankind. The sultan of Egypt, however<sup>b</sup>, to revenge himself on the templars for the league they had made with his enemies the sultans or emirs of Damascus, Carac, and Emessa, advised Barbacan, chief and general of the Corasmins, to fall into Palestine, representing to him, that the conquest of it was easy<sup>c</sup>, the places dismantled, and open on all sides, that there were few troops in the country, and divisions among the leaders: he enforced these arguments with considerable presents, with the promise of a mighty succour, and an assurance of joining his army with a body of his own troops.

THIS

<sup>a</sup> Bibliotheque orientale, p. 1001.

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris ad an. 1244. p. 618.

<sup>c</sup> Joinvill vie de S. Louis, p. 98.

THIS was more than was necessary, to determine a savage and barbarous people, who were seeking, with the point of their swords, a country 1243. to inhabit, and had already penetrated into Mesopotamia\*. Barbacan marched thence immediately, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and fell into Palestine before they had the least news of his expedition. But the cruelties of this nation, and their burning all before them, soon gave notice of their coming. Jerusalem was still open on all sides; the grand masters of the hospital and temple were then in it, but had scarce any troops with them. In this surprising juncture, they thought they had nothing to do, but to convoy the inhabitants to Jassa, a place fortified and in a condition of defence, and afterwards to take the field, and draw out all their forces to oppose the enterprizes of the infidels. The inhabitants in general quitted Jerusalem, and followed the knights, except a small number, who were loth to leave their houses, and threw up hastily some weak intrenchments in such places as were most exposed. In the mean time, the Corasmins arrive, force these entrenchments, break into the city sword in hand, destroy all before them with fire and sword, without distinction either of age or sex; and, to deceive the Christians that were fled, they planted standards with the cross upon the towers. Those that were marched out before, having notice that the cross was still to be seen planted on the walls, felt an infinite regret for having abandoned their houses with such precipitation; and fancying that the barbarians had turned their arms another way, or had been repulsed by the Christians that were left in the city, they returned back thither in spite of all that the grand masters could say, and delivered themselves up to the fury of the barbarians, who put near seven thousand of them to the sword. A company of nuns, children and old men, who had run for shelter to the holy sepulchre, and the church of Calvary, were sacrificed in the very place where the Saviour of mankind

was

\* Sanut, p. 17.

was pleased to die for their salvation, and there was no sort of cruelty and profanation that these barbarians did not act in the holy city.

THE templars in the mean time having advice, that a detachment of the sultan of Egypt's had joined them, called in the sultans of Damascus and Emessia, who were his enemies, to their succour<sup>a</sup>. These infidels sent them four thousand horse, commanded by Mucha, one of their generals. The lords of the country, making their vassals and the militia take arms, joined the Christian army. There passed at first several skirmishes between the two parties, in which the Corasmins, though superior in number, lost more than the Christians.

At last, by the patriarch's precipitation, contrary to the advice of the principal officers, they came to a general engagament. The Christian army was drawn up in three bodies. The grand master of the hospitaliers, with the knights of his order, and sustained by Waller III. count of Jaffa, and nephew to king John, commanded the left wing: Moucha, at the head of the Turcomans, commanded the right, and the templars, with the militia of the country, were in the center<sup>b</sup>. They fought on both sides with the same courage and inclination; but there was a vast inequality in their number. The Corasmins had ten to one, and, to make the disadvantage still greater, as soon as the armies were engaged, most of Moucha's troops, either out of cowardice or treachery, quitted their ranks, and fled.

The Christians, resolving either to vanquish or die, seemed not at all discouraged, nor gave ground on this occasion: the battle lasted two days: the knights of the two orders made prodigious efforts of valour, but at last their strength being quite spent, and overwhelmed with the multitude of the enemy, they were all in a manner either killed or taken prisoners: there escaped out of this general slaughter, only twenty six hospitaliers;

<sup>a</sup> Epist. Fréd. Imperatoris. Matt. Paris in Hen. III. p. 618.

<sup>b</sup> Joinville vie de S. Louis, par du Cange p. 99.

hospitallers; (some accounts say but sixteen) thirty three templars and three Teutonic knights: the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, and a commander of the Teutonics were killed at the head of their companies. The hospitallers not long after chose for their grand master brother Bertrand de Comps, an old knight, BERTRAND whose valour and experience raised DE COMPS. him to the same dignity, which a gentleman of his name had formerly been invested with<sup>a</sup>.

THIS general defeat completed the calamities of the Holy Land. The emperor 1243. Frederic, in a letter directed to the earl of Cornwall his brother-in-law, laments this fatal day, and lays the blame of it on the templars, who, after breaking the truce, which he had made, as he says, by the hospitallers advice, with the sultan of Egypt, trusted too implicitly to the succours and promises of the sultans of Damascus and Carac<sup>b</sup>.

BROTHER William de Chateauneuf, preceptor of the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and afterwards grand master of the order, in a letter which he wrote to the seignior de Merlai, attributes, in like manner, this bloody invasion of the Corasmins, to the league made with the sultan of Damascus, against his enemy the sultan of Egypt; and, 1244. according to this knight's account of that bloody battle, in which he himself was present, the two grand masters were killed in it, and none of the hospitallers got off but himself and fifteen more, to lament, says he, the fate of those who died for the defence of the holy places and that of the Christians.

VOL. I.

B b

BOTH

<sup>a</sup> Joinville, *vie de S. Louis*, p. 100.

<sup>b</sup> Dum præter idem quod templariorum superba religio, et aborigenariorum terræ Barorum deliciis, educata superbit, Soldanum Babylonix ad evocandum auxilium Choerminorum per bellum improbum et improvisum coegerunt, nostro regio fœdere parvi spensio, quod nos, una cum conventu et magistris domorum Sancti Joannis et Sanctæ Mariæ Teutonicorum, nomine nostro contraxeramus. *Epist. Fred. Imperat. de depopulatione Terræ Sanctæ.* Matt: Paris, ad. ann. 1244.

BOTH indeed were a real object of compassion. This order, once so flourishing<sup>a</sup>, was now in a manner destroyed, and the Christians, to whom the templars and hospitallers used to serve for a defence, were now left without any, and forced to inmure themselves within the town of St. John d'Acre, while the Corasmins encamped in the plain two miles from the place, ravaged the open country, burnt the villages and towns, and either murdered the inhabitants without mercy, or carried them off into a miserable slavery.

BUT God, who, at the time appointed by his mercy, revenges his children upon the ministers he made use of in his wrath, suffered dissensions to rise up among these savage creatures; most of them killed one another, and the wretched remains of these barbarians, being dispersed in the country, were knocked on the head by peasants. In a word, they were all destroyed, even to their very name, which, since that time, is no where mentioned in history<sup>b</sup>.

THE loss sustained by the hospitallers against these barbarians did not cool their zeal and courage. We have observed, that those knights made head in all quarters against the infidels, and never failed to appear wherever the Christians made war against them. Spain, Hungary, and the principality of Antioch, received new advantages from the succour of their arms. Hugh de Forcalquier, castellan of Emposta, was constantly in the army of don James king of Arragon. He appeared at the head of all the knights of that kingdom at the siege of Xatira; and the historian of Arragon observes, that a knight of St. John, called Don Pedro de Villaragut, distinguished himself there by actions of surprizing valour.

THE knights of Hungary rendered no less eminent services to their country against the Tartars, who, at that

<sup>a</sup> Epist. flebilis prælatorum Terræ Sanctæ in Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1244. lib. 3. p. 631.

<sup>b</sup> Et factum est ut sub cælo nomen eorum penitus deleteretur, adco quod nec eorum vestigia apparuerint. Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1247.



that time ravaged Transylvania, Hungary and Poland. Pope Innocent IV. wrote to them, in the most pressing terms, as may be seen by his brief of the eight of the Calends of July, in the fifth year of his pontificate. These noble warriors took up arms immediately, and, joining the Frangipani, who were then lords of Dalmatia and Croatia, they drove these barbarians out of Hungary, brought king Belo, who had been forced to quit his dominions, back in triumph, and replaced him on the throne.

SUCH important services did not fail of a suitable recompence; and, besides new privileges conferred upon them, this prince, who was son to king Andrew before mentioned, walking in the steps of his father, granted lands and manors to the order, being persuaded, that he thereby acquired so many brave warriors to his kingdom, and illustrious defenders to his subjects, who were often exposed to the incursions of the infidels. 'Tis thus the historian of Hungary expresses himself on this occasion, calling the hospitallers by anticipation the knights of Rhodes; though they did not take that name till an age after this event.

WHILST the knights were thus employed in Hungary against the Tartars, the prince of Antioch was attacked on a sudden, by the Selgeucidian Turcomans, who, an age before, had quitted their desarts, chosen themselves leaders, and over-run at the same time several countries of Asia, as we have observed in the beginning of the first book.

THE prince of Antioch, surprized at this unexpected invasion, had recourse to the military orders, the usual refuge of all the Latin Christians. The two grand masters took the field, with the remainder of their knights, and drawing out likewise the troops which they had in pay, marched directly against the infidels. The fight was long and bloody; the number of the Turcomans, who were brave soldiers, balanced the usual effects of the valour of these knights. Brother Bertrand de Comps, grand master of the hospitallers, full of indignation at a resistance he was not

used to meet with, throws himself into the midst of the enemy's squadrons, breaks them, and puts them to flight. But in this last charge he received so many wounds, that he died soon after, and the order chose

for his successor brother Peter de Villebride, a knight highly esteemed for his piety and valour. They could not have made a better choice, especially in relation to a new crusade, which St. Louis, king of France, was to head in person, and which we are now to speak of.

THE news of the rout of the Christian army being brought to pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, that pontiff, to engage the Christians of the west to send a new succour to the Holy Land, called a general council at Lyons, which was opened on the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul. Galeoran, bishop of Berytus, who brought over the account of the victory of the Corasmins, presented to the fathers of the council a letter, written by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the bishops of Palestine, to all the prelates of France and England, and containing a relation of that dismal event which was drawn up almost in these terms.

“ THE Tartars, after destroying Persia, turned  
 “ their arms against the Corasmins, and drove them  
 “ out of their country. These barbarians, having no  
 “ settled abode, made application to several Sarazen  
 “ princes, to grant them some country to dwell in,  
 “ but in vain ; for they are a people of so cruel a dis-  
 “ position, that those who come the nearest to them  
 “ in that respect, refused to give them any shelter.  
 “ The sultan of Egypt was the only person that acted  
 “ otherways ; he invited them into Palestine, and pro-  
 “ mised the assistance of his forces to maintain them  
 “ there. They entered the country with a vast ar-  
 “ my, composed almost entirely of horse, bringing  
 “ their wives and children along with them. Their  
 “ incursion was so sudden, that no body could either  
 “ foresee or oppose it ; and they ravaged, without  
 “ opposition,

“ opposition, all the country, from Thoron of the  
 “ knights, to Gaza or Gazer.

“ IN so surprizing an invasion, there was no other  
 “ expedient but to set one barbarian against another ;  
 “ and, by the concurring sentiments of the templars,  
 “ hospitallers, Teutonics, and gentry of the country,  
 “ it was resolved to demand succour of the sultans of  
 “ Damascus and la Chamelle, our allies, and sworn  
 “ enemies to the Corasmins. But as this succour was  
 “ both remote and uncertain, the danger pressing, and  
 “ Jerusalem without walls and fortifications, about  
 “ six thousand inhabitants went to seek for refuge in  
 “ other Christian towns, and only a small number of  
 “ Christians were left in the capital.

“ SUCH as quitted Jerusalem, took the road of the  
 “ mountains, where they thought themselves safest,  
 “ because the Mahometans who inhabited there were  
 “ subjects of the sultan of Carac, with whom we were  
 “ in truce. But these mountaineers, violating the  
 “ faith of the treaty, fell upon these refugees, killed  
 “ part of them, took and sold others, even the nuns ;  
 “ and those who got down into the plains were massacred  
 “ by the Corasmins ; so that scarce three hundred  
 “ were left out of all that number of people. At  
 “ last the Corasmins forced their way into the holy  
 “ city. The few Christians that were left there, wo-  
 “ men, children, and old men, having taken refuge in  
 “ the church of the holy sepulchre, those barbarians  
 “ butchered them all in that holy place ; and, cutting  
 “ off the heads of the priests, who were then officiat-  
 “ ing, they said one to another, Let us shed here the  
 “ blood of Christians, in the very place where they  
 “ offer up wine to their God, who they say was hanged  
 “ here. They afterwards pulled off all the ornaments  
 “ from the holy sepulchre, profaned the church of  
 “ Calvary, rummaged the tombs of the kings of Je-  
 “ rusalem, disturbing the ashes of the dead, and scat-  
 “ tering their remains abroad. The churches of mount  
 “ Sion, the temple and the vale of Jehosaphat,

B b 3

“ where

\* Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1244.

“ where the blessed virgin’s sepulchre is to be seen,  
 “ were no better treated. In the church of Bethle-  
 “ hem they committed abominations too horrible to  
 “ be related, carrying their impiety to a much more  
 “ outrageous height than ever the Sarazens did, who  
 “ always paid some regard to the holy places.

“ THE military knights, and the barons of the  
 “ country, in conjunction with the succours sent them  
 “ by the sultans their allies, advanced directly against  
 “ the barbarians, marching along the sea coast, and  
 “ came up with them near Gazer or Gaza. They  
 “ joined battle on the eve of St. Luke. The Sarazens  
 “ immediately in our army took to their heels ; so that  
 “ the Christians, being left alone to oppose both the  
 “ Corasmins and Babylonians, were born down by the  
 “ multitude of their enemies. Out of the three mili-  
 “ tary orders, there were saved but thirty three tem-  
 “ plars, twenty six hospitallers, and three Teutonic  
 “ knights. Most of the nobility and gentry of the  
 “ country either perished in the battle, or were taken  
 “ prisoners.

“ IN this extremity, we have implored succours from  
 “ the king of Cyprus, and the prince of Antioch ;  
 “ but we know not what they can do for us, or what  
 “ we are to expect from them ; and, great as our loss  
 “ has been, we are still apprehensive of greater to  
 “ come. The hospitallers are besieged by the Sara-  
 “ zens in the castle of Ascalon ; the Holy Land is left  
 “ destitute of all human succour ; the Corasmins are  
 “ encamped in the plain, two miles from Acre ; from  
 “ whence they ravage the whole country as far as  
 “ Nazareth ; so that if we have no relief sent us by  
 “ the month of May, the Holy Land is infallibly lost,  
 “ and we shall be forced into some castles which are  
 “ still left us, and which the hospitallers and templars  
 “ have undertaken to defend.”

THE reading of this letter drew tears from the whole  
 assembly, The fathers of the council ordered the cru-  
 sade to be preached up through all Christendom ; and  
 that such as had already put on the cross, or should  
 put

put it on afterwards, should assemble in a place to be agreed on, to receive the pope's blessing; that there should be a truce for four years between all Christian princes; that during all that time there should be no tournaments, nor feasts, nor public rejoicings; that the faithful should be exhorted to contribute out of their fortunes and estates, for carrying on so righteous an expedition, and that ecclesiastics should pay the twentieth of their revenues, and cardinals the tenths, for three years successively.

SEVERAL princes, and a great number of the nobility, especially of the kingdom of France, put on the cross. But none did it with so much zeal, courage, and devotion, as Louis IX. king of France, known since by the name of St. Louis. The pope founded his greatest hopes upon that prince. "Our Saviour" (says the pontiff, in his letter to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) seems, out of all the other princes of the world, to have chosen our dearest son, the king of France, for the deliverance of the Holy Land, who, besides the virtues which distinguish him so highly above other sovereigns, commands likeways a mighty and a warlike nation<sup>a</sup>." This prince did not stay for the pope's instances and exhortations to engage him to succour the Christians of the east. As soon as he heard of the victory of the Corasmins, he resolved to go in person to the Holy Land; and, as he was obliged to wait till the affairs of his kingdom would permit him to take such a voyage, he sent them, in the mean time, large supplies of troops and money, which he committed to the care and management of the hospitallers and templars.

THEY had received orders in the west, to send into Palestine the new knights, and such as were as yet probationers, with a body of secular troops, and all the money deposited in the chest of the priories; and the

<sup>a</sup> Ut abstergentur lacrymæ á maxillis matris nostræ ecclesiæ deplorantis filios suos nuper trucidatos, dominus rex Francorum, hospitalarii quoque et templarii milites neophitos, et manum armatam, cum thesauro non modico, illuc ad consolationem et auxilium ibi commorantium festinanter transmiserunt.



the two grand masters having recourse to God, to implore the blessing of heaven upon their arms, appointed extraordinary fasts, and continual prayers to be offered up throughout the order<sup>a</sup>.

THESE knights, besides the king of France's money, and that of the order, brought likeways with them a thousand pounds, that Richard<sup>b</sup> earl of Cornwall dedicated to the defence of the holy places. The two grand masters sent afterwards to the sultan of Egypt, to demand a pass for two of their knights, to be deputed to him on a particular negotiation. The design of their embassy, was to redeem out of the hands of the Sarazens, the hospitallers and templars, that had been taken in the late battle, and delivered up to them by the Corasmins. Formerly both the orders had always looked upon those that surrendered prisoners of war, as so many dead men; but now, at such a dismal juncture, the grand masters did not think it proper to keep up to the severity of this discipline: and in hopes of receiving a new reinforcement from these prisoners, they sent away deputies with a large sum of money, to procure their ransom. The pass necessary for their security being delivered, these commissioners set out and arrived at the Egyptian Babylon, or at grand Cairo, places which, by reason of their neighbourhood, are very often confounded by historians. The two knights, to smoothe the way for so extraordinary a negotiation, distributed several sums among the ministers and favourites of the sultan. The person then possessed of that dignity was Salech, the son of Camel, the eldest of Saffadin's children, a very politic prince, and formidable to his neighbours. 'Tis to this prince, that the institution of that body of troops called MAMALUCKS is ascribed. They were so named from an Arabic word, which signifies a  
slave

<sup>a</sup> Statuerunt inter se orationes et jejunia præter solita specialiter pro liberatione Terræ Sanctæ faciendæ. Matt. Paris.

<sup>b</sup> Comes Richardus ex innatâ sibi magnificentiâ illuc in succursum mille libros per hospitalarios transmisit. Idem ibid.

slave that is sold, because they were children carried off by the Tartars in their excursions, and bought of them by Salech. Of these he formed a regiment, out of which he took his principal officers, and they became at last so powerful, that they appropriated to themselves the right of chusing their sovereign. The deputies of the two military orders acquainted sultan Salech with the occasion of their embassy, and proposed entering into a negotiation for the ransom and liberty of their brethren. But the sultan, who had made a secret and strict alliance with the emperor Frederic, and besides knew very well how odious the knights of both orders were to him, " God forbid, " says he to his ministers, that I should treat with " such a perfidious set of men, that would formerly " have delivered up their emperor; and though they " call one another brethren and companions in arms, " have yet, for five years past, when ever they met, " fallen upon one another, with more rage and fury " than they shew against the enemies of their law. Do " not we know, adds that prince, what little stress is " to be laid on the words of the templars, and that " they were the knights, who, out of antipathy to " the hospitallers, violated the truce which I had " made with the king of England's brother, whom " the templars, by way of contempt, called that little " boy? And yet, in the late battle, we saw these very " templars, those proud and arrogant natures, abandon themselves to a shameful flight; and, what never happened in their order before, he that bore beausean, or standard of the cross, in contempt of his duty, and the rules of his institution, was the first that fled. But this is not the only point in which the templars and hospitallers have for a long time, without any scruple, broken the statutes of their profession. Whence is it, for instance, that these knights, who by their laws ought at most to part with only their capuce, or their girdle, for their ransom, now offer us such great sums, but to fortify themselves by their number against our

" power?

“ power? No, go and tell them, that since the di-  
 “ vine justice has delivered them into my hands, they  
 “ shall never be set at liberty as long as I live; and  
 “ that, following the example of their predecessors,  
 “ I can make no difference between a knight that is  
 “ a prisoner, and a knight dead upon the field of  
 “ battle.”

IN vain did the sultan's ministers remonstrate to him, that he would lose, by this resolution, very considerable sums, which he might have for the liberty of the knights. That infidel prince, who was no stranger to the differences between the emperor and the pope, and knew to what a degree the knights were devoted to the holy see, rejected with obstinacy and contempt all the offers they could make him. The deputies were obliged to go back as they came, without being able to persuade the sultan to any degree of compliance; but before their departure, complaining to that prince's ministers of the great expence they had been at to no purpose in presents, of which they had the benefit, those ministers, to make them in a manner some sort of amends, told them, as a secret, that there was but one way to procure the prisoners their liberty, which was, by the emperor's desiring it of the sultan: from whence it is easy to infer, says Matthew Paris<sup>a</sup>, the strict amity there was between Frederic and the Mahometan prince. But as the deputies, on the other hand, were sensible that the emperor was in war with the pope, and that their superiors could have no correspondence with that prince, who was actually under sentence of excommunication, they returned home with grief at leaving their brethren in captivity with the infidels.

St. Louis, after he had made a resolution to march into the east, spent two years in regulating all affairs within his kingdom, and in securing it from abroad by a general peace with his neighbours. This prince, after discharging those first and most indispensable du-  
 ties

<sup>a</sup> Ex cujus tenore colligi potest quanta familiaritas Fredericum cum sultanis copulavit. p. 608.

ties of a sovereign, went to St. Denis on June 12th, A. D. 1248, attended by Robert count of Artois, and Charles duke of Anjou, his brothers, and received there from Eudes de Chateauroux, the pope's legate, the oriflame, a sort of standard like a banner, with the alms, purse, and the staff, according to the usual practice of pilgrims. Alphonfus, count of Poictiers, the king's third brother, though he had put on the cross, staid some time longer in France, with queen Blanche their mother, whom the king left regent of the kingdom in his absence. Louis embarked afterwards at Aiguemortes, a famous port at that time, but now an inland town, four leagues from the sea, which is since retired to that distance. He set sail August 28th, with a favourable wind, and arrived happily in the road of Limisso, in the island of Cyprus, on September 17th, the same year. He was received there by Henry de Lusignan king of the isle, upon whom the pope, to be revenged on the emperor, and prince Conrad his son, had lately conferred the title of king of Jerusalem, under colour of the pretended rights of queen Alice his mother.

The king of France, after refreshing himself a few days, being impatient to signalize his zeal, proposed to put to sea, and sail for Egypt. He was seconded in this motion by some noblemen, who were concerned in the last crusades, and represented to him, that if he staid longer in the isle of Cyprus, he would expose himself and his army to all the inconveniencies of a country, where the water and air were equally dangerous to strangers: whereas Egypt afforded at once proper conquests to make, and every thing that was necessary for life. But the king could not follow his own inclination, by reason that part of his army was not yet arrived; besides the king of Cyprus offered to accompany him with all the gentry of the island, if he would allow them the necessary time to prepare for such an expedition: so the term of their departure was fixed for the spring following.

THE

THE pious king employed his stay very usefully in making up the division, which a spirit of jealousy occasioned between the templars and the hospitallers; and he terminated at the same time the differences between Hayton, king of the Lesser Armenia, and Bohemund V. prince of Antioch and Tripoli. 'Twas during the king's stay in the isle of Cyprus, that the grand master of the temple, and the marshal of the order of the hospitallers, impatient to procure the discharge of their knights, that were in the hands of the infidels, wrote to that prince to feel his pulse, whether he was disposed to enter into an accommodation with the sultan of Egypt. The holy king, burning with zeal, rejected the proposal with indignation, and forbade the grand master, on pain of his displeasure, ever to make him the like again. The grand master's enemies gave out, that there was a secret correspondence between him and the infidel prince, and that for the closer cementing a friendship between them, they had caused themselves to be blooded in the same porging, as if the mixture of their blood would unite their hearts the more firmly to each other. We shall not enter into a discussion of the truth of this last fact, which does not appear very probable, especially after the rough manner in which the sultan had rejected the grand master's ambassadors. We shall only observe, after the Sire de Joinville, that in the treaties of peace and alliance, made at that time with the barbarians, they insisted upon this ceremony of being let blood together, mixing their blood with wine, and even of drinking it so. This was practised between Baldwin II. and a king of Comania, as the seignior de Toucy, an eye-witness, affirmed to St. Louis\*. But there is not the least probability, that the sultan, who had just before refused to treat about the ransom of the knights, should presently after make a new alliance with the grand master of the temple; 'tis much more reasonable to think, that the military orders, upon whom the burden of defending Palestine lay continually,

\* Joinville, p. 94.



ally, would have been glad the truce had not been broken, nor a powerful enemy and neighbour provoked, under pretence of a new crusade, which, like most of the rest, after some slight efforts, would abandon the east, return into France, and leave the whole weight of the war to be sustained by the knights, and the poor remnant of Latin Christians that dwelt in Palestine.

THE king paid very little regard to the representations of the grand master; so that after eight months stay in the isle of Cyprus, he embarked with the queen his wife, the countess of Anjou, the king of Cyprus, prince Robert, and Charles his brothers, the legate, and all the persons of quality, on Trinity Sunday, A. D. 1249; all the fleet set sail, and on the sixth day arrived before Damietta. The two grand masters repaired thither afterwards, with the choicest of their knights. Louis found the bank lined with the sultan's troops, which pretended to oppose his landing; but that prince, transported with zeal and courage, threw himself first into the water sword in hand, and being followed by his nobles and gentry, charged the infidels, and put them to flight. The fugitives carried terror and consternation with them into the city, and though that place was reckoned the strongest in all Egypt, yet the garrison abandoned it, and the inhabitants, loading themselves with their most valuable effects, stole out by night, after first setting fire to the city, and fled for refuge into the higher Egypt. It was not long before they had an account of this general desertion: two slaves of the infidels gave them notice about 8 o'clock in the morning, that the city was abandoned. The king, after taking the necessary precautions to be assured of the truth of so surprizing an event, made his entry into the place, at the head of his troops; the legate purified the principle Mosque, where *Te Deum* was afterwards sung with great solemnity. The queen, the legate, the patriarch and the bishops, fixed their abode in this city, and the king, fearing the consequences of the Nile's inundation, and instruct-

ed by the misfortunes which the legate Pelagius's obstinacy had brought upon the army of John de Brienne, and the troops of the crusade, resolved to pass the rest of the summer there, the excessive heats of that season not allowing an army in that country to keep the field.

ALPHONSUS count of Poitiers, the king's brother, whom that prince had left in France, embarked the twenty sixth of August, with the princess Jane his wife, only daughter of Raimond count of Tholouse, and they arrived two months after at Damietta. The count of Poitiers landed with a strong reinforcement, called by Joinville the *arriere-ban* of France<sup>a</sup>, the arrival of which augmented the king's zeal and courage. That prince saw himself at the head of a mighty army, sustained by the two military orders, who knew the country, and the method of making war among the infidels; the sea was open, the mouth of the Nile free for the receiving of new succours, and terror and consternation seemed to have seized the enemy.

THE only point was to determine, whether they should go and attack them in Alexandria, or in grand Cairo itself. Peter de Dreux, the old count of Bretagne, was of opinion, that they should turn their arms first against Alexandria, the port whereof would be of a great advantage for the fleet and convoys; but the count of Artois declared himself for the siege of grand Cairo, out of a notion that the taking of the capital would be attended with the surrender of other places, whereas the reducing of Alexandria would not, he said, exempt the army from forming afterwards the siege of Cairo. This reason prevailed, or perhaps the obstinacy and haughtiness with which that prince usually maintained his opinion<sup>b</sup>. Grand Cairo was about fifty leagues from Damietta, and about the mid way they were to pass by the town of Memoute, where the infidels were intrenched on the bank of a branch of the Nile, called the Thanis.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Joinville, p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Joinville, p. 27.

THE king marched from Damiata, at the head of his army on November 20th, and upon the road received advice of the sultan's death, occasioned by a gangrene in one of his legs. But the common people, who will never allow that princes die like other men, or of ordinary deaths, reported, that he was poisoned by a valet de chambre, bribed for that purpose by the sultan of Damascus, his enemy. But be that as it will, the army marched on continually, without meeting indeed any opposition in their march, but withal without finding any provisions in the neighbourhood. The country was deserted and abandoned; a profound solitude reigned on all sides, and there was no appearance of any enemy in the field. This tranquillity did not last long; as the Christians drew near to Massoure, they were infested day and night with skirmishes. Every day produced a new engagement, and they narrowly escaped the treachery of some Saracens, who pretending to be deserters, had like to have surprized the templars\*. Five hundred Egyptian horse, under some pretence or other, coming to submit themselves to the king, that prince received them, and having no mistrust, left them together in a body: they marched too generally in the van, as knowing the country better than the western troops. The army, after a month's march, drew near the arm of the Nile, which is called Thanis, when these traitors seeing a squadron of the templars farther advanced than the rest, drew their scymiters, and charged them suddenly. But they had to do with warriors that were never frightened at the number of their enemies: the squadron stood their ground, the knights fought with their usual valour, and gave time for their comrades to come up to their succour. The infidels were soon surrounded on all sides; the traitors were cut in pieces, all died by the sword, except such as attempting to cross the Thanis to join their army, were drowned in that canal.

THE king, foreseeing that the difficulty of the passage might detain him a long while in that angle, which is formed by two arms of the Nile, took care to fortify his camp there. This precaution was necessary against enemies, who advanced every hour to attack him even in his intrenchments. As he had a large, deep, and unfordable channel, the king attempted to raise a bank or causeway, but the infidels continually interrupted his work by their wildfire, which burnt his machines <sup>a</sup>. At last an Arabian, a Bedouin, for the sum of five hundred besans of gold, shewed him a ford <sup>b</sup>, upon which the count of Artois desired leave of the king to pass over first; and in order to obtain it, engaged, provided he had the templars and hospitallers with him, to secure the passage for the rest of the army. The king, fearing the young prince should trust too much to his courage, and thro' an eager desire of glory, should engage himself too far among the enemies, made him swear upon the gospels, that he would attempt nothing, till the whole army was passed; and for the greater precaution, he ordered that the templars and hospitallers, when they were on the other side, should lead the van, and be put at the head of all the troops that were to march under the count his brother's orders.

THAT prince, at break of day, set out for the ford, at the head of about one thousand four hundred horse, composed of the templars and hospitallers, and two hundred English knights, commanded by William earl of Salisbury, who was come at their head to the succour of the Holy Land. All these troops following the Bedouin for their guide, threw themselves into the water with a resolute courage. The descent was easy, and the bottom firm and solid: but there was more difficulty in getting out at the place of landing, by reason that the bank was steep, and of a great height. The count of Artois, with his troop, landed the first in spite of three hundred horse of the enemies that  
were

<sup>a</sup> Joinville. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. Paris. p. 789.

were minded to oppose his passage. He charged them at his landing, and as there was no equality in the match, the Saracens, as soon as they saw him over, disbanded, and ran galloping back to their camp.

THE count, forgetting the oath and the word he had given the king his brother, pursued them sword in hand, though the two grand masters cried out to him, that this flight was perhaps only a usual stratagem of the oriental nations. But Robert, who listened to nothing but his courage, arrived as soon as the fugitives at the enemies camp, surprized them, forced their intrenchments, broke into their camp, and, in spite of all the resistance that Facardin, general of the Saracens, who died in this action, could make, the infidels concluding, that the whole Christian army had broke into their camp, fled, some of them towards Cairo, whilst others threw themselves into Massoure, and not judging it safe there, hastened away to a greater distance, without daring to rally, till they thought themselves far enough not to be seen by the enemy.

NOTHING could have been wanting to so glorious and surprizing a success, if the count had known how to be satisfied with it<sup>a</sup>. But the sight of Massoure, set open and abandoned both by the e- Feb. 8. nemy, and most of its inhabitants, was a fatal charm which prevailed over all the remonstrances that William de Sonnac, grand master of the templars, could make: he was absolutely resolved to continue the pursuit. In vain did that old warrior represent to him, that he owed his victory, and the defeat of the infidels, only to a panic terror, and to their being persuaded, that the whole Christian army had crossed the river, and was present in the action; that he should be careful not to undeceive them; for as soon as they discovered the small number of his troops, they would rally as usual, return to the charge, and hem him in on all sides. The young prince, naturally haughty, and now more elated by this beginning of

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victory,

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1250.



victory, cried out in a passion, “ We need no other  
 “ proofs, but this artful discourse of the correspon-  
 “ dence which they say the templars hold with the  
 “ infidels ; here I plainly see their treachery, and the  
 “ seditious temper of the hospitallers. It is not with-  
 “ out reason that we have so long been told, that they  
 “ alone, to make themselves always necessary, and to  
 “ drain the west of its money, hinder the war from  
 “ being brought to an end : this is the true cause of  
 “ the loss of so many princes and lords that have en-  
 “ gaged in the crusades<sup>a</sup>, whom they have either poi-  
 “ soned, or suffered to perish in battle, for fear of  
 “ seeing themselves subject to the dominion of the  
 “ western princes : and who is there that can be a  
 “ stranger to the difficulty which the emperor Frede-  
 “ ric had to escape their snares and ambushes<sup>b</sup> ? ”

THE two grand masters, and the knights in general, enraged at these reproaches, replied, “ How !  
 “ great prince, do you think that we have abandon-  
 “ ed our fortunes and our country, that we have ta-  
 “ ken the religious habit in a strange land, and that  
 “ we daily expose our lives only to betray the Chri-  
 “ stian church, and renounce our own salvation ? Be  
 “ assured, a thought so unworthy of a Christian ne-  
 “ ver entered into the mind of any knight<sup>c</sup>. ” The  
 grand master de Sonnac, transported with resentment,  
 cried out to the standard-bearer of the order, “ Dif-  
 “ play your banner ; arms and death must this day  
 “ decide our honour and our destiny : we were in-  
 “ vincible, added he, had we continued united, but  
 “ a spirit of division is going to be the destruction of  
 “ both.”

THE earl of Salisbury was for interposing to bring them to temper, and, directing his discourse to the French prince, “ I believe, most serene count, says  
 “ he

<sup>a</sup> Vide chron. Nangis ad an. 1249.

<sup>b</sup> Id ibid. p. 790.

<sup>c</sup> Ut quod, comes generose, habitum susciperemus religionis ? Nunquid ut ecclesiam Christi everteremus, et prodicionibus intendentes animas nostras perderemus ? Absit hoc a nobis, imo ab omni Christiano. Matt. Paris. p. 790.

“ he to him, that you cannot err in following the ad-  
 “ vice of so holy a man, and one of such a consum-  
 “ mate knowledge in the art of war, as the grand ma-  
 “ ster ; and young persons will never suffer any dis-  
 “ honour by depending on a man of his age and me-  
 “ rit.” But the English lord was treated with as  
 much indignity as the grand master ; and the count of  
 Artois answered this wise and reasonable discourse in  
 a taunting manner. All this, cried the prince, smells  
 of the tail, alluding to a current report at that time,  
 that the English, by way of punishment for the mur-  
 der of St. Thomas of Canterbury, had tails clapped  
 to their backside. Count Robert, replies the English  
 earl, with indignation, “ I’ll go such a length of  
 “ danger to day, that you shall not come near so  
 “ much as my horse’s tail.” And, upon saying these  
 words, they all pushed forward immediately like mad-  
 men, without following any orders or advice but what  
 their passion and rage suggested. They entered all  
 into Massoure, which they found open: some stopped  
 there to plunder, others advanced on, and endeavour-  
 ed to come up with the Saracens ; but those infidels  
 were already rallied under one of their leaders, called  
 Bendocdar, a brave officer, equally a soldier and a  
 general, who afterwards raised himself by his courage  
 and capacity to the throne of his masters. This ge-  
 neral, seeing the small number of the French, attack-  
 ed them again, and put them to flight in his turn.  
 The count of Artois was obliged to throw himself in-  
 to Massoure, and was immediately invested there ; and,  
 to prevent his escape, Bendocdar, after securing the  
 gates, posted a considerable body of troops between  
 the town and the Thanis, to prevent the king’s ad-  
 vancing to the succour of his brother. That young  
 prince, whose courage had hurried him into danger,  
 was attacked at the same time by the regular troops,  
 and by the inhabitants of Massoure : the one engaged  
 the French in the streets, and the others showered  
 down upon them stones, burning coals, boiling wa-  
 ter, and arrows from the tops of the houses ; so that

the count of Artois, the earl of Salisbury, and most of the knights of both orders, perished in that unfortunate action; scarce a man escaped but the grand master of the Temple, who, after losing an eye, and being covered all over with wounds, made his way back to the Christian army. The Saracens took some prisoners, among which was the grand master of St. John. The king himself had no better fortune. After various actions, wherein he lost abundance of men, the French, exceedingly weakened by diseases and want of provisions, were, in their retreat to Damietta, surrounded, and overpowered by the prodigious numbers of the barbarians. The king of France, Alphonfus count of Poitiers, and Charles count of Anjou his brothers, with all the nobility, were taken prisoners.

As I am not writing the history of that prince, I do not think myself obliged to dwell upon the detail and circumstances of this dismal event, whereby a king so powerful, wise, and valiant, was exposed as a spectacle to all the world, and as a most deplorable instance of the misfortunes of mankind. He obtained his liberty from these barbarians, upon restoring Damietta, and paying eight hundred thousand besants, for the ransom of the prisoners, the greatest part of which sum was advanced by the hospitallers and templars\*.

His intention at leaving Egypt was to return immediately into France; but the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars made so lively a representation to him of the miserable condition of the Holy Land, and of the danger it was in of falling again into the hands of the infidels, that he resolved to continue some time in St. John d'Acree, in order to repair the fortifications of those other towns that the Christians were still masters of.

#### DURING

\* Postquam pecuniæ prætentatæ quantitatem, quam mutuo receperat a templariis et hospitalariis, Januensibus et Pisanis penitus receptis obsidibus, perolveret. Matt. Paris. p. 799.

DURING his stay there, the prince of Assassins, whom the French call the ancient, or rather the seignior of the mountain, and whom we have spoken of before, sent two deputies to demand of him the presents which that vile captain of banditti used to exact from princes, by way of tribute, for not assassinating them. “ The emperor of Ger-  
 “ many, says one of these envoys to him, the king  
 “ of Hungary, the sultan of Egypt, and all other  
 “ princes, have not failed to make him this acknow-  
 “ ledgment, knowing well that they should live  
 “ no longer than our prince pleased\* : he gives you  
 “ notice therefore, to submit like them to the same  
 “ custom, or at least to procure him a discharge of  
 “ the tribute which he pays to the grand masters of  
 “ the temple and hospital.” They were asked, says Joinville, why they did not make away with the two grand masters, who forced them to pay that tribute. “ If our lord, replied they, should cause one of these  
 “ grand masters to be killed, there will soon be ano-  
 “ ther as good in his room, and therefore he will not  
 “ expose his men to danger, where nothing is to be  
 “ got by it.” The king, disdainng to give an answer to such barbarians, sent them to the two grand masters ; and Peter de Villebride, who understood their language, and knew how to deal with these banditti, taking upon him to be the spokesman ; “ Your master, says he to them, is very bold to offer  
 “ such proposals to a king of France ; if we had not  
 “ a respect for your character as envoys, we would  
 “ have you thrown this moment into the sea ; get  
 “ you gone, and tell the seignior of the mountain, that  
 “ if he does not, in fifteen days time, send the king  
 “ letters, to acknowledge and make satisfaction for  
 “ his insolence, he will have the knights of the two  
 “ orders upon his back.”

The apprehension of their resentment made him afraid, who used to make the generality of monarchs tremble ; he sent back within the fifteen days the same deputies,

\* Joinville. p. 85. et 86.

deputies, who brought the king, in his name, a shirt, to signify that he would be attached to him as closely as a shirt sticks to an human body; and they presented him at the same time a gold ring, in which the name of their master was engraved, which very probably he sent him as a protection.

THE Sire de Joinville, from whom I have taken this passage, relates another, which is indeed much less considerable, and even insignificant enough, if any thing can be so that is useful to give us a right notion of the discipline of the order in those antient times. That lord, in the life he has left us of St. Louis, writes, that whilst he attended upon the king in the town of Acre, some French gentlemen and knights, who were come into the Holy Land under his banner, going not far from the town, to hunt antelops, a sort of wild goat, common in that country, they were met by some hospitallers, and a dispute arising about the game, they came to blows, and the French were severely handled.

THE lord of Joinville complained immediately to the grand master; 'twas WILLIAM DE CHATEAUNEUF, whom we mentioned before, a Frenchman by nation, an old knight, a rigid observer of the regular discipline, who, after passing through all the offices of the order, had lately succeeded brother Peter de Villebride. This new grand master, having examined into the affair, condemned his knights to eat in the refectory on the ground upon their mantles, according to the custom and practice, says Joinville, of the Holy Land; and he adds, " I was there present with the knights, and we desired the master to make the brothers get up off their mantles, which he refused; but at last we forced him to it, for we seated ourselves upon the ground by them, in order to eat with them; but they would not suffer it; nay, they were obliged to get up from us, to go and eat with the other brothers at the table,



“ table; leaving us their mantles, probably by way of satisfaction and reparation.”

THEY kept a profound silence in the refectories of the order, pious and edifying lessons supplied the place of conversation, and it was owing only to the instances and remonstrances of brother Rambault, prior of Hungary, that pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, permitted the hospitallers of that nation to break silence in the refectory, whenever they were obliged to receive any secular persons, eminent for their birth or dignities.

SUCH was the regular discipline of this order, at the time that St. Louis was summoned back into France, by the death of queen Blanche, his mother, regent of the kingdom in his absence. That prince, after fortifying St. John d’Acre, rebuilding Saide, Cæsarea and Jassa, and leaving a considerable succour of troops and money in the country, embarked on April 24th 1254, fraught with the blessings and 1254. prayers of all the people; and, after having been equally the admiration of the Saracens and of the Christians, for his valour in action, and an invincible constancy under his misfortunes.

WATEVER expence that holy king had been at, and whatever precautions he had taken to put the few places left the Christians in the Holy Land into a state of defence, the pope, being justly alarmed at his departure, recommended the preservation thereof, in a particular manner, to the hospitallers; and, to engage them to it the more, he not only confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the order, but also under a notion of recompensing the essential services they were continually doing to all Christendom, he bestowed upon them the monastery of mount Thabor, built upon that mountain in the manner of a fortress, with the castle of Bethany, where queen Melisenda, wife of king Fulk of Anjou, had formerly founded a convent for nuns, who, after the loss of Jerusalem, had retired into Europe.

IF we consider the situation of the places, and the neighbourhood of the Sarazens, these grants were not so much favours as engagements to fresh perils. The grand master, without any regard to the dangerous situation of those places, put several detachments of his knights into them. He afterwards fortified the castle of Crac, in the county of Tripoli, which had for a considerable time belonged to the order; and as the grand master's only view was to repress the inroads of the infidels, he put a hundred knights, with some troops in pay of the order, into the castle of Assur, which served as a frontier garrison, in respect of the lands which the Saracens possessed in Palestine.

CARES, so becoming his dignity, and the valour of his knights, could not fail of the justest encomiums, if these knights and the templars had not at that time, in contempt of the duties of their profession, and the laws of Christianity, turned their arms against one another. Their old animosities revived; whether strong or weak, they attacked one another where ever they met. In fine, these two bodies, so formidable to the infidels, came to a sort of battle and general engagement. The fortune of war proved noways favourable to the templars; not a man was taken prisoner, but the hospitallers cut in pieces all that came within the reach of their swords: scarce, says the ecclesiastical historian\*, was there left a templar to carry the news of their defeat to the rest of their order. The remnant of the templars in the Holy Land, not finding themselves strong enough to revenge the disgrace, sent a general summons to their brethren in the west; and, what is most surprising in this civil war, as it may be called, where matters were carried to such a height of fury and malicious resentment, is, that, excepting the frequent battles and encounters occasioned by the jealousy and misunderstanding so long subsisting between them,

\* *Concitante enim humani generis hoste, imbutos mutuo odio ex insana æmulatione concepto animos, hospitalarii tantam templariorum stragem e idere, ut vix acceptæ cladis nuntius superesset.*  
 Rain. ad. ann. 1259. n. 61.

them, there was still kept up in their houses the same spirit of charity to the poor and pilgrims, and the same zeal for the defence of the Christians of Palestine. It were to have been wished their emulation had never taken another turn.

THE grand master de Chateauneuf died about this time, and upon his death was 1260. succeeded by brother Hugh de Revel, of HUGH DE a noble family in Dauphiny, upon which REVEL. he reflected a new lustre by his wise conduct in the government. During the eighteen years that he was grand master, the order was put under a new regulation with regard to its temporalities. We have observed, that all the estates of the order were managed by knights that were accountable for the profits, and, after taking what was necessary for their own subsistence, were obliged to remit the rest to the supreme house and treasury of the order. But as the expences of these administrators often swallowed up the whole income, and besides, the order, to provide supplies for the immense charge of a continual war, stood in need of a fixed and certain revenue, they resolved, in a general chapter held at Cæsarea, upon a rate of the sums which each house was to send to the Holy Land, and pay into the treasury; and because in the obediences and commissions given afterwards to the knights intrusted with this administration, they made use of this expression: "We recommend these estates to you;" *Commendamus,* &c. This particular administration of each house was stiled *Commendataria*; from whence came the name of *commandery*, and the title of *commander*.

YET this title was not then given for life; it might be superseded, and was substituted instead of that of *preceptor*, which had been made use of till that time.

THESE commandries were afterwards ranged under different priories. The prior was obliged to oversee them, and send to the Holy Land, either in troops or

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money,

money, the ordinary contributions of each commandery within his priory, which were stiled Responsions, and might be raised according to the occasions of the order, and pursuant to the regulations and decrees of the general chapter.

THE chapter then held at Cæsarea, to enforce this principle of not converting the revenues of the order to a private use; a principle founded upon the vow of poverty, to which all the knights had bound themselves, forbade them to make wills, to appoint heirs, or bequeath any legacies. By this statute they were not so much as allowed to leave by will any extraordinary gratification to their servants, without the express consent of the grand master. Such was the discipline of the order at that time, necessary indeed, not only in regard to their vow of poverty, but likewise on account of the continual wars which the order was engaged in against the infidels. We are now going to enter upon times still more dismal, wherein these military friars continued to give new proofs of their zeal and valour.

BENDOCDAR, who had so eminent a share in the defeat of Robert count of Artois, reigned at that time in Egypt: he was the fourth of the Mamalucks that had been raised to the throne; and he got possession of it by the death of Melech-Elvahet, whom he caused to be assassinated, under pretence that the sultan would not break the truce which he had made with the Latin Christians of Palestine.

BENDOCDAR being chosen to succeed him by the Mamalucks, signalized his accession to the  
1263. crown by a bloody war which he made upon the Christians, and particularly upon the knights of the two orders\*. The sultan of Babylon, says pope Urban IV. writing to St. Louis, is come, contrary to the faith of treaties, to encamp between mount Thabor and Naim, and his troops, in hatred of the Christian name, destroy all with fire and sword up to the gates of Acre: he has demolished the  
church

\* Rain. ad. ann. 1263. n. 1, 2.

church of Nazareth, and that of mount Thabor. His soldiers kill indifferently all that they meet, without distinction of age or sex. The fate of such as die by the sword of the Barbarians is now no longer to be lamented; there are no sorts of torments but they inflict them on their prisoners, to force them to change their religion.

THE sultan resolving to drive the Christians entirely out of Palestine, laid siege to the fortress of Assur,<sup>a</sup> which belonged to the order of the hospitaliers. It was one of the strongest places in Palestine, and the grand master, besides the garrison, had put ninety knights into it, who were all killed one after another in the several attacks; and when the sultan at last entered, it was over the corpse of these intrepid knights, who died on the breach, and glorying in their obedience, received the enemy with pleasure, and went joyfully to their death.

THE templars met with no better treatment in the year following, nor did they shew themselves less valiant and faithful to their religion. They were in possession of another fortress called Sephet. Bendocdar besieged it, and after an obstinate defence, the prior of the temple, who was governor of it, seeing all his works ruined, was obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated by the capitulation, that he should be conveyed with his knights and the rest of his garrison, which still made six hundred men, to the nearest place belonging to the Christians. But the sultan, as soon as he saw himself master of Sephet, caused them all to be disarmed, and allowed them only till the next night to resolve either to die, or turn Mahometans. The prior of the temple, who was a holy monk, assisted by two Franciscans, employed that little time so well, and exhorted his brethren and soldiers with so much zeal and piety, to prefer a crown of martyrdom before a momentary life, dishonoured by a shameful apostasy, that they all the next day readily offered themselves to the slaughter, rather than change their

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religion.

<sup>a</sup> Sanut. l. 3. par. 12. c. 8.



religion. The sultan, provoked at their firmness, and at the constancy of the prior of the temple, after having tempted him in vain with the offers of riches and honours, ordered him to be flayed alive<sup>a</sup>, and, as if he was afraid he might survive so horrible a torture, commanded his head to be chopped off. He inflicted the same torments on the two Franciscan friars that had served as chaplains in the place. “By the death of so many knights of both orders, says pope Clement IV. in one of his letters, the noble college of the hospitallers, and the illustrious militia of the temple, are almost destroyed; and not to insist on the loss of these two fortresses, and of the arms and equipages of the knights, how shall we be able, after this, to find gentlemen and persons of quality enough to supply the places of such as have perished on these two occasions?”

THOUGH the contemporary historians, from the time of the twelfth century, gave the title of grand to the master of the hospitallers, as may be seen in this history, yet the popes, either in conformity to ancient usage, or on account of their own supreme dignity, never spoke of the superior general in any higher terms, than that of master of the hospitallers of St.

John. ’Twas pope Clement IV. whom we  
1267. have just now mentioned, that in a thorough sense of the services of the hospitallers, gave their head the title of grand master. as may be seen in a brief of that pontiff, bearing date November 18th A. D. 1267; and this pope in another bull adds, “The brothers of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem ought to be regarded as the Maccabees of the new testament. Those noble knights have generously renounced the pleasures of the world, and abandoned their country, and estates and fortunes, to take up the cross, and put themselves under the  
“ banner

<sup>a</sup> Post hos vero fratrem Jacobum de Podio et fratrem Jeremiam, quia ceteros in fide firmerant, et priorem templariorum excoiri fecerunt, deinde suffigari, postremo ad locum ceterorum deducti capite cæsi sunt. Saaut. ib.

“ banner of Jesus Christ ; they are the instruments  
 “ which the favour of mankind makes use of daily  
 “ to purge his church of the abominations of the in-  
 “ fidels, and they bravely expose their lives to the  
 “ greatest dangers, for the defence of pilgrims and  
 “ Christians.” Thus does the pope express himself  
 in his bull, dated from Viterbo, on the fourth  
 of the kalends of June, and in the first year of 1269.  
 his pontificate.

BUT how honourable soever these eulogiums and  
 titles were, the Holy Land, and the orders in particu-  
 lar, pressed and overwhelmed in a manner by the  
 formidable power of Bendocdar, stood in need of  
 something more effectual for their succour  
 than barren praises. The sultan improving March 7.  
 the consternation the Christians were in, had 1268.  
 lately reduced Jaffa ; and some days after  
 he took the castle of Beaufort. But the April 15.  
 most important conquest that he made, was May 19.  
 that of the famous city of Antioch, which  
 did not cost him so much as the trouble and expence  
 of a siege. He became master of it, by the treason of the  
 patriarch, others say, by the cowardice of the inhabi-  
 tants : They did not however meet with any better  
 treatment ; whether the sultan delighted in blood, or  
 was minded to lessen the number of Christian inhabi-  
 tants in that great city, he put seventeen thousand of  
 them to the sword, and carried off an hundred thou-  
 sand into slavery.

BENDOCDAR after this turned his arms against the  
 fortress of Crac, which belonged to the order of St.  
 John. The knights held out near two months, a-  
 gainst all the power of that prince, like their brethren  
 that defended Assur ; and rejecting all motions of capi-  
 tulation, they died upon the breach, nor did the sultan  
 enter the place till the last of these noble warriors was  
 slain.

SUCH was the condition of the Holy Land,  
 without a sovereign, without an army, with- 1270.  
 out succour, without any resource in nature,  
 but the military orders, who were overwhelmed by

the prodigious armies of the infidels. I would willingly draw a veil over these dismal passages, if the laws of history did not oblige me to relate equally events of different natures, and bad success as well as the good.

NOTWITHSTANDING these continual wars, and amidst the noise of arms, the grand master, who was as intent on keeping up the regular discipline, as on the defence of the places entrusted to the valour of his knights, called and held no less than five general chapters, where he made several very useful regulations, and confirmed at the same time the ancient usages of the order, among which we find, that for the admission of a knight, it was necessary, that he should be born in lawful wedlock, and be descended, both by the father and mother's side, of noble families, noble by arms, as well as name. The same condition was required likewise with regard to the nuns of the order; and in one of these chapters, the castellan of Emposta was empowered to admit and receive the profession of such ladies as gave proof of their being truly called, and desired to be received, as well in the priory of Sixenne, as in the other nunneries that depended on his castellany and priory. A decree passed in the same chapters; and under the grand mastership of de Revel, against giving the habit to any monk who had been professed in another order. In fine, by the regulations there made, the hospitallers could not chuse any strange confessors that were not of the order, without an express permission from the prior of the church; the superior of their chaplains, who acted as bishop and ordinary of the order, enjoying that authority in virtue of some papal concessions, and wearing the episcopal ornaments when he officiated.

FROM these monastic cares and regulations, the grand master passed to others of greater importance, concerning the preservation and defence of the Holy Land; and in concert with the grand master of the templars, he made a truce with the sultan of Egypt, in hopes of improving that cessation of arms to obtain succours from the west, without which it was impos-

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ble for the Latin Christians to maintain their ground any longer in Palestine.

BOTH the grand masters went thereupon into Italy, to solicit in a warmer and more effectual manner. The advancement of Thealde or Theobald, arch-deacon of Liege, to the throne of St. Peter, was the motive that determined them to take that voyage. The cardinals, after suffering the holy see to continue vacant for two years and nine months, without coming to any resolution about the person to be appointed visible head of the church, agreed at last in the choice of Theobald arch-deacon of Liege, of the noble house of Visconti, and his piety having carried him, at that time, to the Holy Land, they sent him the instrument of his election thither. There could not have been a better witness of the extremity and real necessities of the Christians in that country. This holy pope was deeply affected with them, and, before his departure, promised the grand masters to use all the authority which God had then given him in the church, for the procuring them succours. It is said, that as he went on board the ship that was to carry him into Italy, to confirm his promise, he broke out into this expression of the one hundred and thirty sixth psalm; "O Jerusalem, holy city, if I ever forget thee, let me be blotted out of the remembrance of Men."

'T WAS to this pontiff, who took the name of Gregory X. that the two grand masters who followed soon after him applied themselves upon their arrival in Italy. He had already prevented their instances and remonstrances; for as soon as ever he landed, neglecting all the compliments of the cardinals and courtiers, he employed himself in nothing, for eight days together, but in finding out expedients and means to succour the Holy Land. He immediately secured twelve gallies well manned, of which Pisa, Genoa, and Marseilles, and Venice were to furnish each of them three. To supply the charge of the war, he borrowed twenty five thousand marks of silver, of Philip the Hardy, king of France, son of St. Louis, the templars mortgaging to  
that

that prince all the lands which they possessed in his dominions, for the payment of the money<sup>a</sup>.

THE two grand masters arriving in Italy, heard, with great satisfaction, of the measures which the pope had already taken in favours of the Holy Land. However, after kissing his feet, they represented to him, that this succour might indeed put off, for some time, the loss of the few places which the Christians had left; but that there must be a more considerable force, if he had any thoughts of driving the infidels entirely out of Palestine.

THE pope gave into their views, and after conferring with the cardinals on this subject, he called a general council at Lyons, as the surest means of exciting the zeal of the faithful, and procuring a new crusade. This we learn from a letter of that pontiff to Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, king of France. "During the stay we made in the Holy Land, says Gregory in his letter, we conferred with the leaders of the Christian army, with the templars and hospitallers, and with the great men of the country, about the means of preventing its total ruin. We have discoursed on the same subject since with our brethren the cardinals, and we find that some relief must be sent away immediately in the gallies, till a more considerable succour can be raised, which we hope to obtain by the meeting of a general council."

THIS council was not held till A. D. 1274. The pope was present there, and it was opened on 1274. May 2. He would have the two grand masters appear also, to make a representation in person of the deplorable condition of the Holy Land; and if we may believe an old manuscript, entituled, The ceremonial of the cardinals, which is kept in the vatican library, number 4734, that pontiff assigned them an eminent place in the council, above all the embassadors, the peers of France, and other great lords that were come to this famous assembly.

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<sup>a</sup> Rainaldi ad an. 1272. n. 7 & 8.



'TIS not my business to relate what passed in the several sessions of this council, I shall only observe that in the last it was resolved, that the crusade should be preached up over all Christendom, and to furnish the vast expence that such an armament required, a considerable tax was laid upon all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, by way of tenths, payable in six years.

PHILIP king of France had already put on the cross. Rodolph, who, of a private count of Hapsburg, had been, a little before, elected emperor of Germany, received the same from the hands of the pope; and Michael Palæologus, who had surprized Constantinople in A. D. 1261, in order to be acknowledged emperor by the western princes, offered to join his forces to those of the crusade, and to put on the cross himself. But no body did it with more zeal than Charles duke of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, and king of the two Sicilies, who laid claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, in virtue of a conveyance and cession made him in this very council, by Mary princess of Antioch, daughter of Bohemund IV. and of the princess Melesinda, though Hugh III. king of Cyprus maintained that the crown of Jerusalem belonged to him, as descended in a right line from Alice of Champagne, daughter of Henry count of Champagne, and Isabel, daughter of Amaury the third king of Jerusalem. This prince was crowned king in the city of Tyre; and the king of Sicily on his side, till he could go in person to the Holy Land, to take possession of the poor remnant of that miserable kingdom, sent Roger de St. Severin thither as his lieutenant. The barons of the kingdom were divided between the two pretenders; and the grand master of the templars, at his return from the council, declared himself for the king of Sicily. But the grand master de Revel, and the knights of St. John, continued neuter, agreeable to their rule and the statutes of the order, protesting, that they were not allowed to take up arms against any Christian prince whatever. This conduct, though  
equally

equally wise and equitable, drew upon them the resentment of Charles of Anjou, who seized all the effects and possessions of the order in his dominions.

BENDOCAR would not have failed to make his advantage of these fatal dissensions which divided all the Latin Christians of Palestine; but he died about this time, of a wound that he received in a battle, wherein he was defeated by the successors of Genchizean.

HISTORIANS assign the year following for the death of the grand master Hugh de Revel, who was 1278. worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, and with the terrible apprehensions of those deplorable calamities which he foresaw must soon happen. The knights, assembling a chapter in their house of St. John d'Acre, chose in NICHOLAS his stead brother Nicholas Lorgue, a LORGUE. knight of a good natured and insinuating temper, who used his utmost endeavours, during his administration, to put an end to the divisions between the Knights of his own order and those of the temple.

THOUGH the truce which the two grand masters had made with Bendocdar, before their departure for the West, was still in force, a captain of Melec-Sais, his successor, either by secret orders from his master, or out of a pillaging humour, made incursions notwithstanding, and ravaged the country up to the gates of Margat, a fortress belonging to the knights of St. John.

THE knights, surprized at this inroad in a time of truce, sallied out of the place in good order, 1278. attacked the pillagers, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The sultan, eager to have his revenge, sent a stronger party, making a body of five thousand men, into the neighbourhood of the place. The knights made a second sally; but before they advanced against the enemy, they left part of the garrison near the gates of the city in ambush, to secure their retreat. They then marched straight against the enemy, and, after a slight skirmish, retired with all the appearance of fear, as if they had been dismayed

dismayed at the superior numbers of the infidels. The Sarazens, full of confidence and presumption on this occasion, pressed hard upon them, the knights continuing to retire before them, till they had drawn them beyond the ambuscade; then they made head, and charged them in front, whilst the troops that were in ambush came out, and, setting up a great shout, attacked the infidels in the rear; who, being surprized, and marching most of them without any order or precaution, as if it had been to a certain victory, were soon broken and routed, after a very faint opposition. The Saracens fled for their lives: vast numbers of them were killed, and several taken prisoners, with the emir that commanded the detachment.

THE sultan, nettled at this last defeat, resolved to be revenged by the utter ruin and destruction of the fortress; but important affairs detaining him in his own territories, he could not execute his design till three years after, when he invested the place with a formidable army. The grand master always kept a large body of troops there. Melec-Sais tried at first to take the place by scalado. His soldiers advanced with ladders to the walls, and attempted to mount to the top; but they found the same courage and opposition in all places. The knights suffered them to mount, only that they might have the greater fall. Stones, fireworks, boiling water, every thing was made use of on this occasion; and the sultan, after losing great numbers of his men, was forced to order the founding a retreat. That prince found himself obliged to carry on his approaches in form. He opened trenches before it, and battered the walls with engines for throwing stones, and such other machines as were in use at that time; but they advanced slowly: the knights were continually making sallies, and after clearing the trenches, carried terror oftentimes into the heart of the infidels camp. They burnt all his engines more than once, and would have forced the sultan to raise the siege, had they not been surprized by a secret enemy, against which there was no defence.

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WHILST Melec-Sais was amusing them, as we may say, with false attacks, his troops were at work, day and night, in digging mines, which they carried on to the walls of the place, so that they were supported only by some props of wood; he then summoned the governor and garrison to surrender. They received the summons with railery, and asked the officer if his master thought himself obliged to make them such a compliment before he raised the siege. But they were soon forced to change their note; the officer told them, that the fortress was all undermined, and offered to carry them into the mine, and shew them, that the sultan had nothing to do, but to set fire to the props, and open himself a passage into the place. The governor thereupon sent two knights along with the officer, who were immediately convinced of the truth of his account. There was no remedy but to treat, and give up the place; and, as soon as the knights were marched out, the sultan caused it to be razed, to deprive them of all hopes of recovering it in a more favourable juncture.

A CERTAIN historian \* tells us, that some German knights, that were concerned in defending this 1285. place, to preserve the memory of it, built afterwards, in their own country a fortress, on the same plan, calling it Mergatheim, which, after the order of St. John had enjoyed it for a long time, fell at last into the hands of the Teutonic knights.

THE sultan, after the taking of Margat, seized on the castle of Laodicea, and was preparing for the siege of Tripoli, when he was made away by one of his principal emirs, called Melec, who took possession of his throne, by the name of Melec-Messor. This new Sultan, after he had settled his authority in Egypt, resumed his predecessor's design of driving the Christians out of Palestine, and laid siege to Tripoli, which he carried by storm, and razed, as Melec-Sais had done Margat. He might have pushed his conquests farther; but fearing to draw all the forces of the west upon

\* Pantaleon l. 3. p. 85.

upon his back, by some new crusade, he made a truce with Henry II. king of Cyprus, who, after the dreadful catastrophe of the Sicilian vespers, had, notwithstanding Charles duke of Anjou king of Sicily's claim, got himself acknowledged and crowned king of Jerusalem, and chased the French prince's lieutenant and troops out of Palestine<sup>c</sup>.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in the Holy Land; of all the places which Godfrey de Bouillon, and his successors, had conquered, there was not one left but the city of St John d'Acre. All the Greek and Latin Christians, of different nations, took refuge there; and that which should have been for its strength, occasioned the weakness of the place, by the divisions which rose between the chiefs of these different bodies, who all pretended to be independent on one another.

THE grand master of the hospitallers, deeply affected with the loss of Margat, and the dismal prospect of the utter ruin of Christianity in the Holy Land, went into the west during the truce, in hopes of procuring some succours from those parts. He applied himself to pope Nicholas IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, and represented to him, in the most moving terms, the extremity to which the Christians of Palestine were reduced, and the want they were in of a powerful assistance of troops and money. But all that he could obtain was about one thousand five hundred men, most of them banditti and vagrants, without either courage or discipline. The pope excused himself from furnishing, out of his own treasury, the money necessary for their pay; so that all the fruit of the grand master's voyage was only some marks of an empty compassion, and letters of recommendation to some Christian princes, which were not a jot more serviceable; besides, the ill success of so many crusades, in which had perished an infinite num-

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<sup>a</sup> Apud Acon urbem Syriæ rex Cypri fecit se coronari in præjudicium regis Siciliæ, in regem Jerusalem; et quia id templarii, et fratres hospitales permiserant, res eorum et bona per Apuliam et terram regni Siciliæ in manu regia capiuntur.



ber of princes, noblemen, and people of the west, had exceedingly cooled the zeal and ardour of the Christians. The grand master therefore could only bring back with him some troops levied in haste, which the Venetians transported to the east on board their galleys.

This weak reinforcement arriving at Acre, served only to augment the troubles and divisions there. The grand master, worn out with age, but still more with grief, to see no resource left for the saving of that little state, died soon after his return, happy in this, that he left the world before his order left Palestine, and was not witness of the loss of the Holy Land.

THIS grand master, during his government, and by advice of the council of the order, made several very useful regulations. 'Twas he that prescribed the fashion of the seal of the grand masters, and that of the treasury or council. To him likewise is ascribed an article in the statutes, which forbids the knights to come with arms into the chapter, or into the place where the grand master is to be chosen: and in the eighteenth title, there is a catalogue which the grand master published before he died, of the faults and crimes punishable with degradation from the order.

THE chapter, upon his death, chose for their grand master brother John de Villiers of the language of France. 'Twas during his mastership, that some Christian soldiers of the garrison of Acre occasioned the breaking of the truce. We have observed, that they were most of them banditti, and fellows picked up in different places, that had listed purely out of idleness and libertinism, but wanted both courage and discipline; and as they received no regular pay, they went often out of the town in parties, roved over the country, and robbed both Christians and infidels without distinction: they had lately, in breach of the truce, plundered some open towns of the Saracens<sup>a</sup>.

The

<sup>a</sup> Mille quingenti stipendiarii in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium à papa Nicolao missi contra voluntatem civium, templi et hospitalis mili-

The sultan sent to demand satisfaction for the outrages of those who commanded in the place, but there was no governor in chief there at that time: the city was filled with Cypriots, Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Florentines, English, Sicilians, hospitallers, templars and Teutonics, all independent on one another; each nation took up a different quarter of the city, where they were cantoned without any subordination. The legate and the patriarch with the clergy were also intrenched in a particular place: all this formed a considerable body of inhabitants, capable enough of defending the place, had they been united.

BUT the jealousy between so many different nations, and the private interests of their chiefs, rendered them suspected and odious to one another; and instead of joining together for the common good, if one nation proposed an opinion; it was enough to make another reject it. They often came to blows, fighting it out with one another; and this miserable city contained its worst enemies within its own walls; such particularly were a great number of the soldiers of the garrison, and most of its inhabitants, being a crew blackened with the most horrid crimes. Murders, assassinations and poisonings passed unpunished; the criminals found always a sure asylum in the other quarters of the city, where they had not committed their villanies. The corruption of manners was almost general in all conditions, not excepting even those whose profession obliged them to the strictest continency. They gloried in vice, disguising it under the name of human frailty, and there wanted not men impudent enough publicly to avow that abominable sin which gives horror to nature; so that of all the people, whether Christians or Mahometans, that dwelt in Palestine, the inhabitants of St. John d' Acre passed for the most profligate. We must not therefore

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militiæ, armati de Acon exeuntes trebas cum soldano initas irrum-  
punt, et versus casalia et Sarracenorum oppida incurstantes, absque  
misericordia Sarracenos utriusque sexûs quos reperiunt, occide-  
runt, qui pacificè sub trebis initis quiescere se credebant. Nangis  
1289.

therefore be astonished if this confused multitude of murderers, debauchees, and banditti, refused to give the sultan satisfaction, upon the complaints that he made, as the heads of the three military orders proposed. The infidels, upon this refusal, declared war against men that were without a head, without an army, without forces, and had no other view in taking arms, but to find impunity for their past crimes, and opportunities of being able to commit new ones.

THE sultan being well informed of the divisions that reigned in Acre, levied a mighty army to form the siege of the place, and drive the Latin Christians entirely out of Syria, but this prince died on the 1291. road. It is said, that he was poisoned by an

Emir, lieutenant general of his army, who flattered himself with hopes of succeeding him on his death. The prince had however life enough left to cause him to be apprehended; the villain was drawn and quartered by his orders, and the sultan, before he expired, conjured prince Calil his son, not to inter his corps, till he was master of the city<sup>a</sup>.

THE army, upon his death, proclaimed the young prince sultan, by the name of Mebec Seraf. He advanced immediately towards Acre, which he invested on April 5th, A. D. 1291, his army is said to have consisted of one hundred and sixty thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse.

THE attacks were brisk and continual, and neither night nor day did the infidels allow any rest to the besieged. They worked by sapping, and carried on their mines at the same time that they battered the walls with their engines for throwing stones, and all other machines of war that were then in use. As the sea was open, and the Christians had a greater number of vessels in the port, most of the inhabitants, especially of the richer sort, embarked with their wives, children, and best effects. Some sought an asylum in the isle of Cyprus, and the rest took refuge in the ports of Greece and Italy. There remained only in the place  
about

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Guil. de Nangis.

about twelve thousand regular troops, composed chiefly of the hospitallers, templars, Teutonic, and some secular soldiers, that fought under the banners of the three orders.

HENRY II. king of Cyprus, who all this while appropriated to himself the title of king of Jerusalem, landed in the port of Acre, at the head of two hundred horse, and five hundred foot<sup>a</sup>. This was but a weak reinforcement against the formidable power of the sultan; and besides that Christian prince was not very much in repute for his courage. So the garrison, which saw plainly they could not hold out long without a commander that was skilled in the art of war, elected by common consent brother Peter de Beaujeau, grand master of the templars, a general of great experience, who had grown old in the command of armies, to be governor of the place. Necessity of state, the truest interpreter of merit, made them offer the command to him, and it was done even with the consent of the king of Cyprus himself, who, in a juncture of such importance, and so full of danger, was well contented to forget the title, which he had always affected, of king of Jerusalem.

THE sultan tempted the grand master with offers of immense sums, to which the templar made no answer, but by shewing a just indignation at the sultan's fancying him capable of listening to them. By his orders they made every day sallies, in which a vast number of the infidels were destroyed; but notwithstanding this vigorous resistance, the sultan, who did not want soldiers, still advanced his works; he undermined, and at last threw down several towers, and amongst others that which they called the cursed tower, which was looked upon as the fortress of the city. The infidels advanced immediately to the storm; the king of Cyprus that was posted there, made head against them with his Cypriots, a great number of them fell in the action, and the infidels would have carried the place, if the night coming on had not put an end to the assault.

<sup>a</sup> Chronic. Nangis ad ann. 1290.

THE king of Cyprus, seeing that he should have the same enemies, and in much greater numbers, to engage with the next day, desired the Teutonic knights to take his post during the night, under pretence that his troops had need of rest after so rough an attack, and promised that he would come in the morning at break of day to relieve them. But, upon quitting the breach, he went directly to the port, embarked on board his ships, and made the best of his way to his island.

THE infidels did not fail the next morning to renew the assault; the Mamalucks, a resolute body of soldiers, mounted the breach, killed all that opposed them, overwhelmed the Teutonic knights with their vast numbers, and penetrated into the very heart of the city. They already thought it their own, when at the cries and noise both of the conquerors and the vanquished, the marshal of the hospitallers of St. John, by the grand master's orders, advanced at the head of a body of his knights, and charged them so briskly, that they gave ground; great numbers were slain in this forced retreat, and the hospitallers pushed several of them down headlong from the top of the breach into the ditch.

THE sultan, who did not value the loss of a few battalions, sent, the next day, a fresh detachment to renew the attack\*. Never was there a more obstinate engagement; the breach was carried and recovered several times; night alone parted the combatants. The infidels, discouraged at so brave a resistance, turned all their efforts on that side next the gate of St. Anthony: there they found the two grand masters, whose presence alone seemed to make their knights invincible. The fight continued a long time, with equal warmth and fury: the Mamalucks and hospitallers engaged hand to hand, and seemed of a general battle to have made so many particular duels. No body appeared sensible of danger; every soldier would either conquer or die. But as the infidels were  
far

\* Sanut. l. 3. p. 12.



far more numerous than the Christians, there were at last but few of these left for the defence of that post; and the marshal of the hospitallers, a knight of great valour, falling with several wounds that he received at the same time, the grand master of the templars addressed himself to the grand master of the hospitallers in these words: "We can hold out no longer," says he, and the city is lost if you do not fall immediately upon the enemy's camp, and find means to make a diversion that may cool their warmth, and allow us time to fortify the post we are defending."

THE grand master of the hospitallers, taking with him such of his knights as were able to mount on horse back, parted that moment, and sallying out of a gate on the opposite side to that of the attack, flattered himself with hopes of surprising the enemy's camp; but they kept too good a guard. The sultan, during the assault, had made all his cavalry mount: the grand master, who had not five hundred horse, was attacked immediately, and obliged to retire, and, as he entered the town again, he received the mortifying news, that the grand master of the templars was just killed with a poisoned arrow; that most of his templars were cut in pieces, and that the enemy was master of the city, and putting all to fire and sword.

As there was nothing else to be done, but, if possible, to save his troops, he turned towards the port, though all the while pursued by the infidels; and, putting a considerable number of cross-bow-men into some barks, under shelter of the arrows, with which they were continually galling the sultan's cavalry, he embarked, together with his hospitallers on board a carrack belonging to the order, and arrived safe in the isle of Cyprus. Three hundred templars, that had escaped the fury of the infidels, endeavouring to gain the port, were intercepted. These gallant soldiers of Jesus Christ, having tried in vain to break through the innumerable croud of Egyptians that filled

filled all the streets, threw themselves into the tower of the temple, resolving to be buried in its ruins: several women belonging to the town, as well married as unmarried, had already taken refuge there. The templars barricado'd it immediately, and held out for some days. The sultan caus'd the tower to be undermined, and the templars finding it was only supported by props of wood, which they might set fire to every moment, agreed to quit it, on condition they would leave them a free passage to the port, facilitate their embarkation, and preserve the honour of the women. The capitulation being signed, they opened the gates of the tower: but no sooner were the first soldiers of the enemy entered, than they offered violence to the females. The templars, enraged at their brutality and breach of faith, laid hold on their swords, cut those insolent creatures in pieces, shut the gates, and, though their loss was inevitable, yet they would never hear a word of capitulating. The infidels, with swords in one hand and ladders in the other, advanced to scale the tower. The walls were in an instant covered with soldiers, endeavouring to mount, but being undermined, as we have said, the props failed, and the tower sunk with a terrible crash, burying the infidels as well as templars in its ruins. The women shut up in the tower had the same fate, preferring an honourable death to the danger they would have run, if they had fallen into the hands of these barbarians, who were still more odious to them for their brutality and debauchery, than they were for their cruelty.

A WHOLE convent of nuns, of the order of St. Clare, did not come short of them in resolution. Those holy virgins disfigured themselves after various and different manners, with more care than the women of this age take to set themselves off with unnatural colours. Some cut off their noses, others made terrible slashes in their cheeks, all of them had their faces smeared with blood; and, in this frightful condition, the infidels seeing no objects but what gave them hor-

ror, massacred them without mercy, and, by their death, put those chaste spouses of the Saviour of the world out of the reach of their insolence. Above sixty thousand persons either perished in St. John d'Acre, or were made slaves to the infidels. The sultan, to cut off all hopes from the western Christians of ever making another settlement in that city, razed it to the ground, with Tyre, Sidon, and all the cities which he had taken along the coast. The hospitallers, templars and Teutonics, that were left in some castles belonging to them, being unable to make any defence against so formidable a power, abandoned them, and embarked for Cyprus. It is said, that out of five hundred templars, that behaved themselves so bravely in the defence of Acre, only ten escaped, who, getting into a bark, landed happily on the coast of Cyprus. The Teutonic knights, finding some vessels, and not caring to stay any longer in the east, returned to Europe, and retired into Prussia and Livonia, which their order enjoyed in absolute sovereignty. But the hospitallers and the few templars that were left, in hopes of being able, by the help of some crusade, to recover their footing in the Holy Land, would not quit the neighbourhood of it; and till some new succour should be brought from Europe, and the knights of their order could be got together, their deputies obtained from the king of Cyprus the town of Limisso for a place of retreat, where they arrived one after another, according as they could escape the furious pursuit of the Saracens.

'TWAS a very moving spectacle indeed to see these brave knights come out of their vessels, all over wounds, with looks suitable to their fortune, and infinitely afflicted at having survived the utter loss of the Holy Land.

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HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Mons. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Knights Hospitallers  
O F  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,  
Styled afterwards,  
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,  
And at present,  
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K I V.

**T**HE knights hospitallers that had taken refuge in the isle of Cyprus, uncertain of their fate, destitute of houses to dwell in, and of any thing to subsist on, stripped of their all, and most of them very much wounded, looked upon themselves in that strange country as in a state of banishment: they all upbraided themselves for having out-lived their brethren: hope itself, the last flattering comfort of the miserable, failed them, and death, which daily carried off some or other of the wounded, made advances too slow for their wishes.

In this miserable situation, the grand master, to prevent the extinction of his order in the Levant, sent a

JOHN DE  
VILLIERS.  
1291.



general summons to the hospitallers that were dispersed in most of the provinces of Christendom. Their orders were to come to Limisso, where the grand master had, by the same citation, called a general chapter, to consider, in this melancholy juncture, what measures the order should take with regard to its settlement.

SOON as these orders arrived in Europe, the knights were every where in motion. They all readily quitted their country, their commandries, or the houses of their relations; no excuse was made for want of money or of health; no body was mean enough to have recourse to pretexts so unworthy of their character. The old as well as young flocked to the sea side; the ports were crowded with them, all striving with equal eagerness to find opportunities of embarking. Such as went off first thought themselves the happiest; and, notwithstanding the distance of the places that they came from, they arrived soon one after another in the ports of Cyprus.

THE island of Cyprus, which we shall have frequent occasion to mention in this work, is one of the most considerable of the Asiatic isles, and situated in the Carpathian sea, in the further part of the Mediterranean, opposite to the coasts of Pamphilia and Cilicia, or Caramania, as it is now called. The gulph of Issus, called by the Italians Golfo di Lajazzo, washes it on the east, the Egyptian sea on the south, Pamphilia on the west, and this famous isle is hardly above forty leagues from Palestine, or the Holy Land.

IT was first governed by certain tyrants that assumed a sovereignty over it: then the kings of Egypt reduced it under their dominion: they were afterwards dispossessed by the Romans, the tyrants of well nigh all the known world; and the Greeks, at last, succeeded to the Romans. The isle of Cyprus made part of the empire of Constantinople: it was taken by the Mahometan Arabians, in the reign of the caliph Osman, and the empire of Heraclius, but the Greeks afterwards recovered it. Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, in  
his

his passage to the Holy Land, conquered it, driving out Isaac Comnenus, who being the governor, had set himself up for sovereign of the island; and, it may be remembered, what we already observed, that the English monarch sold it immediately to the templars, which order was then as rich and powerful as many sovereigns; but that the differences between the Greek and Latin churches occasioning continual seditions, they had given up their right to Guy de Lusignan.

<sup>a</sup> 'Tis necessary to observe further, that this crown fell by succession to Amaury his brother, who left it to his son Hugh I. father of Henry I. his successor. He was father to Hugh II. who died young, and without issue; another Hugh, his cousin german, descended from the brave Normans, that drove the Sarazens out of Calabria, Apulia and Sicily, and 1604. whose father had married Henry's sister, succeeded him in the throne, and, to make himself more agreeable to the Cypriots <sup>b</sup>, took the surname of Lusignan. John his son inherited the crown after him, and left it to Henry II. who gave the hospitallers and templars this reception in his island.

SUCH was the state of the isle of Cyprus, when the summons sent by the grand master to all parts of Christendom, spread every where the news of the taking of St. John d'Acre by the infidels, the entire expulsion of the Christians out of Palestine, and the almost irreparable losses sustained by the hospitallers and templars in the defence of that place.

POPE Nicholas IV. was then on the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff, at the melancholy news, seemed in a terrible consternation, and dispatched expresses into all parts to give advice of it to the Christian princes. By his order, and with their consent, several provincial councils were held, to consider of the most ready and effectual means to recover the Holy Land, and every

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<sup>a</sup> L'Hist. des Royaumes de Jerusalem, Cypre & Armenie par Je P. Estienne de Lusignan.

<sup>b</sup> Assises & bons usages du Royaume de Jerusalem par Jean E. Ibelin, Comte de Jafha & d'Afcalon.

metropolitan sent him afterwards the result of their debates in these assemblies.

IT appears from the accounts and journals of these councils, that the sum of their opinions generally was to desire the pope to use his good offices with the princes of Christendom<sup>a</sup> that were at war with one another, to persuade them to end their differences by a solid and lasting peace, or at least by a long truce, that they might be in a condition to unite their forces, and turn their arms in concert against the infidels. They observed particularly to the pontiff, that he ought to apply to Philip the fair, who was then upon the throne of France, and the most potent monarch in Christendom, and exhort him to put himself at the head of so holy an enterprise; and that it would be proper at the same time to renew the prohibitions of the councils of Lateran and Lyons against supplying the infidels with arms<sup>b</sup>. In fine, as experience furnished abundant grounds of apprehension, that the old antipathy might again break out between the hospitallers and templars, they proposed to the pope to unite those two military orders<sup>c</sup>, to make them but one body, and put them under the same head; and that for preventing the cabals and intrigues that are but too common in elections, the grand master should not be chosen by the votes of the knights, but, in case of a vacancy, the pope and his successors should have the sole right of naming that superior.

PURSUANT to these several proposals, the pope dispatched away legates and nuncios to most of the western princes, to engage them to put a speedy end to their particular wars, and remove that obstacle to a general crusade. He did not fail to have it represented in particular to Philip the Fair, that the other sovereigns of Europe had their eyes fixed upon him, in order to make his conduct the rule of their own; and that if he put on the cross, he might be assured that those princes

by

<sup>a</sup> Concil. gen. t. 11. p. 1361.  
num. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Ruinaldi ad ann. 1291,  
<sup>c</sup> Idem. ibid. num. 29 & 30.

by his example, would do the same; and, besides the merit of so pious an enterprize, he would have the glory of appearing like a king of kings, and at the head of most of the monarchs of Christendom.

BUT Philip, a prince of solid judgment, was not easily caught with such flatteries, being well satisfied, that his first duty was to take care of the government of his own kingdom. The pope, not receiving an answer suitable to his expectations, wrote back to him, that if the affairs of his kingdom necessarily detained him in Europe, the least he could do, in order to defray the expence of the expedition, was to pay the money which Philip III. his father had levied upon the clergy of his dominions, under pretence of a like crusade, which design notwithstanding was never put in execution. The silence of historians, with regard to this second letter, shews plainly enough that it had no success.

THE pope's application was not confined to princes in communion with the church of Rome. As in this project of a new league, the design was to recover the holy places, which were equally revered by all Christians, whether Greek or Latin, and as well of the former as the latter communion <sup>a</sup>, he wrote upon that occasion to Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, to John Comnenus, emperor of Trebizunde, and to the kings of Armenia, Iberia and Georgia, though all of them schismatics, and observers of the Greek rites.

THE pope, to raise up new enemies against the Sarazens, carried his views as far as the remotest part of Persia; and hearing, that a Tartar descended from Genchiczan, called Argon, though a Pagan and an idolater, had yet no aversion to the Christians, he sent two Franciscan friars on an embassy to him <sup>b</sup>, to use their endeavours as well for his conversion, as to engage him to fall upon that part of Syria, which adjoins to

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Persia,

<sup>a</sup> Du Cange famil. Byzant. p. 152.

<sup>b</sup> Vading. n. 4. and 5. Haiton seigneur de Churchi, c. 45.

Persia, whilst the Christians attacked Palestine<sup>a</sup>. But the two friars found that prince was dead the year before.

THUS ended all the endeavours of this pope, who, during the siege of St. John d'Acree, would never contribute any thing out of his own treasure for the relief of the besieged. The measures that he took afterwards, and his many embassies, which made a great noise, but had little solidity or significancy in them, were all likewise disconcerted by his death; and the difficulty of uniting so many princes of different religions, or of opposite interests, occasioned the project of a crusade to miscarry under his successor. There was not a prince that engaged in it, and all the western Christians continued in a lamentable indifference for the recovery of the Holy Land. The hospitallers alone had different sentiments, and, in obedience to the grand master's order, had already repaired to Limisso in the isle of Cyprus.

THE grand master soon after called a general chapter. Never since the foundation of the order was there seen an assembly composed of such a number of knights of different countries; the whole order in a manner had transported itself to Cyprus. The grand master appeared in the assembly with a countenance melancholy indeed, but still carrying in it that air of grandeur which virtue gives, and the greatest calamities cannot deject: and, directing his discourse particularly to the knights newly arrived from the west, "Your  
 " diligence, says he to them, in observing our orders,  
 " and the courage that seems to animate you, convince  
 " me, in spite of all our losses, that there are still true  
 " hospitallers in the world capable of repairing them.  
 " Jerusalem, my dear brethren, is fallen; fallen, as  
 " you know, under the tyranny of infidels. A barbarous  
 " but formidable power has forced us by degrees  
 " to abandon the Holy Land. For more than an age  
 " past we have been obliged to fight as many battles  
 " as we have defended places. St. John d'Acree is a  
 " late witness of our last efforts, and almost all our  
 " knights



“ knights lie buried in its ruins. ’Tis for you to supply their places ; ’tis from your valour that we expect our return into the Holy Land, and you carry in your hands the lives, the fortunes, and the liberty of your brethren, not of the order only, but of the vast number of Christians that are now groaning under the chains of the infidels.”

THE senior commanders made answer, in the assembly’s name, to this moving discourse, by a generous declaration, that they would sacrifice their lives to deliver the Holy Land from the tyranny of the barbarians; whilst, from the eyes of the younger knights, there streamed down floods of tears, warm, as the impatience which inflamed that gallant body of youth, to take vengeance on the Sarazens. But as it was necessary, before they entered on a war, to regulate the form of their new settlement, the first point under consideration was to fix a place for the residence of the order.

THE king of Cyprus had assigned them Limisso, an antient city, dignified with an episcopal see, and situated on the south coast of the island : but the Arabian and Sarazen corsairs had demolished it before that time. It was then a large open town, without any defence but a castle in the middle of it, which was tolerably well fortified, and provided to oppose the landing and descents of the corsairs. Some knights, that thought themselves too much straitned in this place, proposed to retire to some port of Italy ; but the grand master, and principal persons of the order, rejected the motion with indignation : they represented, that their obligations, and the very design of their institution, did not allow them to remove out of the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, and that they ought always to be within reach of improving such opportunities as might offer for the making a new attempt there. This sentiment was received with general applause, and it was made a sort of standing rule and statute of the order for ever. Though the town did not afford lodgings for all the knights, yet the grand master’s first care was to provide  
apart-

apartments for the poor and pilgrims; and in a very short time after, they resumed all the functions of hospitality. With regard to the knights and military friars, it was resolved to fit out immediately the ships of the order, which had served to transport the knights from Palestine or Europe to the isle of Cyprus, and to make use of them for convoying pilgrims, who, notwithstanding the loss of Jerusalem, continued still to visit the holy places, as they were used to do before the first crusade, paying the infidels the ordinary tribute, which they demanded at the gates of the city.

IN a short time they had fitted out, in several ports of the island, a considerable number of small vessels of different bulk, which, putting to sea in the usual seasons, i. e. at the latter end of March and August, coasted along Europe, to take up pilgrims; and, out of the same charitable disposition, brought them back again into their own country. Some infidel corsairs, which used to make a common prey of the pilgrims, fell upon these first vessels of the order, but found in those that manned them, a valour and opposition they had never experienced before. Several of these rovers were taken by the hospitallers, who frequently returned to Cyprus with considerable prizes, particularly of the ships belonging to the sultan of Egypt, their declared enemy. These prizes insensibly augmented the number of vessels they put to sea. They built several galleys afterwards, and some ships, so that in a little time considerable squadrons set sail from the ports of Cyprus, and the flag of St. John at last commanded respect all over the Mediterranean.

SUCH was the beginning of the naval armaments of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The loss of Acre, and their being driven to a retreat in the isle of Cyprus, forced the hospitallers, for the exercise of their courage, to take to the sea; and perhaps the great successes they have since had for the space of four hundred years, and the infinite number of Christians which they have either saved or delivered from an horrid slavery, may be thought to have made the order abundant amends for

for the loss of such a number of knights as fell in the defence of St. John d'Acre.

MELEC-SERAPH, the foldan that had reduced Egypt, incensed at the prizes which the hospitallers took from his subjects, and at seeing an order revive as it were, which he thought he had entirely destroyed, resolved to pursue the remains of it, and drive them from the isle of Cyprus. He fitted out a great fleet, with land forces on board; but civil wars breaking out in his own dominions, he was necessarily detained there, and the death of that prince, who was killed in a battle that he lost against the rebels, delivered the hospitallers and templars from the danger of a siege, in a place that was open on all sides, and, excepting the castle, had no other fortification but the bravery of those knights.

THE grand master, to prevent the like design from Melec-Nazer, successor to Seraph, desired leave of the king of Cyprus to fortify Limisso, and obtained it easily from a prince who could part with any thing but his money; and the hospitallers laid out what they had in raising some bastions of earth towards the sea. The grand master applied himself afterwards to restore the original discipline, which, by the continual exercise of arms, by a series of engagements, by cruising and plunder, had been very much weakened and impaired.

MOST of the knights, growing rich by the prizes which they took from the infidels, instead of paying in the produce, as they ought, to the treasury of the order, appropriated it to themselves, and spent it generally in luxury. Finding rich stuffs among their prizes, they began to dress themselves beyond what was suitable to the character of religious. The delicacy of their tables was equal to the richness of their cloaths. The expence they were at in horses answered to their other extravagance, and the dangerous air of an island, which blind paganism had consecrated to Venus, made unhappy impressions on the youth of the order; nay it was soon notorious, that several hospitallers had run in debt

to support so scandalous an expence. Mean time, another abuse prevailed in the provinces on this side the sea; the priors, during the last wars of the Holy Land, having usurped the prerogative of giving the habit and cross of the order to novices, without making due enquiries into their birth, or sufficiently examining whether they were truly called to it; a practice, which would soon have brought this illustrious order into contempt.

To reform these abuses, two general chapters were held. In the first an order was made, that no  
1292. military hospitaller should have more than three great horses for himself, or ride with gold or silver furniture; and, by another statute, the priors were expressly forbid to admit any novice, without a commission from the grand master. But an exception was made with regard to the bailiages of Spain, where the order would have been soon destroyed, if, to supply the continual losses they sustained against the Moors of Granada, they could not have received a new knight till a brevet or commission came from the grand master, whose ordinary residence was in so remote a country, and who might frequently be at sea, or engaged in some enterprize against the infidels.

'TWAS in the second general chapter that they made a regulation, which appeared very necessary  
1293. with regard to the private debts that the knights left at their death. It was ordered, that they should be discharged out of the sale of their equipage, and if that was not sufficient to pay the whole, the residue should be raised out of the fund which every knight assigned for the service of the order, either at his admission into it, or out of such particular donations as were made him afterwards, the use of which he enjoyed for his life; regulations, all of which suppose the abuses we have now been speaking of, and which they designed to redress by these new statutes.

THIS relaxation in the regular discipline arose partly from the state of the universal church at that time. It had, for above two years before, been without a visible head. The sovereign pontiffs had always kept a  
vigilant

vigilant eye upon the conduct of the hospitallers. During the vacancy of the holy see, no notice could be taken of the abuses which riches introduced into the order. At length the cardinals, who, for twenty-seven months together, through an obstinacy not very edifying, could not agree in the choice of a pope, determined at last in favour of a re- July 5th.  
 cluse, called Peter de Mourhon,<sup>a</sup> highly 1294.  
 esteemed for his eminent piety, and who afterwards founded a particular congregation of monks, known by the name of Celestines. The cardinals sent him the instrument of his election by Bernault de Gout, archbishop of Lyons, accompanied with four other deputies, Cardinal Peter Colonna going likewise of his own voluntary motion along with them. These deputies found the holy monk shut up in a little cell, built on the top of a mountain, near the city of Sulmo, in the kingdom of Naples. There was in it a small window with bars before it, from which he talked to all that, drawn by the fame of his virtues, came to consult him about the surest way of attaining to Christian perfection. These deputies of the conclave saw through the grate a venerable old man, about seventy-two years old, pale and wan, emaciated by a constant course of austerities, his hair staring, his beard long and uncouth, and his eyes swollen with the tears that he shed continually in his prayers. The archbishop of Lyons, presenting him the instrument of his election, told him, that he was chosen unanimously in the conclave to be head of the church, and conjured him, in the name of God, to submit to his vocation, and give his assent readily to a choice so necessary for Christianity, since the long vacancy of the holy see. The holy man prostrated himself on the ground, and, after continuing a considerable time in prayer, he rose up, and, fearing to oppose the will of God, consented to his election, and was afterwards consecrated at Aquila, a town of Abruzzo, by the name of Celestine V.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Bolland. tom. 15. p. 426 & 427.



THE new pope, as soon as he was seated in the chair of St. Peter, gave the order of St. John proofs of his vigilancy in regard to their conduct and demeanour. He exhorted them in the warmest, and withal in the most moving terms, to reflect upon the religious profession they had embraced, and the solemn vows they had made at the altar; and, to supply them with temporal succours, as well as spiritual, the holy pontiff, considering that those knights, in defending the Holy Land, had lost all the effects and possessions that their order enjoyed there, sent a bull to the grand master by which, in consideration of those losses and their services, he exempts them for the future from paying their share of certain contributions, which the popes, the college of cardinals, and the legates especially, exacted all over the district of their legatine authority, in a manner entirely arbitrary, and oftentimes at the expence of the ornaments and sacred vessels of the church.

THIS was not the only abuse that the holy pope had a mind to reform; but he found so many obstacles in his way, and was moreover so sensible of his own little capacity for government, that he readily gave ear to the suggestions of some cardinals, who, taking advantage of the tenderness of his conscience, exaggerated to him the obligations and dangers of the papal dignity, in hopes of succeeding him in it.

It is even said, that cardinal Cajetan, who aspired to the popedom, spared neither artifices nor impostures to persuade the holy man to abdicate his dignity, and that he suborned a rascal to counterfeit an angel of light, and order him, in the name of God, and under pain of damnation, to return to his cell.

CELESTINE, who was a weak man, took the voice of an impostor for that of heaven, and besides, he chose rather to return to the private condition of a monk, than continue any longer in a dignity, where he was not allowed to do the good he wished, and hinder the evil he could not bear. In fine, whether it was inspiration, or distaste for a court where politicks then got the better of the maxims of the gospel, he proposed himself

himself, and made his own abdication \* in a full consistory, with a magnanimity, of which there had never been an instance before, nor perhaps will be hereafter. Cardinal Cajetan, who had taken all possible measures to facilitate the acceptance of his resignation, reaped the fruits of it in the next conclave, and, by the help of his cabal, was raised to the height of his wishes, and invested with that eminent dignity. He took the name of Boniface VIII. He was learned in the civil and canon law, an excellent politician, and a consummate statesman, but of an unmeasurable ambition, covetous, revengeful and cruel; and, during all the time of his pontificate, was wholly taken up with the chimerical project of uniting the temporal and spiritual swords, and employing the authority he was invested with, which was purely spiritual, to acquire, under one pretext or other, a temporal dominion over the territories of all Christian princes; such was his ambition, a passion to which his predecessor fell the first sacrifice.

CELESTINE, by his abdication, becoming again brother Peter de Mourhon, flattered himself that he had shaken off all fetters, and recovered his liberty. The good man was for making no other use of it, but to chuse a desert where he might pass the rest of his days a stranger to all the world; but Boniface, for fear some new scruple should make him revoke his resignation, ordered him to be apprehended, and, to discover the most secret dispositions of his prisoner, obliged him to come to confession to himself. The pious recluse's declarations, though made with the utmost sincerity,

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were

\* Ego Celestinus papa quintus, motus ex legitimis causis, id est, causâ humilitatis, melioris vitæ & conscientiæ illæſæ, debilitate corporis, defectu scientiæ, & malignitate populi, & infirmitate personæ; & ut præteritæ consolationis vitæ possim reparare quietem, spontè ac liberè cedo papatui, & expressè renuntio loco & dignitati, oneri & honori; dans plenam & liberam facultatem ex nunc sacro cœtui cardinalium eligendi & providendi duntaxat canonice universali ecclesiæ de pastore. Bosso, t. 2. l. 1. p. 7. Raignald. num. 23.

were not sufficient to remove his fears ; and it is reported, that, to rid himself entirely of this uneasiness, he got him dispatched by ill usage. He shut him up like a criminal in a hideous dungeon, and so very narrow, that there was not room enough to put a sorry bed into it. The barbarous jailors that watched him narrowly, as soon as ever he had closed his eyes to take a little rest, interrupted his sleep, and, by this barbarous device, soon put an end to the poor remainder of his life. The pope, by this inhuman conduct, made himself odious to all good men. There was a sort of prophecy about that time current in the world, in which Celestine, speaking of his successor, and the tricks he had used to arrive at the papacy, is made to say, “ Thou art got upon the throne of St. Peter like a fox ; thou shalt reign like a lion, and die like a dog.” But it is very probable, that this prophecy, like abundance of others, was not invented till after the events happened.

HOWEVER this be, Boniface, who fancied himself as much a successor of the Cæsars as of St. Peter, was no sooner seated in his pontifical chair, than he professed a particular affection for the hospitallers and templars. He knew very well, that these two bodies were composed, at least in the main, of gentlemen and brave warriors, and he omitted neither an open and avowed protection, nor favours, nor benefits, to engage them in a stricter adherence to the holy see, and his particular interests.

THE hospitallers of St. John were the first that experienced the effects of his protection. The kings of England and Portugal, after the loss of the Holy Land, pretended that the hospitallers, who had commandries in their territories, had no right to send the revenues thereof abroad, and remit them to the Levant, pretensions of a dangerous example, and which might have terrible consequences, by their influence on other monarchs of Christendom.

THE two kings we are speaking of went so far as to stop this money, and sequestrate it ; and, to justify their  
their

their conduct, they gave out, that the commandries of the order, being founded in their dominions by the kings their predecessors, or else by their subjects, only for the defence of the Holy Land, they could not, since the loss thereof, and the conquests of the infidels, make a better use of the revenues of those great benefices, than by employing them for maintaining the poor of each nation, instead of sending the money to the isle of Cyprus, where it served only to support the luxury, and feed the pleasures of the knights of St. John.

THESE reproaches were not perhaps altogether groundless with regard to several particular commanders; but they made no impression at all upon Boniface. That pontiff, who knew no way of treating with crowned heads, but that of haughtiness, threatened the two princes immediately with the thunders of the church, if they did not revoke their orders. He represented to the king, that the hospitallers had fixed their residence in the isle of Cyprus, not so much for a place of refuge and retreat, as to be within reach whenever an opportunity offered of renewing the war, and recovering the Holy Land; that they discharged the obligations of their profession as much in that isle as in Palestine; that they had there an hospital open to all the poor, and kept ships in their ports, to serve for the convoy and security of pilgrims; and that this military order, from which the church received such services, being under the particular protection of the popes, he was necessarily obliged to make use of his authority, which he derived from God alone, against the usurpers of revenues, dedicated to the defence of Christianity. The menaces of this pontiff proved more effectual than his reasons, and brought the two kings to a compliance; their orders were revoked, and the sequestration taken off.

THE pope treated Henry de Lusignan, king of Cyprus in a manner still more haughty. That prince, as has been observed, had given the hospitallers and templars a retreat in his island; but fearing they might make themselves as powerful there as they had been in Palestine, he issued out a solemn edict, forbidding them

to purchase any estates there ; and the pope, in compliance with that monarch, had confirmed this edict by particular bulls. The king of Cyprus had laid upon them a sort of general poll tax, in which the clergy of this kingdom, and the body of nobility and gentry were comprehended, as well as the common people. The pope was soon informed of it; and, as the least pretence imaginable was enough to put that pontiff upon stretching his authority, he did not fail to exert himself upon this occasion. He called this tax a downright invasion of the privileges that the holy see had been pleased to grant to the military orders, and he wrote to the king of Cyprus, like a sovereign to his subject, in the most arrogant and imperious terms.

“ WE will, says he, and ordain, that the impost, vulgarly called the poll-tax, the very name of which is horrible and detestable, be absolutely abolished, and that the king shall not impose it on his own subjects, without the permission of the holy see ; and, with regard to other taxes and payments, we likewise declare the knights hospitallers and templars absolutely exempted from them.” The pope added in his letter, that though the holy see had by a bull confirmed the edict, which prohibited those military friars from making any purchases, yet the king ought not to take that concession of the holy see in a rigorous sense, so as to hinder the knights from enlarging the enclosures about their convents, and purchasing such houses as adjoined to their principal house, and were necessary for the lodging of a great order, which, besides the pilgrims and the poor, always maintained a body of troops to man their vessels.

THE king of Cyprus, finding himself wounded by the imperious pontiff's letters, in a part the most sensible of any to princes, and in his sovereign authority, omitted nothing to make the knights feel the whole weight of his resentment. He declared publicly, that he would not suffer a set of men in the heart of his kingdoms, that pretended to be independant of all other authority but that of the pope's. His ministers there-



thereupon, in contempt of the pontiff's prohibition, compelled the knights to pay their poll-money; and this covetous prince exacted the same tribute of the clergy. The nobility and gentry were not exempted from it; and the people, who generally pay more than the other orders of the state, and always first, were still worse treated.

THIS prince, by his greediness, raised a general discontent. The templars, who were naturally proud and haughty, and by the necessities of the kings of Jerusalem, who stood in need of their succour, had acquired a sort of independence, being incensed against Henry, fomented the national discontent, which broke out at last into an open revolt. Amaury, titular prince of Tyre, and brother to the king, was underhand the encourager of it. This ambitious prince aspired to the crown; and when, by himself and his emissaries, he had made sure of the troops and the inhabitants of the capital, he took off the mask, put himself at the head of the rebels, seized on the king's person; and, to remove him out of the sight of the people, who are very susceptible of compassion, and naturally inconstant, he sent him to Haiton, king of Armenia, whose sister he had married; and Haiton confined the unfortunate prince in a castle, situated among the mountains bordering on Cilicia. Amaury, after this, got the king his brother declared incapable of the government, and was preparing to take the crown, when a valet de chambre of the deposed king, called Simonet, who always continued faithful to his first master, though he had entered into the usurper's service, making use of the liberty he was allowed of a free access to his apartment, stabbed him in his bed, occasioning thereby a new revolution, in which king Henry recovered both his liberty and crown. The grand master did not engage on any side in all these commotions, and died a little after the king of Cyprus's return into his dominions.

THE hospitallers chose in his stead ODO DE PINS. Odo de Pins, of the language of Provence, descended from an illustrious and noble family

in Catalonia,<sup>a</sup> from which likeways the house of Pins in Languedoc, who bear the same arms, pretend to derive their original. Odo de Pins was a knight far advanced in years, exceeding pious, and allowed to be an exact observer of the regular discipline. While he was only a private man, all his brother knights thought him worthy of the grand mastership; but scarce was he arrived at that eminent dignity, but they found he wanted many of the qualifications proper for government, especially in an order, the duties whereof related as much to the exercise of arms, as to prayer and works of charity. He imagined he had discharged all the obligations incumbent upon him, when he had spent whole days in the oratory. Perhaps he might be more devout than was proper in his post; and perhaps too, his knights were less so than their character required. However that be, his excessive fondness for devotion and retirement occasioned, in some measure, a neglect of all kinds of military enterprizes.

THE knights, who, since the loss of their possessions in Palestine, had scarce any subsistence but what they got by cruising, murmured openly at his indifference for any naval preparations. They joined in a body to lay their complaints before the pope, desiring his permission to depose him. Boniface summoned him to Rome, to hear his defence on the subject of the grievances of his knights. Odo, who was better cut out to obey than command, set forward immediately, but died before he could reach the capital of the Christian world. The hospitallers, upon the

WILLIAM DE  
VILLARET.  
1262.

news of it, chose for his successor brother William de Villaret, of the language of Provence, great prior of St. Giles, and then residing at his priory. This gentleman had a brother that was also a knight at that time, and one of the most distinguished  
of

<sup>a</sup> Libro 1. de la coronica de la religion de St. Juan. p. 127. For. Fray. Dom. Juan. Augustin de Funes en Valencia 1626.

<sup>b</sup> Cosmog. de Belleforest. t. 2. p. 1116.

of the order; and the monastery of the nuns of St. John at Fieux in Querci, was governed by Jourdain de Villaret their sister.

THOUGH the new grand master had received an account of his election, he was in no great haste to set out for the isle of Cyprus, but was resolved first to visit in person all the priories of the 1298. languages of Provence, Auvergne and France; and, by cares so becoming his post, he restored the regular discipline to its purity, confirming it afterwards by a chapter, which he called in the commandry of la Tronquiere, a member depending on the great priory of St. Giles. He made several very useful regulations there; and 'twas in this chapter that he put the nunneries of Beaulieu, Martel, and Fieux, which belonged to the lady nuns of the order, under the visitation of the great prior of St. Giles and his successors. The lady superior of Beaulieu is elective and perpetual, takes the title of grand prioress, and wears the great cross.

THE house of Belver or Beaulieu was originally only a hospital, founded by the lords of the house of Themines, about A. D. 1220, between Figeac and Rocamadour, for the relief of the poor and pilgrims, which came that way in their passage to the Holy Land. In 1259, a lord of Themines, called Gilbert, and Aigline his wife, gave this house to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, with all the possessions annexed to it\*. This donation was accepted in the name of the order, by brother Peter Gerard, commander of the houses of Quercy, and brother Gerald de Baras, great commander of the houses on the sea-side, as the deed of gift expresses his title, which must evidently be understood of the first dignity of the order, (excepting that of the grand mastership) and such as was annexed to the

\* THE antient family of Themines passed successively into those of Cardailiac and de Penne, and afterwards into that of Lausiere, from whence, about the end of the sixteenth century, sprung Pons de Lausiere Themines, knight of the order of St. Michael and the Holy Ghost, marshal of France, senechal and governor of the province of Quercy.

the language of Provence preferably to all others. 'Twas in this chapter of la Tronquiere that William de Villaret, then grand master, gave the habit and cross of the order to several young ladies of quality, who had devoted themselves in that hospital to the service of the poor, and appointed Aigline de Themines, the founder's daughter, for the prioress. The grand master made this house subject to the visitation of the great prior of St. Giles, and established several other regulations, which Aigline, and four other ladies, deputed by the convent, and present at la Tronquiere, submitted to being afterwards ratified in a particular meeting of their chapter.

WE cannot discover the time of the foundation of the house of Martel, situate in the city of that name, and which for a long time was called the hospital of the true cross. As for another house of the order called Fieux, Jourdain de Villaret, sister to the grand master and Fulk de Villaret knight of the order, was the first prioress of it, as may be seen in the catalogue of the superiors of that house. But as it has been since united to that of Beaulieu, we shall say nothing farther about it; only observing, that in these three houses, as well as in that of Tholouse, which is of a modern foundation, and in all others of the order, in what country soever they are situate, the nuns are obliged to be of noble birth, and the same proofs are required of them as for the knights.

THEIR habit is a robe of red cloth, with a mantle of black cloth, upon which they wear a cross of white linen with eight points, a practice which has varied in different provinces, and in different ages, the causes of which we shall relate in the course of this history\*.

AT the latter end of this century, and during the mastership of William de Villaret, pope Boniface VIII. considering the loss which this military order had suffered of all their possessions in Palestine, to enable them the better to carry on the armaments they had set on  
foot,

\* In. arch. vatic. ex regist. Bon. VIII. t. 2. fol. 308.

foot, annexed the famous abbey of the holy trinity of Venusia, in the kingdom of Naples, to the manse of the grand master. The pope, by his bull of the third year of his pontificate, declares, that he was induced to suppress the monks of that convent, on account of the irregularity of their manners; and that for a contrary reason, he had thought fit to confer it upon the hospitallers, who daily exposed their own lives to defend those of pilgrims, and guard them in their passage to the Holy Land. 'Twas almost at the same time, and out of a like motive, that Henry, marquis of Hochberg, of the house of Baden, before he entered into the order of the templars, gave the hospitallers his lordship of Heiterheim, near Friburg, the residence of the great priors of Germany. This grant was confirmed twenty years after by Henry and Rodolph, marquisses of Hochberg.

THE grand master repaired to Rome to thank the pope for his benefactions; and, after receiving his blessing, set out for the isle of Cyprus, and arrived happily at Limisso, in the head house of the order, and seat of its residence. He was expected there with impatience, not only because of the opinion they had entertained of his wisdom and capacity in government, but also in hopes that his presence and application would give new warmth to a scheme projected for driving the Sarazens out of the Holy Land.

GAZAN, son of Argun beforementioned, cham of the Mogul Tartars, king of Persia, and a descendant or successor of Genchizcan, was at 1300. the head of this league. Pachymerus, a Greek and cotemporary historian, has given us a character of that prince, which is too great, if it be a just one, not to be inserted here. "When that prince, says the historian, mounted the throne, he cast his eyes upon the histories of Cyrus and Alexander the great, to take from thence the model of his conduct. He admired particularly the great qualities of the vanquisher of Darius. In his military expeditions he  
" made

\* Pachym. l. 2.



“ made use of the Iberians ; and did so, says this hi-  
 “ storian, as well in regard to the sincere piety of that  
 “ nation, and their inviolable attachment to the Chri-  
 “ stian religion, as for their courage and intrepidity  
 “ in the field. As he knew the cross was the trophy  
 “ of the Christians, he placed it on the top of his stand-  
 “ ards, and ’twas under the protection of this sign of  
 “ our salvation, that he gained glorious victories over  
 “ the sultan of Egypt. He fell into Palestine, and,  
 “ to gratify the Iberians that were in his army, he at-  
 “ tacked the city of Jerusalem, and was very near de-  
 “ livering the sepulchre of our Saviour from the tyranny  
 “ of the infidels.”

No body that reads this passage of the history of Pachymerus would have any other notion of Gazan but that he was a Christian : yet all the other writers of his nation, Arabians, Persians, poets and historians, maintain, that this prince was bred a pagan and idolater<sup>a</sup>, as most of the Tartars were at that time ; that he turned Mahometan afterwards, to conform to the religion of the greatest part of his subjects, who were of that profession, and, at the ceremony of his circumcision, took the name of Mahomet. The mistake of the Christian historians arose probably from hence: The Tartar had married a Christian princess of admirable beauty, daughter to Livron or Leo, king of Armenia, and, out of complaisance to the queen his wife, had allowed her the public exercise of her religion in his palace, which might induce the missionaries and travellers to believe, that Gazan himself was a Christian. Be that as it will, some time before, and even antecedent to the misfortunes of Henry king of Cyprus, a league was struck up between the Tartarian prince, the king of Armenia, his father-in-law and neighbour, the king of Cyprus, Amaury de Lusignan his brother, and the two orders of the templars and hospitallers, who were considered in the east as the principal strength, and only resource of the Christians.

HAIION

<sup>a</sup> See the *Bibliothèque orientale* in the word Gazan.

HAIION, lord of Curchy<sup>b</sup>, nephew, or as others say, only cousin to the king of Armenia, an eye witness of these wars, has left us an exact account of them in his history of Tartary. 'Tis from this author that we learn what advantages these allies gained over the Sarazens. They defeated Nazer sultan of Egypt, took the famous city of Damascus, and afterwards reduced the greatest part of Syria. The hospitallers, who had no other view in this league but to chase the infidels out of the Holy Land, entered Palestine without opposition, at the head of a body of cavalry, which Gazan gave them for a reinforcement. They found the country open and defenceless; the cities, if they were not rather to be called villages, without any fortifications; Jerusalem destitute of walls, as well as Christian inhabitants; no body appearing to oppose their conquests. But that which facilitated these conquests made it afterwards impossible to maintain them. The Sarazens, after the taking of St. John d'Acre, had rased the fortifications of all the towns in Palestine, so that the kingdom was only a large country, exposed to the strongest power, and every force that was master of the field.

THE hospitallers, infinitely pleased with having made their way to the holy city, thought of rebuilding the walls, in order to maintain themselves there. But the cham of Tartary, being obliged to repass the Euphrates and return into Persia, to march against a body of rebels, that had made an insurrection in his absence, that prince recalled out of Palestine the troops which he had lent the hospitallers; and, after their retreat, there was no possibility, with the single forces of the order, to keep the field against the armies of the Sarazens.

ACCORDINGLY the soldan, after the Tartars were drawn off, fell again into Palestine; and, upon the news of his march, and that he was advancing with a mighty body of troops towards Jerusalem, the hospitallers, who  
had

had entered like conquerors, were forced to quit it in a manner like pilgrims.

GAZAN, in the mean time, having quickly pacified the troubles that had risen in Persia during his  
1301. absence, resumed his first designs against the foldan of Egypt. The politic Tartar had no other view in re-establishing the Latin Christians in Palestine, but to make use of them afterwards for a barrier, to hinder the Sarazens of Egypt from having any communication with Syria. But having discovered by the former campaign how inconsiderable a force the kings of Armenia and Cyprus were able to bring into the field, and being sensible, that the military orders could not of themselves make head against the foldan's power, he was fully convinced, that, to drive the Sarazens both out of Syria and Palestine, and to enable the Christians to maintain themselves in the latter, it was necessary to engage the princes of the West in this war, and bring some crusade into the Levant, like the first of Godfrey de Bouillon, which had driven them out of the Holy Land.

THIS was the motive of a noted embassy, which he sent to pope Boniface VIII. and which afterwards proceeded onto France. There are some historians indeed, that ascribe this negotiation to Mahomet Gayateddin, otherwise called Algiaptou, brother and successor to Gazan. The Persians, in their tongue, call this latter Chodabenda, i. e. the servant of God: Haiton the historian names him Carbaganda, and says that his mother was a Christian, and that he was baptised and named Nicholas; but that after his mother's death, he turned Musulman. But whoever was the author of this embassy, the person deputed upon that occasion, arriving at Rome, desired the pope in the name of his master, to engage the most powerful princes of his communion, to join part of their troops to the armies he had on foot, in order to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Palestine, offering to leave the Latin Christians the entire possession of the Holy Land.

THE ambassador<sup>a</sup>, to make his proposals go down the readier, politely insinuated, that the chám his master was no way averse to embracing the Christian religion<sup>b</sup>; an artifice perhaps new at that time, and too stale at this, but which serves at least for a proof, that this prince was either a Pagan or Mahometan.

UNLUCKILY for the success of so great an enterprise, the pope was then in the violentest fits of his implacable hatred to Philip the Fair, king of France, whom in reproach he compared to the idol of Bel, or Baal, by a ridiculous senseless allusion that his gross ignorance of that Phœnician word betrayed him into. The ground of this hatred was Philip's openly refusing to submit to that absolute and despotic power, which Boniface claimed over all Christian states. He owned indeed, that sovereigns within their own dominions were supreme in temporals; but then he pretended a right of taking cognisance of the differences that arose between them, under pretence, as he said, that it behoved him to know, if they could in certain junctures and circumstances make war without sin. In virtue of this cavilling distinction, the new casuist was for drawing to his own tribunal the cognisance and absolute decision of all their differences, and he threatened such as refused to submit to it, to excommunicate them, to lay an interdict on their dominions, and absolve their subjects from their oath of fidelity. 'Twas the shortest way of attaining to an universal monarchy; but unluckily for the success of these pretensions, the pontiff, in the person of Philip the Fair, had to do with a powerful prince, haughty and imperious in his nature, infinitely jealous of the rights of his crown, rightly apprised of those of the pope's, and who at the same time

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that

<sup>a</sup> Spicil. t. II. p. 609.

<sup>b</sup> Parisiis ipsa hebdomada Paschæ venerunt ad regem Franciæ nuncii Tartarorum, dicentes, quod si rex & barones gentes suas in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium destinarent, eorum dominus Tartarorum rex Saracenos totis viribus expugnaret, et tam ipse quam populus suus efficerentur libenti animo Christiani. Contin. chron. de Nangis ad ann. 1303.

that he denied them nothing that was due to the visible head of the church, did yet maintain with an invincible firmness, that those pontiffs, with regard to Christian monarchs, had no authority but what was purely spiritual, that this very authority was barely ministerial, and that they ought to govern the church of Christ according to the canons of general councils.

BONIFACE, enraged to meet with such an obstacle to the establishment of his chimerical project, had raised up enemies on all sides against France, and even against the person of the king. 'Tis to this pontiff, that the revolt of the Flemings, and the English war is ascribed. And whilst these open enemies were attacking the frontiers of the kingdom, the sovereign pontiff left no methods untried to raise seditions within it, and debauch the secular and regular clergy from the obedience they owed their sovereign.

SUCH was the disposition of Boniface, when the chamberlain of Tartary's ambassador arrived at Rome. The imperious pontiff eagerly caught at this pretence of signalizing his pretended power over the person of the king and his subjects.

IN the first crusades, the popes, with regard to sovereigns, never made use of any means but those of intreaty and exhortation. But afterwards, and as opportunities offered, to get rid of princes whose power they were jealous of, they engaged them in those expeditions by motives of penance, and sometimes on pain of excommunication. Thus by menacing them with the censures of the church, they had created a sort of right in the papacy to send the greatest monarchs into the east in a state of exile, tho' still under the pretext of delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. 'Twas with such views, that Boniface dispatched the bishop of Pamiers to the king. That prelate, who was animated with the spirit and haughtiness of his master, delivered his message to Philip, not so much like an ambassador and messenger of peace, as a herald sent to declare war against him.



HE told him, that it was the pope's intention, he should cross the sea immediately at the head of all the forces of France, and join his troops with those of the king of Persia, to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Palestine. Boniface, under colour of this pious motive, had no design but to get the king at a distance from his own dominions, in hopes of establishing his pretended temporal power there in his absence. But besides that the haughtiness and intolence of his nuncio, tho' a Frenchman, was of itself abundantly sufficient to make the pope's proposals be rejected, that pontiff had to do with a prince infinitely jealous, as we have said, of the sovereign rights of his crown, who understood his true interests perfectly well, naturally frugal, and indeed so grasping at money, that his memory has been reproached for not always confining himself to just measures for raising it. Far therefore from being disposed to put himself to the necessary expences for so tedious an expedition, it was pretended, that he wanted even supplies to maintain the wars that the pope had secretly stirred up against him.

THERE did not likewise want suspicions, that Boniface had a design of making war upon France. Reports went current about, that the templars had offered their services to that pontiff, and had also furnished him with considerable sums to begin the war; so that Philip, instead of entertaining a thought of quitting his dominions in such a juncture, ordered the pope's nuncio away, who had spoken to him with so much haughtiness and intolence; and, by his dismissal, the cham's ambassador, who was come on purpose to France, saw his negotiation miscarry.

'T WAS a very sensible affliction to the hospitallers to hear of the ill success of this embassy. They saw their hopes of recovering the Holy Land farther off than ever. Besides, they had but a very indifferent situation in the isle of Cyprus, considering the temper of the king, a covetous and jealous prince, who was for imposing taxes upon them, as we have said, though they had never paid any tribute under the kings of Jerusalem, but that

of their blood, which they daily shed so generously in defence of the Christians.

THE surprizing death of Boniface, who died through grief, that he was fallen under the power, and 1303. into the hands of the French, gave the hospitaliers some hopes of seeing in a short time a more religious pope, who, instead of sowing, and keeping up divisions among Christian princes, as Boniface did, would on the contrary employ all the interest that his dignity gave him, to dispose them to unite together and form a new crusade.

ACCORDINGLY the cardinals, eleven days after Boniface's decease, chose in his stead Nicholas Bocassini, a dominican, cardinal and bishop of Ostia, a prelate of a holy life, and profound learning. He took the name of Benedict XI. and as soon as he was seated in the holy see, he expressed a great deal of eagerness to procure powerful succours, and a considerable armament to be sent into the east. But these pious dispositions were attended with no effects, by reason of the pope's death, who was only eight days on the throne of St. Peter.

THE conclave met at Perugia, where it continued near a year; and there was reason to fear it would not end so soon, because of the misunderstanding between the cardinals, who were divided into two factions, and had determined never to consent to the election of any person that was then in the conclave. Cardinal Francis Cajetan, nephew to Boniface, and inheritor of his hatred against Philip the Fair, and the two cardinal Colonna's, who were partisans of France, was at the head of one of the factions. The other party, which was devoted to the king, was headed by cardinal Dupré, an intimate friend of the two cardinal Colonna's, whom Boniface, during his pontificate, had, out of aversion to France, cruelly persecuted as well as all their house.

THE cardinals that were shut up in the conclave, assembled every day, conferred together sometimes in public and sometimes in private, and the most artful among

them

them endeavoured to gain over some votes in the contrary faction.

CARDINAL Dupré, who was excellent at these weapons, and a most refined politician, addressing himself one day to cardinal Cajetan, " We do a great deal of mischief, says he to him, with all the appearance of frankness, and cause an infinite prejudice to the church, by keeping it so long destitute of a head : " adding, that, since they could not agree about a cardinal to be made pope, they must necessarily chuse some person, tho' not of the conclave, that was worthy of being advanced to that great dignity : and that, to facilitate the election, he was of opinion, that one of the factions should nominate any three archbishops that they pleased beyond the mountains, and the other faction should have the right of chusing within forty days whomsoever they liked best of the three for pope. Cajetan replied, that there was no equality in this proposal, and that every body must see plainly, that the faction which should name the three candidates, had vastly the advantage, since by their nomination, they were sure of having one of their creatures for pope. Cardinal Dupré owned it, but added, that to shew how sincerely he and the cardinals of his party wished to have an end put to the scandal which their divisions caused in the church, they were ready to give up that advantage to the cardinals of the other faction ; that those of his party would freely consent they should have the naming of the three candidates, out of whom the pope was to be chosen ; and that for their own parts they would only reserve to themselves the right of chusing out of three of their creatures, the person they thought the most deserving, and him that was least disagreeable to them.

BONIFACE's nephew communicated this proposal to his faction, ascribing it to the impatience which Dupré and the old cardinals had to get out of the con-

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clave ;

<sup>a</sup> Jo. Villani lib. 8. c. 8. S. Antonin. p. 3. t. 21. Bern. Chron. Rom. Pont. Rân. t. 15. Contin. ann. Eccl.

clave : and having brought the cardinals of his party in to approve of it, a formal treaty was drawn up and signed by all the cardinals ; in consequence of which, Cajetan named three Ultramontain archbishops, all creatures of his uncle, and who, during that pope's pontificate, had espoused his interest against the king. The first of the three was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, a prelate of a noble house in Aquitain, but wedded to his pleasures, and eaten up with ambition, an intimate friend and entire confident of Cajetan's, and a subject of the king of England's, who was then duke of Aquitain. Besides, this prelate was an enemy to Philip the Fair, and particularly so to Charles de Valois, that prince's brother, who, during the wars between the French and English, had ravaged the castles and lands of his brother and nearest relations. Yet this was the prelate upon whom cardinal Dupré fixed his eyes to make him pope. He knew him thoroughly, and made no question but a man of his character, would easily sacrifice his old friends and first benefactors to his promotion. He was likewise of opinion, that it would be no difficult matter, whilst Italy was infested with the factions and wars between the Guelphs and Gibbelines, to keep a man of his ambition and vanity in France, who would be charmed with shewing himself to his relations and countrymen in that height of power, to which the papal diadem was going to raise him. Cardinal Dupré communicated these views of his to Philip the Fair, by an express which he dispatched to him with great secrecy, and which went from Perugia to Paris in eleven days. He sent that prince the treaty between the two factions, and observed to him in his letter, that he had nothing to do but to make sure of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who, to get at the papacy, would easily submit to all the conditions he should require of him.

THE king having perused these dispatches, and the treaty between the cardinals, saw plainly what advantages were to be drawn from it. He wrote immediately to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, that he had some affairs

fairs of consequence, in which he was particularly concerned, to communicate to him. He fixed at the same time a certain day on which he appointed him to repair to an abbay seated in the middle of a forest near St. John d'Angelu, promising to be there himself without fail, and enjoined him above all things a profound secrecy on this head.

BOTH were punctual to the appointment. They came to an interview in the morning in the church of the abbay. Philip, after hearing mass, required the archbishop to put his hand upon the altar, and swear to keep the secret he was going to confide to him inviolably. After this precaution, he told him, that it was in his power to make him pope ; and, to convince him of it, he shewed him the treaty made at Perugia between the cardinals, with the passage in Dupré's letter, where that cardinal, in his own name, and in the name of the cardinals of the French faction, refers it to the king to chuse which of the three archbishops he thought most worthy of the papacy.

THE archbishop of Bourdeaux read these instruments with great astonishment ; and, when he had ended, threw himself at the king's feet, and embraced them with a transport easier to be imagined than expressed, asked pardon of him for his past conduct, " I see  
 " well, sir, says he to him, that you are for rendering  
 " me good for evil ; if I am happy enough to be ad-  
 " vanced to the popedom, I beg of you to be assured  
 " that you shall share all the authority of it with me,  
 " and I am ready to give you all the assurances of it  
 " that you can demand for so great a kindness."

THE king raised him up graciously, and having embraced him in token of a perfect reconciliation, told him, that when he should be upon the throne of St. Peter, he desired, that he would grant him six favours, all of them just, and tending only to the good of the church and his kingdom, but he would be assured of them before he entered into any more particular engagements with him. The first two conditions which that prince proposed related only to the differences be-  
 tween



tween him and pope Boniface, insisting, that he should annul all the acts of that pope against himself, the cardinals Colona, and his principal subjects. He required for the third condition, that he should promise him to condemn the memory of Boniface, and order his bones to be burnt, as used to be done with those of a-thiests and hereticks. The fourth article was concerning the affair of the cardinals Colonna, whom Boniface had degraded for their adherence to France; the king required that they should be re-instated in their former dignities, and entire restitution made to them of all their effects and possessions. Philip demanded, as the fifth condition, that he might have leave to raise the tenths upon the clergy of France for five years together. The sixth condition was not to be declared till after the ceremony of the future pope's coronation should be over. "But I will have you, says the king, for a further assurance of your promises, take a solemn oath upon the holy sacrament, and give me your brother and two nephews in hostage, whom I will take with me to Paris, under pretence of reconciling them to the count de Valois, my brother, and keep them there till you have fully made good your word. 'Tis now for you, adds the king, to see if you like the conditions."

THE ambitious prelate, drunk with joy and hope, promised every thing, and swore solemnly on the holy sacrament to perform the conditions required. He sent at the same time for his brother and nephews, and delivered them into the king's hands. That prince dispatched away immediately an express to cardinal Dupré, and those of his faction, with advice, that he had taken all the necessary securities from the archbishop of Bourdeaux for his own interest and those of the house of Colonna; that he was actually bringing along with him to Paris the brother and two nephews of the archbishop, that they might, without any further delay, chuse him for pope. The king and that prelate parted equally satisfied with one another, and his majesty's express arrived at Perugia five days before the term agreed

on by the treaty was expired. Cardinal Dupré, apprized of the king's intentions, communicated them to the other cardinals of the French party, who thereupon notified to those of the contrary faction, that they were ready to execute their promise, and chuse one of the three archbishops proposed for pope. Upon this notice, a solemn assembly was held in the chapel of the conclave: it was opened with the invocation of the Holy Ghost, after which they ratified a-new the treaty for the election. Then cardinal Dupré named Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, for the vicar of Jesus Christ, which was followed with the acclamations of the whole sacred college, especially of the nephew and creatures of Boniface, who knew nothing of what had passed between the king and archbishop, and flattered themselves with having a pope of their own party, and an enemy to the king.

BUT that prelate had no sooner received the decree of his election, than, in the transports of his joy, on occasion of a good fortune so much above his hopes, he let slip a word which betrayed the secret of his reconciliation with the king of France. This was no longer doubted of, when they saw him summon the whole college of cardinals to meet at Lyons, for the ceremony of his coronation, which Philip honoured with his presence.

'Twas after this great ceremony, that his majesty is said to have opened himself to the pope, upon the sixth condition that he had required of him at their interview, and which he was not to know till his coronation was over. The pontiff was strangely surpris'd to find that this condition contained the suppression and extinction of the whole order of the templars. The king, to support the justice of his demand, told him, that they were guilty of the most abominable crimes, and that he had good proofs of it. Clement, to make good his engagements, assured him, that he would apply himself to procure private informations to be taken on that subject, and desired Philip, on his part, to  
com-

communicate to him what proofs he had against those knights.

THE new pontiff, after his coronation, declared, that, as long as the two factions of the Guelphs and Gibe-lines continued to tear Italy to pieces, he would take up his residence in France, and, in consequence of this declaration, set out for Bourdeaux, passing through Mâcon, Brives, Bourges and Limoges. The continuator of Nangis, in his account of the year 1305, relates, that in crossing these dioceses, he plundered, either by himself or his followers, all the churches and incumbents that he met with in his passage, so that the archbishop of Bourges, for his daily subsistence, was reduced to the necessity of assisting at all the offices of the quire, as a simple canon, to be entitled to a share in their daily dividends<sup>a</sup>.

It was not long before the Italian cardinals repented that they had placed a French prelate, so greedy of money, upon the papal throne. They were sensible, that if it continued any considerable time in France, they should have no great share in the government, nor consequently in the treasures of the church. Cardinal Mattheo Rosso Ursini, an Italian, and an enemy to the French, vexed to see himself over-reached by cardinal Dupré, and meeting one day in the pope's antichamber, "You have carried your point, says he with a sneer, "and we are transplanted to t'other side the mountains; "and I either do not know the character of the Gascons, or I shall be much mistaken if we see the holy see again at Rome this long time."

THAT capital of the Christian world, formerly the mistress and queen of nations, lost, by the removal of the

<sup>a</sup> Papa Clemens, circa purificationem beatæ Mariæ à Lugduno recedens, Burdegalis per Matiscorem, Brivatam, Biturigas, ----- & Lemovicam iter faciens, tam religiosorum quàm secularium ecclesias & monasteria, tam per se quàm per suos satellites, deprædando, multa & gravia intulit eis damna, & frater Ægedius, Bituricensis, archiepiscopus per hujusmodi deprædationes ad tantam devenit inopiam, quod, tanquam unus de suis simplicibus canonicis, ad percipiendum quotidianas distributiones pro vitæ necessariis horas ecclesiasticas frequentare coactus sit.

the court of Rome, the little it had left of the lustre of its antient empire. All the Italians made heavy lamentations for this translation, which, on account of the time it lasted, they have generally compared to the captivity of Babylon. Some historians have not scrupled to ascribe it to the pope's passion for the countess of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a princess of singular beauty, and from whom, it is probable, he could not part without pain<sup>a</sup>. The same authors accuse him of a scandalous traffick in holy things, to gratify his avarice<sup>b</sup>.

PERHAPS the reader may think we have given too large a detail of the intrigues of this conclave; but, considering the facts which follow, we thought ourselves necessarily obliged to represent the character of this pope, and relate the secret causes of the complaisance he shewed afterwards for most of the designs of Philip the Fair, with regard to the templars, as well as the hospitallers of St. John.

THE new pontiff, desirous to signalize his zeal by some enterprize that would make a noise, and suit the taste of the age, proposed to send a new crusade into the east for the recovery of the Holy Land. With this view, and to be justly informed of the forces of the infidels, perhaps also to inquire into the accusations brought by the king of France against the templars, he sent an order to the two grand masters to come immediately

<sup>a</sup> Hist. de M. l'Abbé Fleuri. l. 92. p. 239.

<sup>b</sup> Questo papa fue huomo molto cupido di moneta è simoniaco, che ogni beneficio per moneta in sua corte si vendea, è fue lufurioso. Si dicea che tenea per amica la contessa di Paragordo, bellissima donna, figliuo là del conte di Foy. Giovan. Villani lib. 9. chap. 58.

Papa, ut chronica referunt, fuit nimis cupiditatibus deditus; propter quod scelus simoniæ, maximè a canonibus detestatum & punitum, multum viguit in curia sua circa beneficia. Quod autem quidam dicunt in papam non posse cadere simoniam; beatus Thomas hos reprobatur: insuper & minùs honestæ vitæ fuit, & communitè dicebatur, cum quadam comitissa, plucherrima muliere, contubernium habere. Sanctus Antoninus Flor. archiep. de concilio Viennensi. tit. 21. sect. 3.

mediately to him, with the principal knights of both orders.

“ THE kings of Cyprus and Armenia\*, (says he, in  
 “ his letter to the grand master of the hospitallers,) so-  
 “ licit us earnestly to procure them some succour.  
 “ We have therefore resolved to consult about it with  
 “ you, and the master of the temple, since, by the  
 “ knowledge you have of the country, you are much  
 “ better qualified than any others to advise us, in  
 “ regard to the conduct and management of such an  
 “ enterprize; besides, that next to the church of Rome,  
 “ no one has a greater interest than you in the success  
 “ of it. We order you therefore to come hither speedi-  
 “ ly, with as much secrecy as possible, and with a very  
 “ little retinue, since you will find, on this side the  
 “ sea, a sufficient number of your knights to attend  
 “ you. But be careful to leave in the isle of Cyprus a  
 “ good lieutenant, and a body of knights, capable of  
 “ defending the city of your residence, that so your  
 “ absence, which will not be long, may be of no pre-  
 “ judice to the affairs of your order: Nevertheless,  
 “ do not neglect to bring along with you some knights,  
 “ who, by their wisdom, experience and zeal, are  
 “ qualified to give us proper advice, in conjunction  
 “ with you.” This letter is dated from Bourdeaux,  
 June 6, 1306.

THE grand master of the hospitallers was at sea,  
 when this letter was sent him from the isle  
 1306. of Cyprus, whither it was directed. He  
 wrote back immediately to the pope to excuse  
 himself, that he did not make so much haste in his voy-  
 age as his holiness seemed to recommend, being actual-  
 ly engaged in an enterprize which he had formed. The  
 hospitallers, being tired out with the ill treatment they  
 received from the king of Cyprus, and the oppression of  
 his government; and seeing themselves cooped up as  
 it were in a town, without the convenience of a port  
 for their naval armaments, came to a resolution to a-  
 bandon so improper an abode, designing to make them-  
 selves

\* Rain. t. 15.



elves masters of some island in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, where the order, without being accountable to any but their own superiors, might go to sea, and discharge the obligations and duties of their station.

THE grand master, whose thoughts were entirely taken up with this great design, which he kept very secret, fixed his eyes upon Rhodes, an island at a small distance from Palestine, and accommodated with an excellent port. This island, a member of Constantinople, suffered, like most of those of the Archipelago, in the revolution that happened in that capital, by the conquest which the French and Venetians made of it. The Genoese, for their part, had seized on most of the Cyclades and Sporades; and Rhodes, and the little isles depending on it, also fell into the hands of those republicans, during the absence of their governor, a Greek lord, called John de Gabales. Vatacius, whom we have spoken of already, and who, in the dismembering of the empire, had erected one for himself, of which Nice was the capital, vexed to see the Latin princes pare off every day some morsel or other from the Greek empire, sent in A. D. 1249, John Cantacuzenus, his great cupbearer, with a strong fleet to drive the Genoese out of the isle of Rhodes. That Greek general arrived off the island, and landed his troops without opposition: but by great good luck for the Genoese, William de Villehardouin, a French lord, and prince of Achaia, and Hugh, a prince of the house of Burgundy, were passing at that time by Rhodes, in order to join St. Louis in the isle of Cyprus, and left the Genoese a body of troops, which helped them to drive out the Greeks. Vatacius, the most politic prince of his time, to make his advantage afterwards of the consternation the Latins were in at the captivity of St. Louis, the head of the crusade, sent Theodorus Protosebastus to Rhodes, who retook the island from the Genoese. The Greeks re-established their authority there; but the empire being on the decline, some lords of the house of Galla, governors of Rhodes, insensibly set up for princes of the

isle; and, to fortify themselves against their sovereign, they peopled it with a great number of Turkish and Sarazen merchants and inhabitants. 'Tis said likewise, that they admitted the infidel corsairs into their ports, who were likewise sure to find refuge there, when they were pursued by the gallies of the hospitallers, or by the ships of other Christian princes.

THE grand master, after coasting the isle of Rhodes, observing its ports and fortresses, and apprising himself of the number of its inhabitants, did not find that he had forces sufficient to attempt the conquest of it. Then he took a view of several small adjacent islands, which, though inhabited, are scarce any thing but rocks. But finding no fortified places in them, wherein he could maintain his ground, and fearing, that if he made an attempt on any of these little islands, it would discover his design upon Rhodes, he stood away for the isle of Cyprus, and returned to Limisso. After this expedition, he was preparing to go and give the pope an account of the project he had in view, and to try if he could obtain from that pontiff, and the western princes, the necessary succours for such an enterprise; but he was stopped by an illness, which at last brought him to his grave.

ALL the knights were sensibly afflicted at the loss of the grand master, especially in a juncture so important to the order. The chapter being persuaded that Fulk de Villaret, his brother, was acquainted with all the particulars of his secret designs and was well qualified by his valour, to put them in execution with success, thought proper to appoint him for his successor. This grand master, as soon as he was invested with that dignity, went on board the gallies of his order, and passed into France, to confer with the pope and the king about the enterprise of Rhodes, the design of which the late grand master had communicated to him. It was now above a year since James de Moley, of an illustrious family in the county of Burgundy, and the grand master of the order of templars, had,

had, in obedience to the pope's orders, repaired to the town of Poitiers, where the court of Rome then was. The grand master was attended with most of his knights, who, tired out, like the hospitallers, with the oppressions and exactions which the king of Cyprus and his ministers were continually laying upon them, had at last abandoned the isle. They dispersed themselves afterwards into several countries of Christendom, where they had a great number of rich commandries, and no body was left in the isle of Cyprus but the great marshal of the order, and some commanders. The grand master is said to have brought prodigious treasures from the Levant, which he laid up afterwards in the house of the temple at Paris.

THAT lord, upon his arrival in France, kept the principal knights of his order with him; and, thus attended, he waited upon the pope. They were all well received, the pontiff giving not the least hint of the secret motive that had induced him to send for them into France. He seemed even pleased with the turn and capacity of the grand master, discoursing with him frequently upon the subject of a crusade, which he pretended he would publish without loss of time. He carried his dissimulation so far as to deliver him a memorial, requiring him, at his leisure, to draw up an exact answer to it.

IN this memorial, the pope, still supposing the project of a crusade, demanded of him, what assistance the Latins might expect from the king of the lesser Armenia; what were the ports, the roads, and the coasts of Palestine, where the forces of the crusade might land with most convenience; and whether the troops should be sent from Europe in the great or the little passage, i. e. in the months of May or September, the ordinary seasons in which the caravans of pilgrims set out for the Holy Land. These embarkations being called great or little passages, according to the number of vessels and troops that were sent to the Levant.

THE pope, in a separate memorial, added, that the dissention, which was too often breaking out afresh

between the templars and hospitallers, having contributed not a little to the loss of the Holy Land, he had been advised, for the common good of both orders, and the general edification of the faithful, to incorporate the templars and hospitallers for ever, under one and the same rule, habit, and grand master. The sovereign pontiff ordered him to give him his sentiments freely and sincerely on this head. The pope, perhaps, by such an union of the templars with the hospitallers, whose reputation was untouched, would not have been sorry to save the templars from the king of France's instances for the extinction of that order.

HISTORY has conveyed down to us the answer which the grand master of the templars made to these two memorials of the pope. He says, in the first place, that in a battle, or decisive action, there was no depending on the Armenians, who were much more disposed to turn their backs, than stand their ground in an engagement; and if they bounded the succour they were for sending into the East, meerly to the defence of the lesser Armenia, without attempting any further conquest, his holiness ought to made be sensible, that the Armenians, being schismatics, and enemies to all the Latin Christians, would never admit them into their castles and strong places, though they were come into the East only for their assistance; and that the troops of the crusade, being thereby forced to keep the field, would be frequently surpris'd and massacred by the Turcomans and Bedovins that lived on the mountains bordering on Armenia, from whence they were continually making incursions into the flat country.

FOR these reasons, and many more, which are represented at large in this memorial, the grand master shews the insignificancy of the little passage, and a weak succour, which would serve, says he, only to destroy such as compos'd it, and render the Latin Christians contemptible. He concludes, that, to flatter themselves with the hopes of good success it was necessary to omit nothing that could be serviceable for making the passage as numerous and powerful as possible.

WITH this view he presses the pope to communicate his memorial to the kings of France, England, Germany, Sicily, Arragon, Castile<sup>a</sup>, and all other sovereign princes of Christendom, whose hearts, says he, may God Almighty touch with his grace, and inspire them to drive the infidels out of a land dyed with the adorable blood of Jesus Christ.

HE proposes in the next place to engage the Genoese, the Venetians, and other maritime powers, who had ports in the Mediterranean, to furnish the gallies and ships necessary for the great passage, and for transporting the troops of the crusade. He represents likewise, that the Christians not being masters of a foot of ground in the kingdom of Jerusalem, or in the principality of Antioch, if they pretended to drive out the infidels, their army ought to consist at least of 15,000 men of arms, and 5000 foot.

WITH regard to their landing, he advises, that the Christian army should, for refreshment, put first into the isle of Cyprus, from whence they might easily pass afterwards into Palestine. But as to the coast and place of the kingdom, where it was proper to make their descent, he desires the pope to excuse him from putting his opinion in writing, and allow him to explain himself on that head by word of mouth, either to him or to the king of France, for fear, that a design of such importance, and a point on which the whole success of the crusade depended, might come to be discovered, and consequently traversed by the infidels.

HE intimates, that it would be very proper to send ten gallies in the spring towards the isle of Cyprus, to cruize at sea, and intercept the ships of some Christian merchants, who, preferring a sordid gain to the interests of religion, held criminal correspondences with the Sarazens, and carried them, in contempt of the prohibitions of the church, arms and timber ready worked and fitted, so that, for making their gallies,

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they

<sup>a</sup> Philip the Fair, Edward II. Henry de Luxemburgh, Don Fadrique d'Arragon, Don James, Ferdinand IV.



they had nothing to do but to join the several pieces together.

HE adds, that nevertheless the command of these ten Christian gallies ought not to be given either to the templars or hospitallers, for fear, that if those knights should catch any vessels belonging to the Venetian or Genoese merchants in this clandestine commerce, and seize them, they might draw upon the military orders the hatred and resentment of those two potent republics.

THE second memorial contains an answer to the pope's design of uniting the templars and hospitallers under one and the same rule and head. The grand master represents to him, that, during the pontificate of Gregory IX. and in the reign of St. Louis, a proposal had been made in the council of Lyons, for a project of the like nature, but much more comprehensive, the design being to incorporate all the military orders that were in the church together: that the pope and the king, who assisted both of them at that council, were pleased to consult brother William Beaujon, grand master of the hospitallers, and brother William de Courcelles, one of the principal knights of the order of St. John, who met at the same time at Lyons, and to hear their sentiments on this subject: that the grand master of the templars urged, that the kings of Spain, who were engaged in continual wars against the Moors, and drew their best forces from the military orders settled in their dominions, would never consent, that those Spanish knights, which depended on their respective sovereigns, should be put under the authority of a foreign head, or be incorporated with other military orders, that were instituted for different ends, and regulated by different statutes; and that, upon these remonstrances of the grand master, they gave over the design.

HE owned, that after the loss of St. John d'Acre, this question was brought upon the stage again, and that pope Nicholas IV. to skreen himself from the shame of not having furnished the least succour to the besieged, declaimed warmly in several consistories against the templars and hospitallers, as if, by their pre-  
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tended dissentions, they had occasioned the loss of that important place ; but that there was not one person in Christendom, nor even among the infidels, but knew that the grand master of the templars, the marshal of the hospitallers, and above four hundred knights of both orders, died in defence of that city, out of which there came but ten templars alive : and that all the projects and discourses of that pontiff about the necessity of an union, were attended with no effect. That pope Boniface VIII. who bore a particular affection for the military orders, and was desirous to unite them, only to render them more powerful, had likewise given over the design ; and that, after much reasoning upon the subject, it was resolved at last to let each order continue as it was, in its particular constitution, and keep to its own rules and form of government.

THE grand master, after producing these instances, enters next into a thorough examination of the affair, and represents to the pope, first, the danger to which he would expose the salvation of these military friars, by forcing them to quit their first rule, and putting them under the obligation of observing another, to which they had not received the grace of a particular call.

SECONDLY, he remonstrates to him, that, supposing such an union, the knights, tho' originally of different orders, being obliged to live together in the same community, would never fail to have disputes with one another about the preference of their first professions, and that these disputes between men of courage, and provided with arms, might degenerate into combats, to the great scandal of all Christendom.

THIRDLY, That in every house of the templars, they gave a general alms three times a week, and every day the poor had all the meat that came off the tables in the refectory ; that in like manner, the hospitallers, whose original foundation was on the foot of a continual exercise of charity, employed their alms chiefly in affording various helps and assistances to the sick and pilgrims ;

pilgrims; and that, if two houses of different orders were to be reduced to one, there would be but a single charity for the poor, to their great detriment and prejudice: and the case would be equally the same with regard to the offices of divine worship, and all the exercises of piety, which were performed, tho' in a different manner, in the commandries of both orders.

FOURTHLY, says he, each order has one head and one grand master, and several officers of eminence, such as the priors, the bailiffs, the marshal, the grand commander, the draper, the hospitaller, and the turcopolier; and if, in the union proposed, they keep up these offices, there will be in every priory two persons with the same title. If they suppress one (says he) upon which of the orders shall that reform fall? Is it just, under pretence of such an union, to deprive old knights of their posts to which they have risen by their services, and by shedding their blood for the defence of Christendom?

I AM very sensible, continues the grand master, that the view in this union is to put an end to that jealousy and emulation, which too often reigns between warriors that aspire all to the same glory. But let it be considered, says he, by way of reply, that the Latin Christians have derived great advantages from this very emulation; that nothing has more contributed to raise the courage of one order, than the valour they have been witnesses of in another; and that it has been always observed, that if the hospitallers at any time sent for troops, ships, arms and provisions from their commandries, for the relief of the Holy Land, the templars, after their example, and to out-do them, if possible, made the more powerful armaments on their side.

'TIS not, most holy father, continues the grand master, but that I am convinced, that in a time like this, when all the world, princes, prelates, ecclesiastics and regulars, envy the great revenues of the two orders, and contrive various pretences to get them into their own hands, it would be a great advantage for us

to be united, that we may the better oppose the enterprises of such usurpers. But 'tis for your holiness to weigh this advantage against the reasons I have laid before you, and if you please, I will call a chapter, to be held in your presence, of the priors, bailiffs, and principal commanders that are on this side the sea. You may there, most holy father, inform yourself of their sentiments on this subject, and see how the whole order stands disposed to this union. After hearing them your holiness will, in your great wisdom, and in virtue of that sovereign power you have received from God, decide ultimately in this point, as shall appear to you most conducive to the general good of all Christendom.

HISTORY does not acquaint us with the use the pope made of these two memorials; nor was it till two years after, that he renewed the project of the crusade.

WITH regard to the union of the two orders, the pope, in all probability, was sensible of the inconveniences attending it, and the solidity of the grand master's reasons; and the pious and religious sentiments that appear throughout his last memorial could not but make an impression on him. Nor is it improbable, that the pope proposed this union of the templars with the hospitallers only as a sort of reform of the first, and to avoid bringing those crimes upon the board, which Philip the Fair had complained to him of in private, and which his ambassadors solicited him warmly to examine into and punish. Not to interrupt the thread of the narration, with regard to the particulars concerning the isle of Rhodes, I shall forbear to enter into the detail of this extraordinary event, and of the proceedings against the templars, till I come to the year in which that affair was ended.

THE design of the hospitallers, as we have said, was to abandon the isle of Cyprus, and endeavour to make themselves masters of that of Rhodes. But a project of such importance required forces superior to those of the order. The grand master, in hopes of obtaining assistance

sistance from the pope and king of France, went into that kingdom, and came to Poitiers, where they were both met by agreement to treat about the affair of the templars. Fulk de Villaret desired a private audience of them. He began with laying before them the cruel exactions with which the king of Cyprus and his ministers were continually loading the hospitallers; the mistrustful and jealous humour of that prince, who, for fear of drawing upon himself the resentment and arms of the sultan of Egypt, and other infidel princes, obstructed the armaments of the order, and hindered the knights from going out of his ports. The grand master, after shewing how impossible it was for his order to continue any longer in the territories of a prince governed by such timorous politics, acquainted them with the intended enterprise on the isle of Rhodes. He laid before them all the advantages of it, and represented to them, that it would serve as a staple and place of rendezvous for all the crusades and Christian fleets that passed into the east; that the conquest of this island ought to be considered as a sure earnest of that of the Holy Land, upon account of the great number of vessels that the knights would put to sea, which would hinder the Turkish and Sarazen corsairs, from carrying any succours to the infidels in Judæa. But he added, that the forces of his order were not sufficient for so great an enterprise, and they could not engage in it, without being assured of the assistance of the common father of the faithful, and that of the most powerful monarch of Europe.

THE pope and the king, persuaded, as they generally were at that time all over Christendom, that there was not a more meritorious action whereby to gain heaven, than to engage in, or contribute to these holy wars, were lavish in their praises of the grand master, and the knights of St. John: and, to encourage them to pursue so noble a project, they promised them mighty succours. The pope, thinking the conquest of Rhodes would be a great honour to his pontificate, advanced  
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ninety thousand florins to the order out of his own purse, for the levying of troops.

FOR the better covering the secret of this enterprise, they published a general crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. The pope annexed plenary indulgences to it, with all the privileges that his predecessors had granted in the like expeditions; and even such as should contribute to the expence of this armament were comprehended in the benefit of these apostolical graces. A great number of persons of all conditions, especially in Germany, abandoned their country, and listed in this holy militia. The very women would have a share in the crusade; several parted even with their rings and jewels, and an historian pretends, that the knights of St. John sold them for a trifle, for want of knowing their value. All this money was laid out in purchasing vessels, arms, and provisions<sup>a</sup>.

CHARLES II. king of Sicily, and the commonwealth of Genoa, tho' they did not know the secret design of this expedition, furnished galleys to transport such as engaged in the crusade. The rendezvous was at Brundisium, in the further part of the kingdom of Naples, whither they flocked in such numbers, that the knights, not having transports enough, and fearing to be incumbered with a multitude of people of all conditions, contented themselves with chusing out of this vast crowd such as were best armed, and distinguished by their quality and condition. It is said, that a great number of gentlemen of the best families in Germany were there, who upon this occasion, took the habit and cross of St. John; and these illustrious knights were presented to the grand master, by brother Heltwig de Randerlack<sup>b</sup>, great prior of Germany, who, at the head of such a brave and honourable company, acquired a great deal of glory in this expedition.

## AFTER

<sup>a</sup> Pro passagio congregata fuit pecunia & armorum ac aliarum rerum copia, offerentibus fidelibus viris ac mulieribus jocalia & quæ habebant carissima, hospitalariis ad hoc missis, qui vili pretio distrahebant. Ex quinta vita Clementis V. Bal.

<sup>b</sup> Pantal. hist. Johan. Basileæ. 1581.

AFTER this, the grand master took leave of the pope, who heaped favours and blessings in abundance upon him, and the order in general, He particularly granted them, in case the enterprise succeeded, the right of naming the archbishop of Rhodes, in a vacancy of the see. The weather was so foul, that they could not set sail till the beginning of the spring, when the Christian fleet coasted Albania, passed by the Morea, and the isle of Candia; and, leaving Rhodes on the left, at a sufficient distance to give no suspicion to the Greeks and infidels, stood in for the isle of Cyprus, and landed in the port of Limisso.

THE grand master stayed no longer there than was necessary to take on board the knights that were in the island, with all the effects of the order, which being done he put to sea again. The king of Cyprus, the neighbouring princes, and even the knights and troops of the crusade that were on board, were all persuaded that this armament was intended for the Holy Land. But the grand master, after some days sail put into Maccari, on the coast of Lycia, either to take in water and refresh himself, or else to wait for the return of some spies that he had sent to take a view of the isle and town of Rhodes, and upon the advices they brought, to take the last measures for the landing of the army \*.

THIS was in all probability the place from whence, as the historian Pachymerus relates, he dispatched ambassadors, in the name of the order, to the emperor Adronicus, to acquaint him with his enterprise, and demand the investiture of Rhodes, which held indeed of the empire, but had been seized by some rebel Greeks, in concert with the Sarazens, who, to fortify themselves in their usurpations, had called in some corsairs to their assistance.

THESE ambassadors represented to him, that the order engaged to drive out those pirates which infested all the seas of the empire, and that, in consideration of the investiture, and in token of vassalage, they would furnish him every year three hundred knights, most of them

\* Lib. 7. c. 30, & 31.

them fit for commanding, which he might put at the head of his troops on the frontiers of Persia.

BUT Andronicus, being naturally an enemy to the Latins, as most of the Greek princes were, rejected the proposal with contempt. A castle which he still enjoyed in the island (as the Greek historian relates) and some small shadow of a precarious sovereignty, which the Guallas still complimented him with, made him fancy, that it would be easier for him to recover his whole authority there, whilst in their hands, than if the hospitallers, supported by the princes of the west, were masters of it. Whilst this negotiation was carrying on at Constantinople, the grand master, who expected what would be the issue of it, had set sail, and after publicly declaring his design, had made a descent upon the isle of Rhodes, surpris'd the Greek and infidel inhabitants, and landed his troops, provisions and military engines, with very little opposition<sup>a</sup>.

VARIOUS are the names that have at different times been given to the isle of Rhodes. The Greeks called it Ophiusa, or the isle of serpents, because of the multitude of serpents that infected it. Some say, that it had the name of Rhodes from a rose bud made of brass, which was taken up out of the foundation of Lindus, one of its chief cities, and that the inhabitants stamped the figure of it on their coin. But an able antiquary has shewn, that those who espouse this sentiment, have mistaken a rose for the flower of a pomegranate, which the Rhodians ordinarily made use of in dying their cloth, and which they impressed upon their coin for the same reason that the Tyrians stamped theirs with the shell of that valuable little fish called the purple.

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<sup>a</sup> Anno eodem 1306, hospitallarii cum exercitu Christianorum oppugnare ceperunt insulam Rhodi cum circumadjacentibus insulis circiter quinque, quæ ab infidelibus Turcis inhabitabantur sub dominio imperatoris Constantinopolitani: ceperunt autem statim ab initio aliquas insulas & castella: steteruntque in pugna & conspectu obsidentes pariter et obsessi annis quatuor contra Turcos & obtinuerunt finaliter Christiani. Ex quarta vita Clementis V. autore Bernardo Guidonis episcopo Lodovensi.

The most common and probable opinion derives the original of the name of Rhodes, from the quantity of roses with which that island is stocked almost all the year round.

THE island of Rhodes is situate in that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Carpathian sea. It has the isle of Cyprus on the east, that of Candia on the west, Egypt on the south, and on the north lie Caria and Lycia, which make part of Asia Minor, now called Natolia, from which it is divided only by a channel, not above twenty miles broad. It is about sixscore miles in circumference, the air is clear and temperate, the climate mild, and the soil almost every where fertile: the country abounds particularly in fruit-trees of all sorts. There were anciently iron and copper mines in it; and the inhabitants who were famous for the perfection to which they carried their improvement of all manner of arts, employed these metals in making arms, warlike instruments, and especially statues, of which there were reckoned to be in the old town of Rhodes, no less than three thousand of different sizes, all wrought by excellent workmen, and representing either deities, princes or illustrious men. The city was, if I may use the expression, peopled with them; but of all these images the most remarkable and surprizing was a colossus, consecrated to the sun, the tutelar god of the isle. Pliny tells us, that it was seventy cubits high, and that it was the work of Chares of Lindus, a disciple of Lysippus. An earthquake overturned this prodigious statue. There were few persons, adds the historian, that could clasp its thumb in their arms; its fingers were bigger than several statues, and large cavities being discovered after its fall, they found great stones within, which the excellent artist had so adjusted, as to poize the weight of the colossus, and keep it firm upon its feet. I forbear to speak of the paintings and pictures with which their temples were filled, all master-pieces of art, and the works of the Parrhasius's, the Protogene's, the Zeuxis's, and the Apelles's. The isle of Rhodes was

less famous for its academies, and for the great men that came out thence, accomplished in all kinds of literature. 'Tis sufficiently known to have been the school of the Romans, particularly for eloquence, and whither they went to perfect themselves in the talent of speaking, so necessary in that commonwealth, for all that were concerned in the government.

BUT what is yet more surprizing, is, that the Rhodians, a people of such application to arts and sciences, which seem only calculated for peace, were no less famous for their arms, their conquests, and their colonies. They excelled especially in the art of navigation; their ports were filled with ships; they had arsenals and magazines capable of fitting out whole fleets; and they became so powerful by sea, that there was not in all Asia a monarch but courted their alliance: but they never employed their forces more willingly than against pirates. 'Twas by their skill in sailing, and a wise discipline, says Strabo, that they so long kept possession of the empire of the sea.

BUT all these talents which made this isle so famous in the time of the Greeks and Romans, were entirely neglected by the Greeks of the lower empire. The revolutions that happened in their own government, and in that of several other nations, to which they were afterwards subject, did no less contribute to the fall of this maritime empire; and the ignorance and effeminacy of the Rhodian Sarazens; who, except some corsairs, rarely ever went to sea, gave the finishing stroke to their power and former reputation.

SUCH was the condition of the island, when the grand master entered it at the head of his army. The infidels, who were the main strength of the place, uniting with the Greeks, the old inhabitants of the isle, had frequent engagements with the hospitallers, and the troops of the crusade, which the grand master had brought from Europe. There was some action or other almost every day; and it is surprizing, that the ancient historians have not left us the particulars of them; but that the success was various, is evident from the length of the



war, which lasted near four years. The Greek emperor, flattering himself that if he could drive out the Latins, he should remain master of the isle, sent a great body of troops against them. The grand master, on the other hand, being sensible, that the success of his enterprize depended on the taking of the town of Rhodes, resolved, notwithstanding this succour, to besiege it: he sat down before the town, and his knights, by his example, threw themselves into the greatest dangers to forward the conquest. But as most of the crusade were drawing off one after another, and the army was at last reduced to the troops of the order alone, the siege was turned into a blockade. The besiegers were in a short time besieged themselves by the Greeks and Sarazens, who stopped up the avenues by which they used to fetch in their provisions, or march out for forage. The hospitallers were at last in want of troops, provisions and money; but the grand master found a supply for every thing in his own capacity and courage, which the greatest difficulties served only to whet and improve. He borrowed considerable sums of the bankers of Florence, and with this supply, and the money he raised from the commandries beyond sea, he levied new troops, paid off the old, and allowing them some days for refreshment, he went out of his intrenchments, with a resolution either to vanquish or die, marched directly against the enemy, and offered them battle.

THE action was bloody, and they fought on both sides with a warmth and fury to be expected between foreign troops that would seize a country, and inhabitants that are defending their houses, lands, wives and children; the strongest motives in nature to animate and put fire into a people the least warlike. Historians give us no farther account, than that there was a great deal of bloodshed on both sides; that the grand master lost the bravest of his knights; but that their valour and resolution at last carried the day, and the Greeks and infidels, no longer able to stand before them, quitted the field of battle; and several Sarazens,  
who

who despaired of being able to make head against the Latins, fled to the sea-side, embarked, and, landing in the isles of the Archipelago, and on the coast of Lycia, carried thither the first news of their defeat.

THE grand master brought his victorious troops back into his lines, and continued the siege with new vigour. After he had gained the principal fortifications, the knights, at the head of the troops, advanced to storm the place, and, mounting through a shower of arrows and stones, which the besieged let fly at the assailants, planted the grand master's standard on the top of the breach, and carried the place<sup>a</sup>. They spared the lives of the Christian inhabitants, and gave them their liberty, but the infidels were cut in pieces. This is the sum of what the historians of that time say in their short account of this expedition. The conquest of the capital was followed with the taking of the castle of Lindus, which is situate in the eastern part of the island. Near this castle there is a port and two bays, lying to the north, one of which is called to this day the bay of serpents. The other fortresses shared the same fate, and the whole island was, in less than four years, reduced under the dominion of the hospitallers. As an eternal monument of a conquest so useful to Christendom, and so glorious to the order of St. John, all nations, by common consent, gave the hospitallers the name of the knights of Rhodes: and it is by this name that we shall for the future speak of a body of knights that continued to make themselves as useful to Christian princes, as they were formidable to the Mahometans.

THE grand master's first care was to repair the walls and fortifications of the town of Rhodes, which he had ruined during the siege: in the next place, he brought all the vessels of the order into the port; which

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<sup>a</sup> Anno Domini 1310, in festo assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, exercitus Christianorum, cum hospitalariis, obtinuerunt civitatem Rhodi, quæ est caput & metropolis totius regionis & insularum vicinarum. Ex vita Clementis V. p. 72.

were fitted out immediately, and laden with troops, ammunition and provisions: the grand master went himself on board the fleet, and set sail. Of all the conquests that the old Rhodians had made, or colonies that they had settled in different countries, there was nothing left at that time under their dominion, but eight or nine small adjacent isles, or rather clusters of rocks and shelves, which were then called the isles of the Rhodians. Such were the isles of Nisara, Lero, Calamo, Episcopia, Chalce, Simia, Tilo, and Cos, or Lango. To reduce these isles under his obedience, the grand master had only the trouble of appearing before them. Nisara, called by the ancients Nisyris, was situate in the Archipelago, two leagues from the isle of Cos, or Lango, and at the same distance from the province of Caria. This isle had in it a town of the same name, which in ancient times was famous for a temple dedicated to Neptune, for hot and wholesome baths, and a good port. The grand master, in concert with the supreme council of the order, granted this isle in fief to John and Bonaville Assatiers, two brothers, who had signalized themselves in the conquest of Rhodes; and this feoffment was made on condition, that they should build immediately one galley of sixscore oars, well provided with soldiers and ammunition, and be obliged to go on board it themselves, and repair to such places as should be appointed by the orders of the grand master.

THAT prince passed from thence to the isle of Lero, which is about eighteen Italian miles in circumference. There are quarries of marble all over it: the whole isle is but a rock or mountain, on the highest part of which there was a castle to defend the entrance of the port from any attempts of the corsairs. Though the isle of Calamo is larger, and at least forty miles in compass, yet it is neither more fertile nor rich than Lero; 'tis indeed nothing but rocks and mountains. The soil appeared so dry and barren to the grand master, that he was surprized to see near the port the ruins of a great city,

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the inhabitants whereof could not, in all probability, have any way of subsistence but by commerce.

THE isles of Episcopia, Calche, and Tilo, afforded the knights as easy conquests, but not at all more profitable than the former. That of Syma, or Simia, seemed more important, by reason of the excellence of its wines, and the number of goats that are bred there. The children in this island were brought up to swim, and dive in the sea, in order to fish at the bottom of the water for sponges, which are in great plenty all about the island; and there was a law among them, in former times, prohibiting young men from marriage, till they could dive twenty fathom deep in the water, and continue there for some time. This isle was still famous among those of the Archipelago, for the skill of its carpenters, who built pinks and small frigates, so light and swift for sailing or roving, that there was no vessel could come near them. It is said, that the grand master caused a tower of vast height to be built there, on the top of a mountain, from whence they could discover ships at a great distance from the shore, and that he ordered the inhabitants, when they saw any appear, to send advice of it to Rhodes by their light barks, or give notice by the stated signals of lighting up fires in the night-time, and making a thick smoak by day.

OF all these islands, if we may give them that name, Cos, or Lango, famous for the birth of Hippocrates and Apelles, was the most considerable. 'Tis near forty Italian miles in length, and about seventy in circumference.

THIS island has that of Rhodes on the south-east. 'Tis about an hundred miles distant from Asia Minor, or Anatolia, which lies directly east of it. It has the isle of Calamus on the west, and that of Scarpanto on the south: the soil of it is fertile, and it produces fruits of all sorts in great plenty. It excels in wines, which pass for the most delicious in those parts. The grand master observed there a little town, called Lango, from the name of the island, situate by the sea-side, at the end of a great bay, and at the foot of an hill, which  
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terminates in a plain. The port was at that time large and convenient ; but some time since, stormy weather, and the waves of the sea, have driven in such a quantity of sand, that the mouth of the port is almost choaked up, and it admits none but little vessels, large ships and gallies being obliged to stay in the road adjoining, which is clean, firm, sandy, and proper for anchorage.

THE grand master, perceiving the importance of the isle, caused a plan of a castle, fortified with several square towers, to be marked out ; which, by his vigilance and care, was finished in a short time, and he left a knight to command there. Such as succeeded him in that post, encouraged commerce in the island, adorned the town with fine houses, and these with an infinite number of marble pillars and statutes : and this isle became afterwards so powerful, under the government of the order, that it was looked upon as a second Rhodes, and made a bailiwick, and an episcopal see under the Metropolitan of Rhodes.

THE grand master having established his authority, and ordered all things to his mind in these islands, came back to Rhodes in triumph. He was in hopes of enjoying there, with comfort and tranquility, the first fruits of his victory, when he found himself attacked by a formidable enemy, raised up against him by the corsairs and the other Mahometans, who had joined with the Greek inhabitants in defending the isle of Rhodes against the knights. These infidels, after their defeat, and to avoid the first fury of the victorious soldiers, had got on board some barks, and, under the shelter of the night, had landed safe on the coast of Lycia, from whence they dispersed themselves into different places, and part of them took refuge in the territories of Ottoman, carrying thither their complaints, and the history of their calamities.

OSMAN, or Ottoman<sup>a</sup>, from whom the Turkish emperors of that denomination are descended, reigned at that time over part of Bithynia, a provence of Asia Mi-

nor,

<sup>a</sup> Observations sur l'origine des Turcs, l. 3. c. 8.



nor, or Natolia. That prince, either out of zeal for his religion, or out of ambition, and a desire of aggrandizing himself, or it may be to prevent such bold and enterprizing neighbours from settling so near his dominions, took these refugees into his protection, and resolved to drive the knights out of the isle of Rhodes before they had time to establish their dominions there : this we are now going to relate ; but perhaps the reader will not be displeas'd to have a more particular account of the original, the fortune, the designs and conquests of a prince and house, which, from very weak beginnings, has extended itself, with a wonderful rapidity, into three parts of our continent, and laid the foundation of this new empire almost at the very time that the knights of St. John seized the isle of Rhodes, as if providence had directed them thither, to serve as a barrier against Ottoman and his successors, and stop the progress of the Turkish arms by their valour.

THERE are different accounts of the origin of this house ; some derive it from a Tartar, or Nomadian shepherd, who, quitting the care of his flock, applied himself to arms, set up for a dueller, and, upon vanquishing, in single combat, a Greek trooper, belonging to the army of the emperor John Comnenus, received, by way of recompence, from Aladin, sultan of Iconium, the town of Ottomanzic, from whence his posterity have taken their name.

THOUGH the Turks in general are not usually fond of counterfeit genealogies, leaving that illusion to the vanity of Christians ; yet the princes of this house, after they were arriv'd to that grandeur and height of power, which made them formidable to all their neighbours, did not care to own so mean an original ; and, in defect of truth, were forced to have recourse, like a great many others, to fable and romance. They pretended that the Tartar we are speaking of, was a prince of the illustrious house of the Comneni, and nephew to the emperor John Comnenus, who meeting with ill treatment, retired, in hopes of revenging himself, to the court of Aladin, turned Mahometan and married the sultan's daughter, who

who having for her portion the town of Ottomanzie, with several villages depending upon it, their posterity took their surname from thence down to sultan Ottoman, who distinguishing himself above all his race by his valour, laid the foundation of the new monarchy of the Turks, and left the name of Ottoman to the famous descendants of that Comnenus, who was nephew to the emperor.

THUS the romance; but instead of such a piece of flattery and imposture, take the true history of the fact as follows<sup>a</sup>. It appears from all the writers of that time, that the original of this house cannot be carried higher than one Soliman, who lived A. D. 1214, and in the year 611 of the Hegira. He was chief of one of those tribes of Nomades, who, having no particular country of their own, wandered from place to place, stopping successively wherever they were suffered to do so, and where they found good pasture for their flocks. It is said, that this Tartar, or Turk, being driven out of Persia with his tribe, was drowned in attempting to swim cross the Euphrates on horseback.

AFTER his death, Orthogul, or Orthogrul, one of his children, became the head and leader of the tribe, and applied himself, for a place of retreat, to Alaédin III. of the Selgeucidian race of Turcomans, and sultan of Iconium: that prince took him into his service, and assigned his tribe some lands in Armenia Minor to inhabit. Ottoman, son to Orthogul, by his courage and valour carried his hopes and fortune to a higher pitch. His tribe and troops increased considerably by a great number of adventurers that joined him, and drawn by the fame of his valour and liberality, were desirous to fight under his banner. He made them brave soldiers, and excellent warriors, and the success of his arms kept pace with his courage. Alaédin, charmed with his reputation, sent him a vest, a sabre, a standard, and a pair of kettle drums. It is reported, that as often as Ottoman heard the sound of that warlike musick, to shew his respect to the sultan, he never failed, if he was sitting,

<sup>a</sup> *Histoire de Mahomet II. par la Guilletiere.*

ting, to rise up, thereby signifying, as it were, that he was always ready to march at his command. But notwithstanding these exterior marks of zeal and submission, the sultan, who was old and without issue, grew jealous of him, and dreading his courage and ambition, put him upon making war against the Greeks, for fear he should turn his arms against himself.

OTTOMAN took whole provinces and considerable towns from the Greek emperors, which rendered him so powerful, that he assumed the title of sultan, with the consent of Alaédin himself. Others say, that he was not invested with that sovereign title, till after the death of his master.

THAT prince, the last of the Selgeucides, being dead, his generals, like Alexander the Great's captains, divided his dominions among them. Part of Bythinia and Cappadocia fell to Ottoman. That prince knew how to maintain this rising empire, by new conquests, which he gained in Lycia and Caria, as well as by the wisdom of his government, and the singular goodness of his nature; a virtue rarely to be found in a warlike prince and a conqueror. The fame of his affability has been conveyed down by tradition among the Turks, and is preserved to this day. When their emperors mount the throne, amidst the public acclamations, and among the virtues worthy of a sovereign, they never fail to wish them the goodness of Ottoman; which shews, that they are heroes, and virtuous princes, that found and raise empires, and tyrants and effeminate ones that lose them.

THE prince we are speaking of, being solicited by the Mahometans, whom the knights had chased out of Rhodes, put his troops on board a fleet, landed in the isle, advanced towards the capital, and invested it. The grand master had scarce time enough to repair the walls, but the bastions and fortifications were still in a ruinous condition. Experience shewed, on this occasion, that no place can be more securely fortified, than by the courage and valour of those that defend it.

The knights stood several storms: the Turks lost abundance of men in these assaults; and Ottoman, that was so successful in all his enterprizes, miscarried in this, and was obliged to raise the siege and embark.

SEVERAL historians pretend, that the knights of Rhodes owed their deliverance, and the preservation of their late conquest, to Amée V. 1310. called the Great, count of Savoy. They say, that this prince, coming with a mighty fleet to their succour, landed his troops, advanced against the enemy, defeated them in battle, and forced Ottoman to raise the siege, and re-embark. These writers add, that Amée, to preserve the memory of this great event, and so glorious a victory, took thereupon, for his device, these four capitals, divided by stops from one another, F. E. R. T. which were afterwards explained by these Latin words, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, meaning, that the valour of that prince preserved the town of Rhodes; nay, they would needs have it, that Amée, after this battle, struck the eagle of Savoy out of his arms, and took in its stead the cross of St. John.

THOUGH an event so extraordinary in itself, and so honourable for the house of Savoy, has been related by an infinite number of writers, and is mentioned too in the historians of the order, yet the strict regard we owe to truth, obliges us to declare, that we look upon this relation as false, false both in substance and in all its circumstances.

It is not true, that Amée came into the isle of Rhodes, and made war there, either in 1310, or in the years which immediately preceded or followed the conquest of it by the knights of St. John.

THAT prince\*, in 1309, was in England, and present at the ceremony of the coronation of Edward II. and the year following, A. D. 1310, in September, he was at Chamberry, where he entertained Henry II. count of Luxemburgh, emperor elect, and attended him afterwards in his Italian voyage to Rome, whither that prince went to receive the imperial crown; and it

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\* Guicheron. t. 1. p. 359.

is plain from cotemporary historians, that he did not stir from the emperor either in that or the following year.

WITH regard to the mysterious device, upon which they found this pretended expedition into the isle of Rhodes, Louis of Savoy, baron de Vaux, who died in 1301, stamped it upon his coin above ten years before Ottoman attacked the knights; and we still see upon the tomb of Thomas of Savoy, father of Amée V. whom we are now speaking of, the representation of a dog lying at his feet, with a collar, about which we read the word Fert, without any points to disjoin the letters.

NOR is there any more force in the proof they would draw from the cross of the order of St. John, which they suppose was first born by Amée, in the arms of his family. For besides, that the princes of Piedmont bore the same cross long before, we find it as high as A. D. 1304, in a seal of Thomas of Savoy, fixed to a treaty which he made that very year with Stephen de Coligni, lord of Andelot; which shews clearly, that all that they have invented to explain these four mysterious letters, is a mere fable, and that the knights of Rhodes owed the first defence of that place to nothing but their own valour and their arms.

THE grand master, as soon as he saw the Turks re-imbarked, to put the town of Rhodes for the future in a good state of defence, strengthened the walls with a good rampart, and added new fortifications to it. After this he applied himself with great diligence to restore commerce to its former flourishing state, which, before the war, and indeed in all ages, had made it one of the most considerable towns of Asia. His port was free and open to all nations: a great number of Christians, especially of the Latins, who, after the loss of the Holy Land, had dispersed themselves in different parts of Greece, flocked thither to settle themselves, and live under the standard of St. John, from which they had so often found protection. Out of this medley of knights and inhabitants, as well Greeks as Latins, a new war-



like and trading state was formed, that soon became as potent by its riches as it was formidable by the courage and valour of its new sovereigns.

THE fame of this conquest, and the news of the raising of the siege, passed soon into the west. 'Twas the subject of universal joy in all the states of Christendom. It was followed with a comparison between the two military orders, not at all to the advantage of the templars. They said, that the hospitallers had never shewn any disposition to give over the hopes of driving the infidels some time or other out of the Holy Land; that they had staid in the east for this end; and that their late conquest of an island so considerable as that of Rhodes, secured a commodious port for all the crusades: whereas the templars, by their precipitate retreat into Europe to their commandries, and by the effeminate and luxurious lives they led there, seemed to have renounced their profession, and left the holy places for ever as a prey to the Turks and Sarazens. These discourses, which were not destitute of truth, with others still more odious that were privately spread abroad, determined the king of France to prosecute his design of suppressing that order.

WE do not certainly know in what year that prince took up this terrible resolution against the templars. It only appears from history, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and a templar that had apostatized from his order, having been apprehended for enormous crimes, and committed to the same dungeon, these two villains despairing of life, confessed one another, for want of the sacrament of penance, which at that time was not administered to criminals going to execution. The same practice was in use among such as travelled by sea, if in a storm they found themselves in danger of being lost, and there was no priest in the ship.

SQUIN having heard the templar's confession, called one of the king's officers, and told him that he was ready to reveal a secret to that prince, of such importance, that he would receive more advantage from the know-

knowledge of it, than from the conquest of an entire kingdom; but that he would never discover it to any body but the king himself. Other historians ascribe this fact to a templar prior of Montfaucon, and to another knight of the same order, called Noffodei, who, for their impieties and infamous lives, had been both condemned by the grand master and council of the order, to be immured for life.

WHATEVER were the names of these villains, Philip the Fair, at the instance of him that desired to speak with him, and perhaps out of impatience to know the secret which was to procure him such immense riches, sent for him to Paris. He resolved to hear himself what he had to say, and after promising him a full pardon, and even a reward, if he told the truth, the criminal, who had drawn up a plan of his accusation, charged the whole body of the templars with robbery, murder, idolatry, and sodomy. He added, that when a templar was received into the order, they obliged him to renounce Jesus Christ, to spit upon the cross in token of his abhorrence of it; and that these knights being secret Mahometans, had, by a vile piece of treachery, sold the Holy Land to the sultans and princes of that sect. More of this nature may be seen in the collection of Peter Dupuy, where there is a particular detail of all the abominations and obscenities which this informer charged upon the order, and which decency does not allow us to mention here.

THE king gave the pope an account of these accusations in the interview he had with him at Lyons, and pressed him still more closely upon the same subject the year following at Poitiers, where they met by concert to treat of this grand affair. But it does not appear that the pope had as yet taken any method but that of private information. As the ambassadors, which the king left at the pope's court, solicited him continually to condemn this order, we have a letter of Clement's to the king, dated July 9. in which he declares expressly, that if the corruption charged upon the templars was as general as he pretended, and the whole order was

to be abolished, he would have all their effects and revenues employed for the recovery of the Holy Land, and would not suffer the least part thereof to be converted to other uses; which would make one believe, that the pope suspected the prosecution carried on against the templars, was levelled as much at their great riches and estates, as against the irregularity of their manners.

It appears likewise that the pope, either on account of this affair, or that of Boniface, whose memory the king insisted he should condemn, and censure him as an impious person and an heretic, finding himself beset with the ministers of that prince, had been desirous of a time to be out of his territories; and that he even disguised himself to escape from Poitiers, and in A. D. 1306, set out with some cardinals for Bourdeaux, without any other attendants but some mules to carry his money. But being discovered on the road by the king's emissaries, he thought it best to return back again to Poitiers<sup>a</sup>.

PHILIP, who was warm and impatient, and could not bear with the pope's slow and dilatory way of proceeding, gave private orders to apprehend, on one and the same day, the grand master and all the templars that were in Paris, and the several provinces of his kingdom. This order was executed on Friday Oct. 13th; and, at the same time, all their effects were seized and sequestered into the king's hands<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> Tunc papa & cardinales venerunt Pictavim, ubi longiorem moram, ut dicitur, quam voluissent fecerunt, Rege Francorum & ejus complicitibus & ministris illic eos quasi detinentibus violenter. Nam papa, ut dicitur, sub alterius fictione personæ aliquando tentavit cum paucis summariis tamen oneratis argentó & auro præcedentibus, versus Burdegalam proficisci: Sed à quibusdam qui pro rege erant agnitus, cum rebus quas illuc volebat transferre, compulsus est Pictavim remeare. Prima vita Clementis V. ex Balusio p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Eodem anno in Octobri capti fuerunt omnes templarii una die in toto regno Franciæ, accusati de hæresi pessimâ, unde confiscata 1307 sunt omnia bona eorum, quæ nunc tenet ordo hospitaliariorum & ipsi in carcere duo detinentur. Secunda vita Clementis V. auctore Ptolemæo Lucensi ordinis prædicatorum.

A STEP so extraordinary, caused a general surprise all over Christendom. Some ascribed it to the secret resentment which the king, who was revengeful in his nature, retained, as they said, against the templars, for having declared themselves in favour of Boniface VIII. during the differences between him and that pontiff. It was said likewise, that they had furnished the pope with considerable sums; and to incense the king the more, they added, that a templar, treasurer to Philip, had been so faithless to his master, as to take the king's own money to assist his enemy with it out of the treasury, as may be seen in the sixth article of the accusations brought against them, and recited in the great chronicle of St. Denis, in the reign of Philip the Fair. Qu'eux reconnurent du thrésor du roi à aucuns avoir donné, qui au roi avoient fait contrarieté, laquelle chose étoit moult domageable au royaume. Meaning hereby, as Belleforest says<sup>a</sup>, Boniface VIII. a mortal enemy to the king, and continually at variance with him.

OTHER historians, without going so far back as the king's difference with Boniface, pretend, that this prince, having debased his coin without lowering its value, to carry on the war against the Flemings, the templars, who found their interest touched by it, had been underhand the authors of a sedition raised on that occasion at Paris, or at least had fomented it by speaking it too freely against the person of the king. The people, who are always people, i. e. always discontented with the government, whatever it be, maintained, that there was no need to search for any other motive for the apprehending of the templars, than the avarice of that prince and his ministers, and their greediness to have the plunder of the immense riches of the order. Upon this occasion they cited the late example of the Jews, who were tolerated in the kingdom; but Philip had, the year before, caused them all to be arrested in one day, as he had just served the templars; and after stripping them of all their effects, had obliged them to depart the kingdom with their families, half

<sup>a</sup> Cosmog. l. 3. Traité des templiers, p. 1105.

starved and naked, with only a poor pittance for them to subsist on in the road.

SOME warm persons, called likeways to mind what had passed in Italy at Anagni, the country and residence of Boniface VIII. whose treasure was plundered by some French and Italian adventurers, that the king maintained privately beyond the mountains, under the command of Nogaret and Colonna. They said the king had put into his own pocket the greatest part of this treasure, which was the richest in Christendom, either in gold and silver, or in diamonds and precious stones.

THERE is still in being an anonymous memorial of those times, which might induce one to suspect, that among the motives suggested to that prince, to engage him to push on the condemnation of the templars, there were some not altogether disinterested. As the design of abolishing the order was no longer made a secret in France, after the templars were taken up, one of that set of men who raise their own fortune on the ruin of that of others, proposed to king Philip the Fair, to institute and found a new order, by the name of the royal order, and to obtain a grant from the pope, to annex the great revenues of the templars to it; that the knights of Rhodes, and the knights of all the other military orders in Christendom, should be incorporated into this new order; that they should be all obliged to take the habit of it, and acknowledge the authority of one grand master general, who should be named for that purpose by the sovereign pontiff. To engage the king in this project, the author of the memorial proposed, that his majesty should enter into a treaty with all the other sovereigns that assumed the title of kings of Jerusalem, and get that title conferred on the king of Cyprus, who had neither wife nor children; and that this prince, being made grand master of the order, should take the habit, be professed, and declare Philip, second son to the king of France, his successor in the grand mastership, and the two crowns; which young prince, by this union of two crowns, joined to the immense revenues of all the military orders, would become one of the most potent princes of  
the



the east. The bait was like enough to go down with a king that had three male children<sup>a</sup>.

BUT be the case how it will, with regard to the various motives that determined Philip the Fair to press the condemnation of the templars<sup>a</sup>, we leave it freely to the reader to decide, whether he acted in this grand affair, out of a pure zeal for the preservation of religion, as is affirmed in the bulls of pope Clement V. or whether that prince did not proceed with so much heat against the templars, merely out of the principle of a gainful vengeance blended with avarice, as was given out by foreign writers, prejudiced perhaps, and enemies to France. I know not whether we are to ascribe the letters of Edward II. king of England, to this national jealousy; but as soon as that prince heard of the imprisonment of the templars in France, he wrote immediately to the pope, and most of the European princes, desiring them to give no credit to the calumnies spread abroad against those knights, who are, says he, revered over all England for the purity of their faith, the regularity of their lives, and their zeal for the defence of religion.

BUT notwithstanding this apology, it must be owned, that after the first age of the institution of the templars, a wordly spirit, luxury, and the delicacies and excesses of the table, had begun to infect several knights of that order. The old proverb of drinking like a templar, which after such a distance of time, is still kept up, shews what a character they had upon this article. 'Tis true, indeed, that the primitive valour and zeal of the old templars against the infidels, still distinguished themselves in the body of the order; but in most of its particular members, there was no longer to be found that spirit of religion, animated by a lively faith, which St. Bernard so highly extolled, nor yet that disinterestedness and Christian moderation which their predecessors preserved, even in the midst of the most glorious victories. That happy age once gone, a  
haughty

<sup>a</sup> Louis Hutin, Philip the Long, Charles the Fair,

haughty deportment, which high birth is too apt to inspire, a fierceness which their valour gave them, and a certain domineering spirit, which great riches never fail to produce, made them afterwards pass for the proudest of men.

THE templars were accused of ambition, a fatal passion, which drew upon them afterwards the severity, and, if I may venture to say so, the unmercifulness of most of the bishops their judges, with whom both they and the hospitallers had formerly great differences, on account of their independence, and the privileges of their order.

THESE prelates, at the king's instance, and assisted by William de Paris, a dominican, the inquisitor general and confessor to that prince, called the prisoners before them to undergo their first examination; and the famous William de Nogaret, so noted for the boldness of his enterprises against Boniface VIII. had likewise the management of this terrible affair.

THE pope was not a little surpris'd to hear of the imprisonment of the grand master, and all the templars in France, and he looked upon the proceedings of the bishops and inquisitor, as an incroachment upon his own authority. In the first heat of his resentment, he suspended the powers of William de Paris, and inhibited the bishops of France from taking any cognisance of this affair, which he reserved to himself. He wrote at the same time to the king, to complain of his imprisoning the members of a religious order, who held, as he said, of no superior but the holy see; and told him, in a letter written with much spirit, that he had sent the cardinals Berenger de Fredole, and Stephen de Sufy, and expected that he should immediately put both the persons and effects of the templars into their hands, or those of the bishop of Prenceste his nuncio.

PHILIP answered him<sup>z</sup>, that he had not caused them to be apprehended but upon the previous request  
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<sup>z</sup> Hist. de la condemn. des templiers par Dupuy, p. 11.

of the inquisitor, an officer of the court of Rome, and appointed by the pope himself in his kingdom; that the suspension of the powers of that dominican, and of those of the bishops, who by a right essential to their order, were judges in matters of doctrine, was very prejudicial to religion; that the templars would not fail to make their advantage of it, and might upon this occasion flatter themselves with hopes of finding protection at his court. He complained in the next place of the pope's too great dilatoriness, in seconding him in so just a prosecution, and represented to him in terms which carried an air of reproach, that God abhorred nothing so much as the lukewarm; that to be slow in punishing the crimes of the accused, was giving a kind of consent to them; that instead of interdicting the bishops as he had done, the discharge of the essential functions of their dignity, he ought on the contrary to excite their zeal for the extirpation of so corrupt an order; and that after all these prelates were called, as well as himself, to share in the care of the church of God. That prince, jealous of the rights of episcopacy goes on in these words: "It would be a cruel injustice, most holy father, to these prelates, which God forbid, to inhibit them the exercise of a ministry, which they have received immediately from him, and deprive them of the right they have to defend the faith. Neither have they merited so unjust treatment, nor can they suffer it, or we ourselves wink at it, without violating the oath we took at our coronation. 'Twould be a most crying sin indeed to throw such a contempt on those whom God has sent. For our Lord saith, he that despiseth you, despiseth me. Who then, holy father, continues this prince, is the sacrilegious wretch, that dares advise you to despise these prelates, or rather Jesus Christ, who has sent them?" The king concludes this smart letter with some maxims and expressions that are still severer. He affirms, that the pope is subject to the laws of his predecessors<sup>a</sup>, so far, adds he, that some have maintained,

that

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy. *ibid.*

that the pope may be involved, ipso facto, in a canon or sentence passed on a matter of faith.

THIS letter, taken from the royal records of France, by Peter Dupuy, shews us how impatient the king was at the least delay in this affair. The conduct he had observed, in regard to pope Boniface, making his successor apprehensive of drawing upon his back a prince, resolute and incapable of ever desisting from what he had once taken in hand, Clement found himself obliged to yield to a temper, and relax somewhat of the formalities of law. The affair was accommodated by the endeavours of the two cardinals, and a good harmony restored between the spiritual and temporal powers. It was agreed, that the king should put the persons and effects of the templars into the hands of the pope's nuncio, which was executed immediately, tho' they were still guarded by the king's subjects.

BUT for form sake, and to please the pope, it was said, that they were guarded in his name, and in the name of the church. Much the same method was observed with regard to their effects, and the persons in whose hands they were deposited. Every thing indeed was administered in the pope's name, but among the administrators were William Pisdoue and Rene Bourdon, valets de chambre to the king<sup>a</sup>; which shews plainly, that in this whole affair, there was nothing but the stile and form of the sequestration changed. The king, in return for so slight a satisfaction, required the pope to take off his confessor's suspension, and to allow that dominican still to assist in the prosecution and trial of the templars. "Though this be in contradiction to my own authority," says Clement, in one of his bulls<sup>b</sup>, "yet I give the king my word, since he will have it so, that the inquisitor shall be suffered to proceed with the ordinaries; but this upon condition," adds the pope, "that no bishop shall examine any templars but such as are private members of the order, and belong to his own diocese; and  
" that

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy, p. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Dupuy, p. 1.

“ that those knights shall not be judged but by metropolitanans, and in a council of each province :  
 “ and that none of those prelates shall take cognisance  
 “ of the general state of the whole order, or of what  
 “ relates to the person of the grand master, and principal officers of the order, the examination and judgment whereof I reserve, says he, to myself, and to the holy see.”

THE pope and the king being agreed, began in concert to carry on the prosecution of the templars. The prisons were crowded with these knights, who, excepting such as pleaded guilty, were all put to the most violent torture. Nothing was to be heard but the cries and groans of such as had their flesh torn off with burning pincers, or were broken and dismembered on the rack. A great number, to avoid such inhumane tortures, confessed at once all that was required of them; but there was also abundance of those templars, who, in the midst of the most horrible torments, maintained with an invincible firmness and obstinacy, that they were innocent. The different, and indeed contradictory manner, in which several authors have related these facts, has left posterity the most impenetrable piece of history that ever suffered by the malice or negligence of historians.

THE pope being minded to take cognisance of this affair, examined seventy two templars himself, who confessed themselves guilty; and a knight of the order, who was also an officer of that pontiff's, owned to him, as he says, ingenuously all the iniquity he had discovered among his brethren. The pope, after this, ordered the grand master, the great priors, and the principal commanders of France, Gascogny, Normandy, Aquitain and Poitou, to be brought before him. “ We  
 “ have ordered them, says he, in one of his bulls, to  
 “ be removed to Poitiers, but some of them being sick  
 “ at Chinon in Touraine, so that they are not able to  
 “ travel on horseback, or to bear any other method of  
 “ conveyance whatsoever, we have appointed the cardinals Berenge, Stephen and Landulfe to take their  
 “ exa-



“ examination.” ’Tis very probable, that those knights who could not be brought to Poitiers on horseback, or in any other manner, were such as had been broken on the rack.

THE grand master, as it is said, owned at Poitiers most of the crimes charged upon his order. There are some historians that say, he had made the like confession before at Paris, and in consequence of that had even wrote a circular letter to all his knights, exhorting them to imitate him in his confession and repentance. The commissioners of the holy see, at their return from Chinon, delivered the verbal process or report of this confession to the pope and the king. That prince was returned to Poitiers, to solicit the more effectually the condemnation of the whole body of the templars, and obtain from the pope the utter extinction of the order.

BUT while they were taking their measures for this purpose, and laying the main stress of their proceedings upon the confessions of a great number of templars, they were surprized to hear, that most of those knights had recanted their confessions, and declared, they were extorted from them by force of torments; that they openly detested the pardon which the king’s officers tendered them, and that they looked upon it as the price of falsehood and the scandalous recompence of a prevarication that was equally prejudicial to their honour and their conscience.

IN the mean time; the kings of England, Castile, Arragon and Sicily, the count of Provence, and most of the princes of Christendom, and even the archbishops of Italy, had, at the pope’s instances, caused all the templars in their dominions to be apprehended. Garrisons at the same time had been put into their commanderies, all their effects had been seized, and continual preparations were making in all quarters to carry on the prosecution against them.

THE templars of Arragon took refuge immediately in some fortresses\*, which they had built at their own  
 expence

\* Zurita, l. 5. c. 73.

expence to defend the country against the incursions of the Moors, from whence they wrote to the pope in their own justification. They remonstrated to him, that their faith was pure, and had never fallen under the least suspicion; that they had often sealed the confession of it with their blood; that great numbers of their brethren, at this very time, when they were so barbarously persecuted, were actually groaning under a grievous slavery among the Moors, who were daily offering them their liberty, if they would but change their religion; so that, say they to the sovereign pontiff, the templars, who are slaves to the infidels, are exposed to the most cruel tortures as being Christians; and yet, at the sametime, Christian princes burn them as infidels: that if any of their order had acknowledged the commission of enormous crimes, whether they did so thro' a sense of guilt, or only to deliver themselves from the tortures of the rack, they deserved to be punished either as criminals, or as men that were base enough to betray their conscience, the honour of their order, and the sacredness of truth: but that a noble order, which for two ages had done such services to the church, ought not to suffer for the crimes of some particular members, and the weakness or prevarication of others. They add, that their great possessions were the true cause of the persecutions they suffered, and beseech the pope, that, in imitation of his predecessors, he would vouchsafe to honour them with his protection, or that they might be allowed to defend their innocence themselves with the point of their swords, according to the custom of that time, and the duties of knighthood, against such profligate wretches as should defame them.

It is not known what answer the pope made to their petition: we only learn from history, that James II. who was then upon the throne of Aragon, besieged them in the castles whither they were retired; that he made himself master of those places; that he appropriated them to himself, and sent the templars into different prisons, where the bishop of Valentia had orders from the pope to prosecute them.

PREPARATIONS were made at Paris for carrying on the like proceedings against them. Most of the prisoners were removed <sup>a</sup> thither; but their recanting the first confession they had made, and ascribing it to the violence of the rack, or the fear of torture, put the judges to a nonplus. A great consultation was held on this subject, and it was long debated, whether they should take any notice of their protestations. At last, by a very singular decision, it was resolved to treat all that had recanted their first confession as heretics relapsed, and as persons that had renounced Jesus Christ. Pursuant to this determination, the grand master de Molay was brought again before the commissioners. They asked him, if he had any thing to say in defence of his knights. He replied, that he would freely undertake their defence, and should be infinitely pleased to maintain the innocence of his order to the face of the whole world; but that he was an illiterate knight, i. e. he could neither write nor read, as was the case of most of the gentry at that time. He desired the liberty of having council, “ though, says he, they have not left me four deniers to defray the expence of such a prosecution.”

THE commissioners replied, that in a prosecution for heresy, the accused were never allowed the benefit of council, or the assistance of an advocate; that before he undertook this defence he would do well to consider seriously what he was about; that he ought especially to remember the confession that he had made himself at Chinon of his own crimes and those of his order: and then the confession was read over to him. Never was astonishment equal to that of the grand master. When he heard it read he made the sign of the cross, and cried out, that if the three cardinals, before whom  
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<sup>a</sup> Eodem anno templarii omnes qui erant in regno Franciæ mittuntur Parisius. Multi eorum recant quod dixerant. Movetur questio contra eos, utrum talis revocatio possit dici relapsio, & judicium contra eos quod sic. Unde parisiis comburunt quinque in a quatuor, stantibus eis in proposito quod veri Catholici essent. Ex secunda vita Clementis V. pag. 37.

he had appeared at Chinon, and who had subscribed his examination, were of any other quality, he knew well what he should say. As the commissioners pressed him to explain himself more openly, being no longer master of his resentment, he added, that they deserved the same punishment that the Sarazens and Tartars inflict on liars and persons guilty of forgery, whose bellies, says he, they rip up, and cut off their heads<sup>a</sup>.

YET it is plain, by the instruments and records of this prosecution, that before the meeting of Chinon, and in hopes of the impunity which the pope and king had promised him, he had, on two occasions, confessed part of the crimes laid to his charge. But it is probable, that the secretary or register, who drew up his confession at Chinon, had, to improve the charge, and render him more criminal, added several aggravating circumstances to it: perhaps too he had enlarged his confession with all the crimes which were in general imputed to the whole order, and to conceal the fraud, had not read it over to him.

BUT be that as it will; the grand master, without explaining himself more distinctly upon the subject of his confession, thought fit only to urge, that the pope had reserved to himself the cognizance of what related to him, and insisted upon being sent to him. He added, that with regard to his order, he should only mention three things in their favour: "first, that, excepting cathedral churches, there was not one in all Christendom where divine service was celebrated with more devotion, or where there were a greater number of relicks, or richer ornaments. Secondly, That in all their commandries they gave a general alms thrice a week. Thirdly, That there was not any order or nation where knights and gentlemen exposed their lives more freely for the defence of Christianity, than the templars had always done." The commissioners told him, that all this was useless without faith. But he replied, that the templars be-

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy, p. 42.

lieved assuredly all that the catholic church believed, and that it was to maintain this holy belief, that such a number of those knights had shed their blood against the Sarazens, the Turks and the Moors.

BROTHER Peter de Bologna, a priest, and procurator general of the order, represented to the commissioners, that promises of impunity, and threats of torments, had been equally made use of to obtain an acknowledgment of the crimes imputed to his brethren; that they had been told, that their order was tacitly given up already to destruction, and the pope was to abolish it solemnly in council. The letters patent, with the king's seal upon them, had been shewed to several prisoners, wherein, in case of their confession, they were promised life, liberty, and a pension, as long as they lived, and that such as could not be seduced by these promises, had been constrained by violent tortures: that it was much less surprizing, that frail men, to save themselves from torments, should speak according to the intention of those that tormented them, than it was to see such numbers of the templars endure with constancy the most dreadful tortures, rather than betray the truth: that many of these knights were dead in dungeons, of the tortures they had suffered on the rack, and he desired, that their executioners and jailers might be examined to give an account of the sentiments wherein they died, and declare whether it was not true, that they had persisted to the last gasp, when men have nothing more to hope for, or fear, in averring their own innocence, and that of their order in general. Then he besought the commissioners to summon before them a templar, called brother Adam de Valincourt, who had passed from their order to that of the Chartreux, out of a desire of greater perfection, but not being able to support the austerities of these latter, had petitioned to be again admitted into the order of the templars. He added, that the superiors and brethren of that knight, had looked upon his first change as apostasy; that they had obliged him, before they would receive him, to present himself at the door of  
the



the temple in a white sheet; that after his resuming the habit of the order, they had condemned him to eat upon the ground for a whole year, to fast upon bread and water on wednesdays and fridays every week, and to undergo the discipline every sunday from the hands of the priest that officiated. The procurator demanded, if it was probable, that this templar should return to them from the Chartreux, and submit to a correction and penance so long and austere, if he had discovered among his brethren of the order all the abominations that had been alledged to blacken their character; and insisted to be heard with his superiors, and the deputies of the whole society in a full council, in order, said he, to demonstrate our innocence to the face of all Christendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defence, they proceeded to pass sentence. Some were entirely acquitted; others were condemned to a canonical penance, after which they were to be set at liberty. These were such as adhered to the confession of their faults, and had, to shew their abhorrence of the order, laid aside the habit, and shaved the long beards, which they wore in conformity to the custom of the eastern nations. The templars, on the contrary, who had revoked their first confession, and persisted in the protestations they had made of their innocence, were treated with excessive rigour. Fifty nine of them, among whom there was a chaplain of the king's, were degraded as relapsed heretics, by the bishop of Paris, and delivered over to the secular arm. They were carried out of the gate of S. Antoine and burnt alive at a slow fire. All of them, in the midst of the flames, called upon the holy name of God, and, what is more surprizing, there was not one of these fifty nine, that, to save himself from so dreadful an execution, would accept of the pardon which their relations and friends offered them in the king's name, provided they would renounce their protestations.

THERE were great numbers of them, in several other parts of France, that shewed the same firmness in the midst of the flames: they burnt them, but they could

never extort from them an acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge. “ A thing astonishing in-  
 “ deed, says the bishop of Lodeve, a cotemporary hi-  
 “ storian, that all those unfortunate persons, who were  
 “ executed in the most terrible manner, gave no other  
 “ reason for their retraction but the shame and remorse  
 “ they felt, for having, through the violence of the  
 “ rack, confessed crimes of which they pretended to  
 “ be innocent <sup>a</sup>.”

THE king, who had the affair of the templars exceedingly at heart, as the pope says of him, and the historians of that time agree, repaired to Vienna in Dauphiny at the time fixed by the pontiff’s bull, and came thither attended by Louis his eldest son, king of Navarre, in right of his mother, by Philip and Charles, brothers to that young prince, by Charles de Valois <sup>b</sup>, and Louis count d’Eureux, their uncles and the king’s brothers. That prince appeared in this august assembly with a great court; others say, with a numerous body of troops, to shew his power, and command respect. There were present in the council above three hundred bishops, without reckoning the abbots, priors, and most famous doctors of Christendom.

THE first session was held the sixteenth of October, A. D. 1311, wherein the pope laid before them the three reasons for calling the council: 1. The affair of the templars. 2. The recovery of the Holy Land. 3. The reformation of manners, and of the discipline of the church. We shall confine ourself to what particularly concerned the templars, and the part which the knights of Rhodes came afterwards to have in this great affair.

IN the first place, the pope caused to be read, in full council, the proceedings carried on in several provinces,

<sup>a</sup> Unum autem mirandum fuit, quòd omnes & singuli eorum confessiones suas quas prius jurati fecerant in judicio retractarunt, diceates se falso fuisse confessos, nullam super hoc reddentes causam aliam nisi vim aut metum tormentorum quòd de se talia faterentur. *Ex secunda vita Clementis V.*

<sup>b</sup> Baluzius in vitis paparum Avenion.

ces, against different knights of the temple; and after this was over, he demanded of each of the fathers, in his turn, if they did not think it proper to suppress an order, wherein they had discovered such crying abuses, and such enormous crimes<sup>a</sup>. An Italian prelate, addressing himself to the pope, pressed him to abolish immediately, and without any formality, an order, against which, he said, above two thousand witnesses had deposed in various parts of Christendom. But all the bishops and archbishops of the council, and the most eminent doctors, represented unanimously to the pope, that before he suppressed an illustrious order, which, from the time of its foundation, had rendered very important services to Christendom, they were of opinion, the grand master and principal persons of the order, ought to be heard in their own defence, as justice required, and they themselves had so earnestly requested in many petitions.

THE historians of that time tell us, that all the Italian bishops but one were of this opinion, as were also those of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland and Ireland; that all the prelates of France also were of the same sentiment, except the archbishops of Rheims, Sens and Roan<sup>b</sup>; so that in a council, composed of above three hundred bishops, there were but four that gave their opinion contrary to this motion; and, if I may venture to say so, contrary to the first principles of natural equity.

THE audience which they insisted on in favour of the accused very much perplexed the pope, who saw plainly what would be the consequence of it. What-  
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<sup>a</sup> P. Dupuy.

<sup>b</sup> Interim autem vocantur prælati cum cardinalibus ad conferendum de templariis: leguntur acta ipsorum inter prælatos; & in hoc conveniunt, requisiti à pontifice sigillatim, ut det templariis audientiam, sive defensionem. In hac sententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum. Hispaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hybernæ; item Gallici, præter tres metropolitanos, videlicet, Remensem, Senonensem & Rotomagensem. Hoc autem actum est sive actitatum in principio Decembris. Ex secunda vita Clementis V. p. 43. Autore Ptolomæo Lucensi.

ever authority he was invested with, he was still sensible that it would be difficult for him to wave hearing them upon the various causes they had of exception, or to refuse the right of being confronted with their accusers, and the witnesses against them; proceedings which would all take up a great deal of time, and leave the issue of the prosecution uncertain.

THE affair was spun out to the length of six months, all that time being probably employed in conferences, and perhaps in secret negotiations, to persuade the prelates to dispense with the ordinary forms, in a matter that seemed plain enough already<sup>a</sup>. At least, Alberic de Rosate, a celebrated lawyer, informs us, that upon the fathers of the council maintaining that they could not condemn the accused without hearing them, the pope cried out, that if they could not give a judicial sentence against the templars, for want of such a formality, the plenitude of the papal authority should supply every defect, and he would condemn them in a summary way, rather than offend his dear son the king of France<sup>b</sup>.

ACCORDINGLY the pope, on the 22d of May, in the following year, having first, in a private  
1312. consistory, secured the cardinals and several bishops, who, out of complaisance, came over to this side of the question, held the second session of the council with great solemnity, and therein dissolved and annulled the order of the templars<sup>c</sup>. And though we could not, says he, in his sentence, give judgment in form of law, we condemn them by way of provision, and by our apostolical authority, reserving to ourself and the holy church of Rome, the disposal of the persons and estates of the templars.

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<sup>a</sup> Les meditations de Camerarius, v. 3. l. 5. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Et si via justitiæ ordo ille destrui non possit, fiat tamen via expedientiæ, ne scan'dalifetur carus filius noster rex Galliæ.

<sup>c</sup> Summus pontifex multis prælatiis cum cardinalibus coram se in privato consistorio convocatis, per provisionem potiùs quam condemnationis viam, ordinem templariorum cassavit, & penitus annullavit. Quarta vita Clementis V. p. 85. Autore quodam Veneto coætaneo.

THERE was nothing wanting now but the determination of the council, in regard to the use and disposal of those great estates. The pope, who was apprehensive that most princes would, in their own territories, seize upon what lay convenient for them, represented, that these estates having been consecrated to the defence of the holy places, and the pilgrims that visited them, they could not put them to a better use than by giving them to the knights of Rhodes, who were devoted to those holy functions, and had lately given new proofs of their zeal and courage, by the conquest of the isle of Rhodes<sup>a</sup>. But the partisans of France insisted loudly on the creation of a new order, and uniting the whole order of St. John to it. They said, that such an augmentation of the estates of those knights, would only serve to plunge them into the same irregularities, which had just occasioned the condemnation of the templars; and that under colour of taking possession of them, they would be immediately dispersed all over Europe, and, it was to be feared, would adopt the pride, the haughtiness, the luxury and dissoluteness of the templars.

THE pope, who, by this creation of a royal order, and suppression of all others, saw they were going to withdraw all the military friars in Europe and Asia from under his authority, strenuously rejected the proposal; and, to refute the reasons of such as were for it, he declared, that he would be answerable himself for reforming the order, both in its head and particular members, if such a reformation should be thought necessary; that he would not suffer any knight to continue

<sup>a</sup> Priusquam concilium solveretur, post habitos tractatus varios de bonis templariorum, quibus vel ad quos usus essent potius applicanda, quibusdam consentientibus, quod nova religio, ad quam applicarentur esset fundanda, aliis alia dicentibus, tandem providit apostolica sedes, regibus & praelatis assentientibus, eadem in favorem Terræ Sanctæ integraliter ad fratres hospitales devolvi, ut ad ejusdem terræ recuperationem sive subsidium possent effici fortiores ex ipsis: sed ut apparuit processu temporis facti sunt deteriores. Contin. Guill. de Nangis, p. 646.



tinue in the west, excepting such as were old and infirm, and appointed to take care of the commandries; that he would cause an exact valuation to be made of the revenues of the order, that he might the better regulate the number of the knights, and the expence to be allowed for their subsistence, and that all the residue should be employed for the relief of pilgrims, and the defence of Christian states; all admirable projects, but they were never put in execution.

THE bare promises of this pontiff<sup>a</sup> brought most of the fathers of the council over to his opinion; but the king of France seemed to come into this proposal with great reluctance. That prince, who was prejudiced against the hospitallers, insisted upon the pope's proposal for a reformation, and that proper measures should be immediately taken for that purpose; that the grand master and all his knights should be comprehended in it, and that they should be obliged to make themselves for the future as agreeable to the body of bishops as they had ever till then been opposite to them. Which may induce us to believe, that their ancient differences with the bishops of Palestine were well enough known in France. All the estates of the templars were adjudged to the knights of Rhodes, except such as lay in Spain, which, by a particular appointment, were to be applied to the defence of the country against the Moors, who were still in possession of the kingdom of Granada.

AT length, after the dissolution of the council, and in the year following, came on the last act of 1313. this tragedy, in which the fate of the grand master, and dignitaries of the order, stiled the great preceptors, or the great commanders, was to be decided. The pope had reserved the cognizance of their case to himself, and in consideration of their confession, had promised them an entire impunity. But at his return from the council, whether he had changed his

<sup>a</sup> See the letter of Philip the Fair to Clement V. dated August 24th 1312. Dupuy, *condemnation des templiers*, p. 178. & 179.

his sentiments, or was minded not to condemn them himself, he appointed two cardinals to sit as judges upon them, who, by his orders, repaired to Paris, and took for their co-assessors there the archbishop of Sens, and some other prelates of the Gallican church. These commissioners of the pope, ordered the prévôt of Paris to bring before them James de Molay, grand master of the templars, a dignity, says M. Dupuy, which put him on the level with princes, having, in that quality, had the honour of being godfather to one of the king's children. The second of these prisoners was Guy, brother to the dauphin of Viennois, sovereign prince of Dauphiny. The third was Hugh de Peralde; great prior or visitor of the priory of France, and the fourth was the great prior of Aquitain, who, before his imprisonment, had the management of the king's exchequer and revenues.

It nowhere appears, from the instruments and records of this famous prosecution, that these prelates examined or interrogated them anew, or that they confronted them with witnesses. And though such a method of proceeding was according to the ordinary forms and course of the law, yet, it is probable, the commissioners were resolved to conform themselves to the conduct which the pope and council had observed before them. They contented themselves with the acknowledgment made by the prisoners before the pope and the king, of the crimes laid to their charge; and it was upon this acknowledgment, pursuant to the intentions of the sovereign pontiff, that the judges determined between themselves to condemn them only to perpetual imprisonment, in case they stood to their first confession. But as it was a matter of great consequence to calm the minds of the people, who were shocked at the vast number of fires that had been lighted up in the several provinces of the kingdom, and it behoved them above all things to convince the people of Paris, that it was with justice that so many templars had been condemned to be burnt alive, they required of these four last, who were the chief among them, to make a public  
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and sincere declaration of all the abuses and crimes committed in the order, if they had a mind to save their lives, or expected that the pope and the king should keep their word with them. For this purpose, a scaffold was erected in the court before the cathedral church, and the sheriffs men and soldiers brought the prisoners upon it. Then one of the legates stood up, and opened the dismal ceremony with a discourse, wherein he enlarged upon all the impieties and abominations, of which, he said, the templars had been convicted by their own acknowledgment. And to leave the audience no room to doubt, he called upon the grand master and his companions, to renew, in the hearing of the people, the confession which they had made before the pope of their crimes and errors.

'TWAS in all probability to induce them to make this declaration, that on the one hand he assured them of a full amnesty, and on the other the executioners, to intimidate them, erected a pile of wood, as if they were to be burnt the moment that they revoked their confession.

THE priors of France and Aquitain, either out of sincerity or fear, at the sight of so dreadful a punishment, persisted in their first confession. But when it came to the grand master's turn to speak, that prisoner, shaking his chains, advanced, to their great surprize, with a countenance full of resolution, to the edge of the scaffold, and then raising his voice to be the better heard, "It is but just, cries he<sup>a</sup>, that in this terrible  
 " day, and in the last moments of my life, I lay open  
 " the iniquity of falshood, and make truth to triumph.  
 " I declare then, in the face of heaven and earth, and  
 " I own, though to my eternal shame and confusion,  
 " that I have committed the greatest of crimes; but it  
 " has been only in acknowledging those that have been  
 " charged with so much virulence upon an order which  
 " truth obliges me now to declare innocent. I made  
 " the first declaration they required of me, only to sus-  
 " pend

<sup>a</sup> Villani, lib. 8. c. 92. Pap. Mass in Phil. Puich. Sabeil.  
Ænead. 9. lib. 7.

“pend the excessive tortures of the rack, and mollify  
 “those that made me endure ’em. I am very sensible  
 “what torments they inflict, and what executions they  
 “prepare for those that have the courage to revoke  
 “such a confession; but the horrible sight they offer  
 “to my eyes, is not capable of making me confirm a  
 “first lye by a second. On a condition so infamous as  
 “that, I freely renounce life, which is already but too  
 “odious to me. And what good would it do to me to  
 “spin out a few miserable days, when I must owe ’em  
 “only to the blackest of calumnies<sup>a</sup>.”

HE would have gone on, but was interrupted. The brother of the Dauphin of Viennois, who came next, spoke after the same manner, and with the strongest asseverations, bore testimony to the innocence of his order. The legate, upon this occasion, did by no means gain the applause of the people, but he soon had his revenge. The grand master and his companions were brought down from the scaffold, and the Prevôt of Paris carried them back to the prison. The king, who was revengeful in his nature, and looked upon the destruction of the templars as his own work, being

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incensed

<sup>a</sup> Sunt auctores non obscuri, Jacobum Burgundionem, ordinis principem, cum productus ad supplicium, circumfusa ingenti multitudine, dum pyra extruitur, staret, propositâ vitæ spe ac impunitate, si quæ in custodiâ fassus de se suisque esset, nunc quoque confessus, veniam publicè peteret, hujusmodi verba fecisse, “Ego  
 “nunc supremis rebus meis, cum locum mendacio dari nefas sit,  
 “ex animo, verèque fateor me ingens in me meisque scelus con-  
 “scisse, ultimaque supplicia cum summo cruciatu premeritum,  
 “qui in gratiam quorum minimè decuit, dulcedineque vitæ, fla-  
 “gitia impia, sceleraque, ad tormenta ementitus sum in ordinem  
 “meum, de religione Christiana optimè meritum. Nec mihi  
 “nunc vita opus est precaria & novo super vetus mendacio reten-  
 “ta.”

Exin rogo impostum, ac admoto paulatim primoribus pedibus, ad exprimendam scelerum confessionem, ne tunc quidem cum reliquo corpore depaſto vitalia fædo nidore torrerentur, ab hujus orationis constantia descivisse, aut mutatae mentis ullam significati-  
 nem præbuisse, neque ipsum, neque ducis cum ipso supplicio affectos nobilissimos ejus ordinis viros, quorum alter esset Delphini Allobrogis frater. Paul. Emil. in Philip. Pulch.

incensed at this recantation of the chiefs of the order, caused them to be burnt alive the same day with a slow fire, in a little isle of the Seine between that prince's garden and the convent of the Augustines. The grand master, in the midst of that exquisite torment, shewed to his last moment the same firmness that he had done in the court of the cathedral, and expressed himself in the same manner. He repeated his protestations of the innocence of his order; but declared, that as to himself he desired to suffer, for having averred the contrary in the pope and the king's presence. Mezeray tells us, that he had read an account of this affair, in which it is said, that the grand master, when he had no other liberty left him but that of speech, and was almost stifled with the smoke, cried out aloud, "Clement, thou unrighteous judge and barbarous executioner, I summon thee to appear in forty days before the judgment-seat of God." Some writers say, that he summoned the king likewise to appear there within a year. Perhaps the death of that prince and the pope, which happened precisely within those terms, gave occasion afterwards to the story of this summons. The two great priors of France and Aquitaine, ended their days in prison. But Paulus Æmilius says, that one of them was burnt with the grand master and the Dauphin of Viennois's brother; if so, it was in all likelihood, because he retracted after their example.

ALL the people shed tears at the tragical spectacle of these holy knights; and several devout persons, as Papius Masson relates<sup>a</sup>, gathered up their ashes, preserving them afterwards as precious relics. As for the two wretches that were the authors of this dismal catastrophe, they perished miserably soon after. One was hanged for fresh crimes, and the other was assassinated by his enemies.

We do not pretend to draw any inference from these facts. There is too much variety in the ancient historians, and too much partiality in the modern, to be able

<sup>a</sup> Liv. 3. p. 392.



able to pronounce on either side with certainty. Among the latter, some complain, that the templars were accused and indicted for holding a criminal correspondence with Saladin, whereas, say they after the battle of Tiberias, that victorious prince cut off the heads of all the templars that he had taken prisoners, as may be seen in this history; which is hardly consistent with such a pretended correspondence.

NOR do they find any greater probability in the accusation brought against them of having sold the town of St. John d'Acre to one of Saladin's successors; since it is plain, from all the cotemporary writers, that three hundred templars died in the defence of this place; that their grand master de Beaujeu was killed on the breach; and that there escaped out of the massacre, when the town was taken, only ten of his knights, who got into a bark, and sailed to Cyprus.

As for the sins against chastity, and such as nature itself abhors, these writers maintain, that no stress ought to be laid on their confession; that, on the one hand, they were offered a general pardon, with the promise of life, liberty, and a good pension, and, on the other, they saw fires kindled to burn them; and that it is no wonder if frail men shrink, and are intimidated at the apprehensions of so terrible an execution.

OTHER historians of different sentiments maintain on the contrary<sup>a</sup>, that it is impossible to reflect on the course of the prosecution, the infinite number of witnesses, as well templars as others, the quality of the judges, the agreement of the accusations brought against these knights in all the kingdoms of Christendom, the quality too of the persons guilty, the testimony of several foreign historians, the little inclination that the pope had at first to condemn them, and what passed in the council of Vienne; that it is impossible, I say, to reflect on the nature and number of these different circumstances, without being persuaded of the justice of their condemnation. 'Tis very probable, says Mariana the Jesuit, that they were not all innocent, nor yet

<sup>a</sup> Rainaldi ad annum 1313. n. 39.

all guilty<sup>a</sup>. This is the judgment of that judicious historian, who observes, that the punishments inflicted on them seemed cruel to abundance of people, and that it was scarce probable, that these irregularities should have infected all the particulars of so large a body, dispersed over all Christendom, but that the extinction of so famous an order, ought to serve for an instruction to others of the same kind, and teach them not to depend so much on their riches, as on the practice of those virtues that are suitable to their profession, in order to avoid falling into the like misfortunes.

THOUGH the knights of Rhodes had no hand in this surprising revolution, yet since the universal church, assembled in the council of Vienne, had thought fit to bestow the estates and effects of the templars upon their order, the grand master did not think he ought to refuse them. For this reason he called a council, to consider what methods were proper to be used, in order to get possession of them; and it was resolved to send ample powers to such of the principal commanders in the west, as were noted for their capacity and prudence, to treat with the several sovereigns of Europe, about an affair of such importance, and which might be attended with great difficulties in the execution. For this purpose, the grand master and council drew up a formal instrument, in the nature of a procuration, wherein they declared, that being informed of the disposal, which the pope and the holy council had made of the estates of the templars in favour of the order of St. John, and that it was the intention of the church that these estates should be employed, as well for the convoy and defence of pilgrims, as for the recovery of the Holy Land, they had, by common consent, chosen brother Albert Lallemand de Chateau-noir, grand preceptor, or grand commander, whose wisdom and capacity the order had long experienced, to be procurator-general and lieutenant of the mastership in Europe; and that the council had thought proper to join in commission with him, brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother Philip

<sup>a</sup> Mariana l. 15. c. 10.

Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator-general in the court of Rome; brother Henry de Mainieres; brother Arnald de Soliers, and brother Arnald de Chava-neuf, both companions or assistants of the grand master; brother Durand de la Prevôté, preceptor of Mont-chalix, and brother Sauveur d'Aurillac; and that the grand commander might use the assistance of all these knights, either jointly or separately, to go and take possession of the estates and effects granted to the order, to receive them from the hands of the administrators, and to give a good and sufficient discharge for the same.

'T WAS expressly mentioned in the same instrument, that the revenues of the order of St. John being considerably diminished, and the commandries for the most part in a declining condition, through the negligence of the preceptors and stewards; upon which account there was a necessity for a speedy visitation and an exact reform, as well in the priorial houses as in such as depended upon them, the council appointed the said brother Lallemand visitor, inquisitor, corrector, reformer, administrator and comptroller in ordinary of all the houses situate on this side the sea, as well of the anti-ent commandries of the order of St. John, as of those of the templars, which were to be consigned to them. That the commander should require an exact account of the revenues of the order, and of the use to which they had been applied, by the preceptors entrusted with them; that he had authority to prosecute all persons comprehended within his commission, of what dignity soever they were, to deprive the guilty of the commandries; substitute others in their places that were more worthy to fill them; remove the knights and serving brothers from one house to another; and even to send them to Rhodes if he thought fit. He was likewise empowered, by the same commission, to admit into the order persons of noble birth, and even yeomen, i. e. knights and serving brothers, to cloath them with the habit of the order; and in particular, to give the

military girdle to the knights; which plainly points out the distinction that was always made between the different members of this body; and it were to be wished, they had never confounded so just a distinction, by allowing the serving brothers to wear the golden cross, which can be of no other use but to debase the noblest branch of this illustrious order.

THIS instrument is dated at Rhodes Oct. 17th 1312, and we see at the head of the signatures, that of the grand master's, who styles himself brother Falk de Villaret, by the Grace of God, and the holy apostolic see, humble master of the holy house and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor of Jesus Christ. And underneath his signature, we find those of brother Thierry de Lorgne, marshal; brother Peter de Clermont, vice-hospitaller; brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother René de Dieu, treasurer; brother Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Martin-Pierre de Ros, prior of Messina, and Peter de St. John, preceptor of Achaia.

THE great commander and the other commissioners, in virtue of these powers, went into France to take possession of the effects and estates of the templars: but they met with great difficulties, says Rainaldi, to get these effects out of the gripping hands of some courtiers that had seized on them. The pope being informed of the various obstacles to the execution of the decree of the council, wrote, upon that occasion, to Philip the Fair, in the most pressing terms. That prince gave him a dry answer, viz. that he had never consented to make over the templars effects to the hospitallers, but upon his holiness's promise of endeavouring a necessary reformation of that order, both in its head and particular members; besides, that it was but just they should first reimburse themselves the necessary charges of the prosecution of that great affair, which he made to amount to the sum of two hundred thousand pounds; an immense sum for those times<sup>a</sup>.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Cum ad hujusmodi consensum impartendum unâ com prælati in concilio congregatis fuerimus per vos inducti, quâ sanctitas

THE commissioners of the order spent a great deal of time, and were at infinite pains before they could force the secular administrators to quit their hold, who left no stone unturned to secure to themselves in property what had been committed to them only in trust. To get the commandries out of the hands of those leeches, they were forced to give them great sums of money; which, says St. Antonine, drained the treasury of the order<sup>a</sup>.

KING Philip the Fair dying after he had given the knights of Rhodes seisin of the estates of the templars<sup>b</sup>, Louis Hutin, his eldest son and successor, demanded sixty thousand pounds more than his predecessor had done; and to discharge this sum, brother Leonard de Tibertis, one of the commissioners that treated with him, was forced to consent, that he should keep in his hands two thirds of the money of the templars, the ornaments of their churches, the furniture and goods of their houses, all the profits and revenues of their lands, in a word, all their moveable effects, till the day that the hospitallers took possession of their estates. But this prince, and the king his father, were not the only persons that got by this rich plunder: there are some historians that say, the pope had a good share of it<sup>c</sup>.

CHARLES II. king of Naples and Sicily, and count of Provence and Forcalquier, acted much after the same manner in the dominions which he had in France. A great number of templars, who would not own the crimes charged upon them, were burnt there. As for  
their

tas vestra disposuerat & ordinaverat quod per sedem Apostolicam sic dictorum hospitaliariorum ordo regularetur & reformaretur, tam in capite quam in membris. Dupuy, p. 179.

<sup>a</sup> Quia jam fuerat occupata à diversis Dominis laicis, oportuit quod illi de hospitali magnum thesaurum exponerent in dando regi & aliis qui occupaverant dicta bona; unde depauperata est mansio hospitalis, quæ se existimabat inde opulentam fieri. Ant.

p. 3. t. 21. ch. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Traité entre les gens du roy & les hospitaliers, Dupuy, p. 184.

<sup>c</sup> M. Dupuy, p. 59.



their estates, M. Dupuy tells us, that the immoveable effects were left to the hospitallers<sup>a</sup>; but as for the moveable ones and money, they were confiscated and shared between the pope and this prince. But it appears that the king of Naples deferred, as long as he lived, to put the hospitallers in possession of the castles situate in that kingdom, and in Sicily. For history has conveyed down to us a letter of Clément's, wherein he exhorts king Robert, Charles's successor, to follow the example of Philip the Fair, and give up readily the possession of the landed estates that had formerly belonged to the templars; whence we may conclude, that Philip had made over those in his hands to the commissioners before he died. But the difference about the charges was not ended till the reign of his successor, as we have observed before.

THOUGH the pope, at the instance of the kings of Aragon, Castile, Portugal and Majorca, had by his bull excepted all the estates of the templars within the dominions of those princes, out of the grant made by the council of the possessions of that order to the hospitallers; yet, as he was apprehensive that these sovereigns might, upon one pretence or other, seize those estates, he issued out a new bull, excommunicating all persons of the kingdom of Majorca, that did not, within the space of one month, deliver up the commandries of the templars to the knights of Rhodes. In consequence of this bull, and to avoid incurring the censures of the church, Sanchez James, sovereign of the Balears, put the hospitallers in possession of all the estates of the templars. But whether the bull was designed only for this prince, to whom probably the pope had directed it, as being the weakest, or whether the other Spanish sovereigns did not seem disposed to submit to it, the king of Arragon took no notice of it, and ordered his ambassadors to tell the pope, that he hoped the design of appropriating the estates of the templars to the order of the hospitallers, would not extend to his

<sup>a</sup> Nostradamus *histoire de Provence*, an. 1307.

his dominions, which he desired might be exempted from it; and that he had been obliged for the defence and security of his subjects, who were continually infested by the Moors, to seize upon seventeen commandries of the templars, which were so many fortresses, to put troops in them for their defence, and to take at the same time into his hands the revenues annexed to them, to provide for the subsistence and pay of those garrisons.

NOT but the knights of Rhodes were as capable of maintaining themselves in these places, and of defending the frontiers, as the templars were: but it is plain, from the whole conduct of the Spanish princes in this affair, that their secret view was to have the plunder of the templars to themselves, without any regard to the right of the hospitallers, and not to suffer those great estates to be enjoyed by an order that was under a foreign head and grand master, and pretended likewise to hold under no superior but the holy see.

BUT be that as it will, after many negotiations and conferences, which lasted near five years, a treaty was at last concluded, by the mediation of pope John XXII. successor to Clement V. between brother Leonard de Tibertis, procurator-general of the order, and Vitalis de Villanova, the king of Arragon's minister, by which the knights of Rhodes not only desisted from their pretensions to the estates of the templars, situate in the kingdom of Valentia, dependent on the king of Arragon, but resigned likewise to the pope all the particular commandries of their own order in that kingdom, except the single commandry which was in the town of Valentia, and the castle called the Torrent, which the order of St. John reserved to themselves. All the other commandries, as well those of the hospitallers as the templars, and all the estates of both those orders, situate in the kingdom of Valentia, were afterwards, at the request and instances of the king of Arragon, granted by the pope to the order and knights of Calatrava, who fixed their chief seat at Monteza; and in exchange  
for

for this, it was declared by the treaty, that except the seventeen fortresses of the templars on the frontiers, which the king had seized into his own hands, the knights of Rhodes should be put in possession of all the other commandries and estates that had belonged to the templars, as well in Arragon as in Catalonia. This rendered the knights of Rhodes so powerful in that kingdom and in Catalonia, that the castellan of Emposta, being not sufficient for so vast a charge, the grand master and council were obliged to create a great prior for that principality. If we recollect what has been said in the beginning of this work, concerning the rights and just pretensions that the hospitallers and templars had to the crown of Arragon, in case of a vacancy for want of lawful heirs, we can't sufficiently admire the good policy of brother Leonard de Tibertis, who by this treaty, upon the uniting of the rights of both orders in that of St. John alone, took care to have them supported by forces lying near enough together, and able to make them good whenever an opportunity offered.

As the pope's design in disposing of the templars estates in favour of the hospitallers did not suit the secret views of Denys king of Portugal, that prince made use of an honourable pretext to get the start of the pontiff. He instituted a military order, which he called the order of Christ, and annexed to it the estates 1313. of the templars in his dominions. After this settlement, he sent ambassadors to Rome, to demand of pope John XXII. a confirmation of this new order of knighthood, which the pope granted.

FERDINAND IV. king of Castile, did not take so much precaution; and though the templars had been declared innocent in a council held at Salamanca<sup>a</sup>, this prince made no scruple to seize on their estates, and annexed to his demesnes considerable cities which had belonged to them, and had been granted by the pope to the knights of Rhodes.

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<sup>a</sup> Zurita, l. 5. c. 101.

THE conduct which the kings of Castile, Arragon and Portugal, have observed since, with regard to these new military orders, most of them founded out of the ruins of that of the templars, shews, that the apprehensions of the popes Clement V. and John XXII. were not altogether groundless. For the successors of those princes found out a way afterwards to annex the four grand masterships of the orders of St. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and of Christ, to their own persons, by the title of perpetual administrators, which brought them in immense revenues. To make the religious knights of these Spanish orders some sort of amends, they obtained from the court of Rome, in their favour, the liberty of marrying, and of leaving off the regular habit, which they were obliged to wear, and of using in its stead a plain cross of gold, with colours agreeable to the ancient colour of their religious habits.

EDWARD II. king of England, acted in a more noble and disinterested manner with regard to the order of St. John. The templars, besides a considerable commandry which they had in London, enjoyed likewise immense estates in all the counties of that kingdom, and the prior of London sat in parliament as first baron of the kingdom. Edward, being informed that the pope and council had substituted the knights of Rhodes in the room of the templars<sup>2</sup>, ordered his officers, by his writs, the originals of which are still preserved in the tower of London, to deliver up the possession of their estates to brother Albert de Chateau noir, or l'Allemand, great commander, and first in the commission appointed by the grand master and council, to receive them, in conjunction with brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator-general of the order at the court of Rome. That prince, by other writs still preserved in the same place, commands all sheriffs to aid and assist in the execution of his orders, to use all their authority in behalf of the procurators of St. John and to cause, not only the estates in land,  
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<sup>2</sup> Walsing. in Edw. II. p. 99.

but the fruits and corn, the produce thereof, to be delivered to them: a proceeding, that shews this prince would take no share of the spoils of the templars to himself, to the prejudice of the knights of Rhodes.

As for Germany, the historians of that nation relate, that pope Clement V. having sent the bull of abolishing the order of the templars, to the archbishop of Mentz to publish it, that prelate summoned all his clergy together, in order to do it with the greater solemnity; and that they were strangely surprized to see the waltgraff, or count Sauvage, one of the principal of the order, enter into the assembly, attended by twenty other templars, armed under their regular habits; and that the archbishop, either out of a charitable disposition, or a natural sense of fear, received them very obligingly. They add, that the archbishop proceeded so far, as to invite the count to take a seat in the assembly; that the count, on the other hand, declared to him, that he was not come to do violence to any body whatsoever; but, that being informed that he was directed to publish a bull of the pope's against their order, he insisted, that the appeal which they made from that decree to the next council, and the successor of Clement, should be received, read and published. The archbishop, to elude this demand, answered, that he would consider of it; but the templars pressed him so warmly, that the archbishop, not thinking it proper to deny men whom he saw armed. and in a passion, caused their appeal to be read publicly. He sent it afterwards to the pope, who ordered him to have it examined in a council of his province<sup>a</sup>. Accordingly a synod was called, and after various formalities, which were there observed, the templars of that province were declared innocent of the crimes charged upon them.

NEVERTHELESS, as this grand order was at length wholly extinct<sup>b</sup>, we are not particularly acquainted with what

<sup>a</sup> Mutius in Chron. l. 22. p. 211.

<sup>b</sup> Serrarius in Chron. Nogunt. l. 3. p. 850.



what became of their estates in Germany. All that appears from the historians of that nation, is, that the knights of Rhodes, and the Teutonic knights shared them between themselves. 'Tis very probable, that these two military orders made afterwards, by way of recompence, mutual exchanges of some of their ancient commandries; for the Teutonic knights are actually in possession of the commandry of Margat, which the Germans call Mergentheim, and the French Mariendal, though it is evident from history, that the hospitallers were the founders of it; some German hospitallers, after the loss of the old Margat situate in Palestine, having built it on the same model, and given it the name of Margat, or Mergentheim, which signifies, the house of Mary, to preserve the memory of a place, which after the loss of Jerusalem, was made the chief residence of the whole order.

The End of the Fourth Book.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K V.

**T**HE conquest of the isle of Rhodes, and the confiscation of the great revenues of the templars, raised the military order of St. John to a degree of grandeur equal to that of many sovereigns in Europe. Among the several islands called Sporades, this of Rhodes was the most considerable, both in regard of the fertility of its soil, and of the safety of its ports and roads, which drew commerce and plenty to it from all parts: besides, after the knights became masters of it, galleys and ships, well equipped, were sent out from time to time, to give chase to pirates, and the knights that commanded those squadrons

Squadrons enriched themselves with the prizes which they took continually from the infidels.

BUT these different sources of riches, so advantageous in a state purely secular, weakened insensibly a religious order. Its temporal power, carried to too great a length, was the occasion afterwards of its weakness, and the great revenues, especially of particular knights, introduced among the youngest of the order luxury, effeminacy, and pleasures.

THESE military religious, upon the return of their caravans, and after their cruizing, spent in play, and often debauchery, what they had acquired in war, and what they ought, by their profession, to have put into the common treasury of the order. In vain did the old commanders, educated in severe morals, and in an exact practice of the rules of the order, represent to them, that the templars had been lately ruined by the like conduct: this libertine set of youths, proud of the reputation they daily gained in engagements, scarce vouchsafed to give any attention to that terrible and recent example. These young untractable gentlemen flattered themselves, that their valour would supply all the virtues of their profession; and what was still more deplorable, the grand master himself seemed, by his example, to authorise so strange a change in the morals of his order.

VILLARET, blinded with the glory he had lately acquired by his conquests, was unable to support too prosperous a fortune; he was eager to enjoy the fruit of his labours, and surrounded, as he always was, with a croud of flatterers, he spent his days in an inglorious sloth: delicacy<sup>a</sup> and profuseness prevailed at his table: all the perils of the sea must be tempted to provide him

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<sup>a</sup> Desciverat a pristina virtute hospitalariorum equitum princeps Villaretus, captaque Rhodo, non ad proferendum Christi colatum in Syriam extulerat mentem, sed in delicias abjecerat: præteritisque insolescens victoriis, intentusque privatae rei, publicas curas spernebat: quo circa equites, communicato inter se consilio, eum opprimere ex insidiis adorti sunt. Rainaldi ad ann. 1317. n. 35.

the most exquisite dainties, and the most delicious wines ; and to supply his luxury and extravagance, he applied to his own use the revenues of the vacant commandries, or else, to the prejudice of the most ancient knights, he gave them away as a recompence to his favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. With regard to the other knights, he affected to render himself difficult of access ; and if he vouchsafed them any audience, 'twas always in a rude and haughty manner. The way of remonstrance was shut up to the justest complaints, and scarce a knight went from his palace, but with a secret indignation.

WHAT heightened the discontent of the whole body, was his neglecting to pay the debts of the order ; and they complained he let the house, the head of the order, want subsistence and necessaries. In vain did the old commanders represent to him, that the order was never richer, nor the maintenance of the religious more neglected ; the imperious grand master received these remonstrances as so many reproaches. His conduct, his manners, and the form he was for introducing in the government, were those of an absolute sovereign ; and he seemed to make no distinction between the knights themselves, and the inhabitants of the island, and other subjects of the order. But he had a great body of gentry to oppose him. Many of the knights, being descended from the best families of Christendom, and brought up in republican principles, were ready to submit to an authority founded upon laws, but were incapable of bearing an odious despotic power.

THE way of private remonstrances not succeeding with a superior so proud and haughty, those knights, who pretended to have been any way injured, had recourse to a regular prosecution. The grand master, upon their petition, was summoned judicially to appear in council, to give an account of his administration : he rejected the summons with disdain. The malecontents were not at all discouraged at it : they assembled secretly together, to consider of the measures they were to take. Brother Maurice de Pagnac, under colour of deliver-

delivering the order from a tyrannical sway, was put at their head. He was an old commander, pious, exact in the observance of his rule, but bitter in his zeal, and from his own regularity assumed a sort of right to condemn all the knights that were not as devout as himself. This commander, who was naturally rigid and inflexible, and besides, had probably his own private views in the revolution he was bringing about, represented to his brother companions, that after having had in vain recourse to petitioning, and the authority of the laws for redress, they were going infallibly to fall under an open tyranny, if they did not take the bold resolution of arresting the grand master; that this attempt, daring and extraordinary as it might appear, would, if it succeeded, be infallibly approved by the knights, even by such as were most indifferent in the case; and if they were once masters of his person, they might impeach and try him before the council. This proposal, tho' violent in its nature, was but the more agreeable to persons whose passions were raised, and whose resentments ran high; but there were great difficulties in the execution. The principal and wisest commanders, tho' discontented with the government, had not yet engaged in these disputes; and the grand master, besides his household, which was numerous, never stirred abroad without a train of his creatures, and a herd of flatterers, who without troubling themselves about what is right or wrong, always devote themselves to the author and source of favours.

THE malecontents, to surprise him at a time when he had the fewest attendants about him, endeavoured to bribe one of his valets de chambre, and offered him a great sum of money to let them by night into his apartment; but the servant, faithful to his master, informed him of the proposal that was made him; and to heighten his own zeal and fidelity, exaggerated the number of the conspirators, and the danger he was in of being seized. The grand master, fearing he could not be safe in the city, went out, under pretence of hunting, and made the best of his way to the castle of



Lindus, of which he took possession. This castle is seated on a hill in the eastern part of the island, about seven miles from the city of Rhodes. Besides a good port which is at the foot of the castle, there is on the north a large bay, with a clean, firm, and sandy bottom; and a little farther off there is a place called Trianda, or the quarter of Serpents; below which is a very good road, where vessels may ride covered from the east and south-east winds. Villaret being master of this castle, supplied it with troops and provisions, and at the same time had gallies in the port by his orders always equipped and ready to take him on board, if he was too hard pressed by his enemies; and to stop the proceedings begun against him, he notified to the council, that he appealed to the holy see from every thing they should enact in his absence to the prejudice of his person and dignity.

BUT his flight, and especially the manner in which, by his single authority, he had seized on a strong place, and on the gallies belonging to the order; the troops which he had thrown into the place; those which he was actually levying in the island; and the arms and ammunition he was gathering on all sides; this so exasperated the minds of the knights, that the greatest part of them, even such as were the most moderate, and had not declared themselves before, joined the malecontents. 'Twas like a general conspiracy against the grand master; they all unanimously cried out against the tyrant: and in spite of his appeal to the holy see, a majority of the knights assembling in a tumultuous manner, deposed him, elected Maurice de Pagnac in his stead; and from this precipitate election there arose an unhappy schism in the order.

THE most disinterested knights thought themselves obliged to notify it to pope John XXII. successor to Clement. They had already preposessed that pontiff about the ill use that Villaret made of the revenues of the order, and particularly with regard to his negligence in acquitting the principal and interest of the  
money

money that he had borrowed for the enterprife of Rhodes.

THE commanders were the more concerned in this negligence, in that the interest was paid at their expence, and out of their refponfions, which were confiderably enhanced thereby. The pope, before he made any determination about fo furprizing an event, fent Bernard de Moreze prior of St. Caprais, and Bofolo his chaplain, as his commiffioners to Rhodes, to receive information of the truth of what had paffed in this commotion.

THE instructions given to thefe commiffioners were, that as foon as they arrived at Rhodes, they fhould fufpend the power of the two grand mafters, and fhould fignify to them the exprefs order of the holy fee, to appear both of them forthwith at the pope's court; that they fhould notify immediately to all the knights, that in the interim, whilft this great affair was deciding, the pope, as fuperior paramount of the order, named brother Gerard de Pins to govern it. He was an old knight, of the language of Provence, of the fame family as the grand mafter Odo de Pins, much efteemed for his valour and wifdom; and not caring to declare himfelf for either party, was equally refpected by both. The pope in the fame instructions ordered the commiffioners to feize the money, jewels, and al the effects of Villaret, to draw up an authentic account. and an exact inventory of them, and have it figned by the principal perfons concerned; and that after this previous formality, they fhould remit the whole into the treafury of the order, to be employed only in paying the bankers of Florence, and all other perfons who had advanced the money neceffary for the conqueft of Rhodes.

THE two commiffioners arriving in the ifland, executed the orders given them with great exactnefs. They cited the two pretenders to the court of Avignon, and having made the commander de Pins to be acknowledged as lieutenant general of the grand mafterfhip, they communicated to him a particular order given them by the pope in relation to the grand commandry of the ifle

isle of Cyprus. That benefice, by the extent of its territory, its jurisdiction, and the largeness of its revenues, was rather a principality than a simple commandry. The castle and town of Coloffus was the chief place of that seignory, which comprehended several villages, with the castle and town of Curias, otherways called Episcopia, which had been formerly the residence of the ancient kings of the isle. Villaret, by way of acknowledgment for the pains brother Albert l'Allemand de Chateau noir had taken for recovering the possessions of the templars, had gratified him with that rich commandry, a dignity after that of grand master, and the most considerable of any the order had in all the east. Complaint was made to the pope, that the grand master had, out of favour to the commander l'Allemand, taxed it only at thirty thousand besans d'or (a gold coin valued at twenty one sols three deniers) resposion a year, whereas all the commanders before had paid sixty thousand, by which we may judge of the revenue of that rich commandry. The pope consented, that the lieutenant de Pins should leave the commander in possession of that dignity, upon condition he would pay to the treasury of the order the same reserved rent of sixty thousand besans; but if he made any difficulty of so doing, he ordered, that upon his refusal, they should dispose of the commandry to one of the oldest knights, who would comply with exactly paying the the quit rent upon the ancient foot.

IN the mean time the two grand masters, in obedience to the pope's orders, set out for Avignon. Villaret was received wherever he passed, and particularly by Robert king of Sicily, as a great captain, and with all the good treatment that his reputation deserved: every one was touched with his disgrace: nor was his reception less favourable at Rome. Pagnac, his rival and competitor, saw plainly that the change of place was no way to his advantage; they spoke of nothing at the pope's court, but of the valour and conquests of Villaret; whereas himself was looked upon as a rebel, and a ringleader of malecontents.

THE pope \* gave them both several audiences, not only in private, but also in the public consistory. The most famous lawiers of the court of Avignon were employed in this great affair. Edward Dupont, an eminent lawier, pleaded in favour of Pagnac's election: he represented, that the knights who composed what they called at Rhodes the Convent, having, in consequence of the right they had, and of the opinion they entertained of the virtue of Villaret, raised that knight to the dignity of grand master, they thought they had good grounds, when they saw him abuse his power, to resume an authority which that lawier maintained they had only committed to him in trust, and during such time as he should use it well. He insisted particularly on the power of the council which had concurred in his degradation, and which he would have be regarded as the representative body of the order, and of a general chapter.

VILLARET's lawier, after a fine harangue on the exploits and conquests of his client, so much to the glory and advantage of the order, and even of all Christendom, demanded, if the deposing of him was the recompense he ought to expect for them; and if a company of mutineers and rebels could be ever authorised to depose their chief and superior, especially after he had prevented so rash an enterprise, by an appeal to the holy see. And in answer to what Pagnac's lawier had advanced about the sovereign authority of the council, as the representative body of the general chapter, he exclaimed aloud, that the condition of the grand masters would be very unhappy, if burdened, as they were, with the toilome cares of the government, they were to have nothing but the fatigue and inquietudes of it, whilst the members of the council, like a set of Ephori, should set up themselves for rigid judges and censors of their conduct. Yet let it be considered, says the lawier, that it is the grand masters themselves from whom the knights hold the dignities which give them a seat in council; and whether it be fitting that  
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\* John XXII.

the fate of chiefs should depend upon their creatures, and that they should be obliged to tremble before the work of their own hands.

THOUGH these reasons in a republican government were more pompous than solid, yet the pope, offended at the little regard that Pagnac's party had shown to the appeal of Villaret, inclined secretly to his side. The cardinals, and particularly the courtiers, who never fail to find out the dispositions of their master, blamed openly the precipitation with which they had deposed the grand master. Pagnac saw plainly, thro' the discourses spread on this subject, that he should never obtain a confirmation of his election. The fear of seeing it vacated, by a solemn judiciary sentence, and the sad idea of falling thereby again under the power of a mighty and incensed enemy, threw him into a deep melancholy: he quitted the court and retired to Montpellier, where he fell sick, and after languishing for some months, had there a period put to his life and ambition.

His death delivered the pope from the trouble of pronouncing a judicial sentence in so delicate an affair. The pontiff, to preserve always a subordination, began with re-establishing Villaret in all the functions of his dignity; but as he had observed a vast deal of resentment and animosity in the contrary party, before he took off the suspension which his commissioners had signified to the grand master, it was agreed privately with him, that after he had resumed the government of his order, for a certain limited time, he should make a resignation, as of himself, to the holy see, and be provided with a great priory, which he should enjoy with an entire independence on his successor, and even without being obliged to contribute to the charges and responsibilities of the order; which, after several changes of priories and many difficulties, was at last entirely finished about A. D. 1323. Villaret, after his abdication, retired to the castle of Teiran, which belonged to one of his sisters. He died there four years afterwards, and in A. D. 1327, his corps was interred in the church of  
great



great St. John at Montpellier, in a marble tomb, round which there is an inscription <sup>a</sup> mentioning his quality, without taking notice of his abdication.

WHILST the order was infested with these divisions, Orchanes or Urcham Gazi, son and successor to Othoman, thought it a favourable juncture to drive the knights out of the isle of Rhodes. This young prince, in the life of the sultan his father, had a great hand in his conquests. He was the ablest of his generals, and the most certain instrument of his victories. The sovereign power to which he arrived, upon the death of Othoman, served only to inflame his courage. He was always revolving new conquests in his mind: he passed all the seasons of the year in the field, living with his soldiers in his camp like one of themselves, and as if they had been his brethren or his children; and in the greatest dangers he shewed them a confidence that was equally honourable to the prince and his troops. His capacity was not at all inferior to his valour. Few sovereigns ever equalled him in the art of setting the princes his neighbours at variance. He never failed to declare himself for the weaker side against the stronger, the more easily to crush both at last. 'Twas by this policy, rather than the valour of his troops, that he made himself master of Mysia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and Caria. out of which he drove most of the petty princes, who had shared with his father Othoman the territories of the last sultan of Iconium of the Selgeucidian race, their master and sovereign.

THE nearness of the isle of Rhodes, which is only separated from Caria by a pretty narrow channel, determined him to attempt the conquest of it. He thought himself so sure of it, upon the advice he had received of the divisions in the order, that he resolved to transport

<sup>b</sup> Anno Domini M.CCC.XXVII. die scilicet primâ Septembris, obiit nobilissimus dominus frater Folquetus de Villareto, magister magni hospitalis sacre domus sancti Joannis Baptistæ Hierosolymitani, cujus anima requiescat in pace, Amen. Dic pro me Pater noster, Ave Maria.

port thither in person a colony of Mahometans, Turks, Arabians, or Saracens; and they pretend<sup>a</sup>, that he chose for this purpose most of the families which the knights, upon the conquest of Rhodes, had drove out of the island; and who, under the protection of the sultan flattered them selves with re-entering into possession, and settling again in it. Orchanes left the old men, the women and children, in the little isle of Episcopia, which he made himself master of in his way; he then stood away with his fleet toward Rhodes. They relate, that he had no less than fourscore flutes, brigantines, or flat-bottomed vessels of different bulk, most of them laden with land forces, with which he intended to form the siege of the city of Rhodes.

GERARD DE PINS, before mentioned, whom the pope had made lieutenant-general of the whole order, having advice of the design of this infidel prince, and that his great armament was intended against Rhodes, did not think it proper to expect the enemy in the island. Unluckily most of the gallies and vessels of the order were out a cruising; there were only four gallies left in the port, with some frigates, flutes, and merchant ships, but they were fortunately joined by six Genoese gallies, which put into the port of Rhodes, in their return from the coasts of Cilicia and the lesser Armenia, where they traded. All the knights that were in the island, the soldiers, and even inhabitants, able to bear arms, were put on board this little fleet. The commander de Pins mounted on board the admiral, and as he was an excellent seaman, getting the wind of the Turks, he attacked them boldly. The infidels were superior in number of vessels; they had the like advantage in the land forces which they had on board, but they were all soldiers, altogether unfit for sea engagements. The knights, on the contrary, inured to that way of fighting, worked their ships with so much skill, that they sunk part of the enemy's frigates and flat bottomed vessels, and took a great number

<sup>a</sup> Giovan. Villani. 118.

ber of prisoners. Orchanes was only beaten by fancying himself invincible through the number and valour of his troops ; but he had only tried them upon land, and he found enemies at sea, whose capacity and skill were superior to all his forces. The general of the order having routed their fleet, made a descent in the isle of Episcopia, where, as we said before, Orchanes had landed a great number of Turkish families, which he designed for peopling the isle of Rhodes. The Christian general, to cut off this root of war, and take from these infidels (the old inhabitants of Rhodes) all hopes of re-establishing themselves there, put to the sword all that he found in arms, and the old men, women and children were, by his order, sold for slaves.

As the grand mastership was vacant by the abdication of Villaret, the pope convened, in his palace in Avignon, the priors and knights that were at his court, or in the provinces near Avignon: and when they were arrived, he exhorted them to concord, and to sacrifice their private resentment to the general good of the order. All these knights shut themselves up afterwards in a sort of conclave, to proceed to the election of a new grand master; and after invocation of the Holy Ghost, and a mature deliberation, the choice of the assembly fell upon brother Helion de Villeneuve, whom the pope favoured openly; and his recommendation, very little different from an order, had a great influence in the election, which he confirmed afterwards by an authentic bull, bearing date A. D. 1323. Others pretend, that this confirmation was a meer nomination, derived from the sole authority of the pope.

THE new grand master was not ungrateful; and to show his acknowledgement to the pontiff, he sold him some houses which the order possessed in the city of Cahors, and some large estates in land, in the adjacent parts, which the pope, a native of that city, made a purchase of in favour of his family, which he had a mind to raise out of the obscu-

ity it was buried in. His father, whose name was Arnaud d'Ossa or Deusse, was but a poor cobbler. The merit of his son, and his extraordinary knowledge in civil and canon law, raised him to the dignity of cardinal. That dignity did not make him forget the meanness of his birth; he lived with the other cardinals as with his masters, sober, frugal and modest; one could hardly, even by his dress, distinguish any marks of a dignity, which appeared entirely indifferent to him. Such was this cardinal at the death of Clement V. The cardinals were two years before they could agree on the person they would chuse pope. They at first assembled at Carpentras; but the cardinals of Aquitain, tired out with the length of the conclave, got their servants to set fire to it, upon which they dispersed, and could not afterwards be got together again. Philip, count of Poitiers, brother to Louis Hutin king of France, having, by address, and under various pretences, drawn twenty three of them to Lions, engaged them to shut themselves up in a conclave; but as the factions were still as warm as ever, and they could not agree, they resolved at last, if we may believe Villani and St. Antonin, to refer themselves by way of compromise to the sole nomination which cardinal d'Ossa would make of a pope; out of a persuasion that so good a man, so disinterested, and one who, in the midst of all the cabals had always remained neuter, could not but make a good choice. But the candidates and heads of parties were strangely surpris'd, when the cardinal, by virtue of the power they had confer'd upon him to chuse a pope, named himself, and with a clear, strong, and audible voice, pronounc'd these words, *Ego sum papa, 'tis I that am pope.* Yet, as the compromise was made in all the requisite formalities, they were oblig'd to acknowledge him, and at the ceremony of his coronation he took the name of John XXII. 'Tis thus that the historians above recited relate this event, though the emperor Louis of Bavaria, his enemy, and the partizans of that prince, in the writings which they published afterwards,

wards, with so much virulence against this pontiff, never reproached him with this fetch, the result of so refined an ambition.

THE grand master was too much devoted to this pope to quit his court in haste. He staid there, or in the neighbourhood, near four years. During that time, in order to remedy some abuses that had crept into the order, he called a general chapter at Montpellier. It must be owned that the grand master Villaret had done much less injury to the order by his profusions than by the looseness he occasioned in the regular discipline. Upon annexing of the great revenues of the templans to the order of St. John, most of the knights were invested with commandries. These new commanders, those especially which abode in Europe, applying themselves to find out the ancient possessions of the templans, or else to make the most of them, dispensed with themselves, under favour of the divisions that then reigned in the order, from residing at Rhodes, and even from paying that obedience which they owed to the grand master and the council. Most of them attached themselves either to the court of Rome or to that of their particular sovereigns; and these loose religious courted the protection of secular princes, to make use of it as a succour and protection against the orders of their lawful superiors, and particularly to excuse themselves from residing at Rhodes, in the chief house of the order, which appeared to them no better than as a place of banishment.

THE chapter saw with grief, that a military order, founded and established in the Holy Land and in the east, was dispersed and buried as it were, in different commandries in Europe; and, to draw the knights from thence, and bring them back to their principal house, declared all incapable of any dignity of the order, who had not kept an actual residence there for a certain number of years; during which residence, they must likewise have served in the wars, and on board the vessels of the order. As to the grand crosses, and knights who were invested with the principal dignities of the



order, the chapter named eight conventual bailiffs, who were in that quality to have seat in the council, of which the grand master was the head and president, by a right inseparably annexed to his dignity. Yet he had but one voice more than any other counsellor or pilier, as they are called even to this day. By this nomination, the bailiffs were obliged to reside at Rhodes.

THEY maintain that this was the chapter in which they divided the body of the order into different languages or nations, and annexed particular dignities to each language, and fixed the commandries of each nation; which commandries were likeways distributed between the priories whereon they depended.

1329. It was resolved likeways, that the grand master should every ten years have the nomination of two vacant commandries in each priory, preferably to the course of each language which was beginning to be settled; and that every prior, after the language was filled up, might name once in five years to a vacant commandry in his priory, provided he had made the necessary improvements, and owed nothing to the common treasure of the responsions of his district; as may be seen in the treatise of the government of the order, which will be published in the last volume of this work.

THE grand master, after the conclusion of this chapter, prepared to set out for Rhodes, and was come as far as Marseilles, where he was to embark, when he was detained by a long and dangerous illness, which held him near two years, as we learn from a letter of the pope in the sixteenth year of his pontificate. In

1332. fine, the grand master having recovered his strength, embarked with a great number of knights, and arrived happily at Rhodes about A. D. 1332.

THAT island, by the divisions risen in it, and by the long stay that the grand masters had made in France, was much declined in its power and strength. Most of the commanders had, under different pretences, re-  
tired

tired to their respective countries and commandries. The want of pay had greatly weakened the garrison of the city, and there were breaches in several places of the walls. The grand master was no sooner landed, but he made in person an exact visit of all the outworks of the place; he caused reparations to be made in all places that wanted them, and the city and whole island were indebted to him for a bastion or bulwark which he built at his own expence before one of the suburbs. To this precaution he added that of a numerous garrison, which he maintained constantly at his own expence, besides a great number of knights, which his presence, and yet more his benefactions, drew to Rhodes.

HE observed the same conduct in respect to the isles and other places that depended on Rhodes. Commissioners well qualified for the office visited them by his order, and provided for the fortifying of such places as might be insulted; and the grand master sent knights, eminent for their valour and experience, to command in these islands, who, by signals or light barks, gave him notice of whatever appeared in those seas. The navy of the order, under so vigilant an head, recovered its ancient reputation; and besides the squadrons of the order, the principal and richest commanders fitted out gallies at their own expence. The corsairs durst appear no more; and the island of Cyprus, and the lesser Armenia, whose coasts were often infested by those pirates, were freed from them by the protection of the flag of St. John.

IF the Christian states in the neighbourhood of these knights derived such advantages from their vicinity, the inhabitants of Rhodes itself, and especially the poor, felt the more immediate effects of the grand master's care. Under so wise a government, there was not an unhappy person to be seen in all the isles of the order. The poor did not want a necessary subsistence. The sick were put in a large and magnificent hospital, where all the assistances necessary, either for the wants of the body or for those of the soul, were abundantly

provided for them. The grand master had re-animat- ed the zeal of his knights by his own example ; and it may be said, that as long as he lived, he discharged perfectly well the functions, and justly merited the title of guardian of the poor, which had been annexed to his dignity, ever since the foundation of the order.

'Twas out of the same spirit of charity, and from the like and prudential motives, that he forbid all the knights, on pain of degradation, to offer to fight the serpent or crocodile, a sort of amphibious animal, which lived and fed in the marshes, and on the sides of the rivers. This crocodile was of a monstrous size, did a vast deal of mischief in the island, and had even devoured some of the inhabitants. For the understanding so extraordinary an incident, which some authors have treated as fabulous, we shall barely relate what history acquaints us with on that subject, and leave the reader to judge of so extraordinary an event, according to his understanding, and the probability he may find in our narration.

THE haunt of this furious animal we are speaking of, was in a cavern seated on the edge of a marsh at the foot of mount St. Stephen, two miles from the city. He went often out to seek his prey. He eat sheep, cows, and sometimes horses, wen they came near the water and edge of the marsh. They complained likewise that he had devoured some young shepherds that were keeping their flocks. Several of the bravest knights of the convent, at different times, and unknown to each other, went singly out of the city in order to kill him, but none of them ever came back. As the use of fire arms was not then invented, and the skin of this kind of monster was covered with scales that were proof against the keenest arrows and darts, their arms, if we may so speak, not being equal, the serpent soon dispatched them. This was the motive which engaged the grand master to forbid the knights attempting any more an enterprize that seemed above all human strength.

THEY

THEY all obeyed him, except one knight of the language of Provence, named Dieu-donné de Gozon, who, in breach of this prohibition, and without being daunted at the fate of his brother companions, formed secretly the design of fighting this voracious beast, resolving to perish in it, or deliver the isle of Rhodes. This resolution is generally ascribed to the intrepid courage of the knight; tho' others pretend, that he was likewise pushed on to it by the stinging invectives with which his courage had been insulted at Rhodes; because having gone several times out of the city to fight the serpent, he had contented himself with taking a view of it at a distance, and had thereby employed his prudence more than his valour.

WHATEVER were the motives that determined the knight to try this adventure, he, to begin the execution of his project, went into France, and retired to the castle of Gozon, which is still standing in the province of Languedoc; and having observed that the serpent he had a mind to attack had no scales under the belly, he formed the plan of his enterprise upon that observation.

HE caused a figure of this monstrous beast to be made in wood or pastboard, according to the idea he had preserved of it, and took particular care to imitate the colour of it. He afterwards taught two young bull dogs to run when he cried out, and throw themselves under the belly of that terrible creature, whilst himself mounted on horseback, clad in armour, with his lance in his hand, pretended at the same time to strike at it in several places. The knight spent several months using this exercise every day, and as soon as he found his dogs perfect in this way of fighting, he returned to Rhodes. He was scarce arrived in the island, when, without communicating his design to any body whatsoever, he made his arms be carried privately near a church situated on the top of the mountain of St. Stephen, where he came attended only by two servants, whom he had brought from France. He went into the church, and after recommending himself to God, took  
his

his arms, mounted on horseback, and ordered his servants, if he perished in the combat, to return to France; but to come up to him, if they perceived he had either killed the serpent, or was wounded himself. He then went down the mountain with his two dogs, advanced straight to the marsh, and the haunt of the serpent, who, at the noise that he made, ran with open mouth and eyes darting fire to devour him. Gozon gave it a stroke with his lance, which the thickness and hardness of its scales made of no effect. He was preparing to redouble his stroke, when his horse, frightened with the hissing and smell of the serpent, refuses to advance, retires back and leaps aside, and would have been the occasion of his master's destruction, if he, with great presence of mind, had not thrown himself off. Then taking his sword in his hand, and attended by his two faithful dogs, he immediately comes up to the horrible beast, and gives him several strokes in different places; but the hardness of the scales hindered them from entering, and the furious animal, with a stroke of his tail, threw him on the ground, and would infallibly have devoured him, if his two dogs, according as they had been taught, had not seized the serpent by the belly, which they tore and mangled with their teeth, without his being able, tho' he struggled with all his strength, to force them to quit their hold.

THE knight, by help of this succour, gets up, and joining his dogs, thrusts his sword up to the hilt, 1342. in a place that was not defended by scales: he there made a large wound, from whence a deluge of blood flowed out. The monster wounded to death, tumbles on the knight and beats him down a second time, and would have stifled him by the prodigious weight and bulk of its body, if the two servants who had been spectators of the combat had not, seeing the serpent dead, run in to the relief of their master. They found him in a swoon and for some time thought him dead; but having with great difficulty drawn him from under the serpent, to give him room to breathe, in case he was yet alive, they next took off his helmet, and after throwing a little water upon his face, he at last opened his eyes.

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The first spectacle, and the most agreeable one that could offer itself to his sight, was that of seeing his enemy slain, which was attended with the satisfaction of having succeeded in so difficult an enterprise, in which many of his brother companions had lost their lives.

No sooner was the fame of his victory and the serpent's death proclaimed in the city, but a crowd of inhabitants thronged out to meet him. The knights conducted him in triumph to the grand master's palace; but in the midst of their acclamations the conqueror was infinitely surpris'd, when the grand master looking upon him with indignation, demanded of him, if he did not know the orders he had given against attacking that dangerous beast, and if he thought they might be violated with impunity. Immediately this strict observer of discipline, without vouchsafing to hear him, or being moved in the least by the intercessions of the knights, sent him directly to prison. He next convened the council, where he represented, that the order could by no means dispense with inflicting a rigorous punishment on so notorious a disobedience, that was more prejudicial to discipline, than the life of several serpents would have been to the cattle and inhabitants of that quarter of the island; and like another Manlius, he declared his opinion was, that the victory should be made fatal to the conqueror. But the council prevailed, that he should be only deprived of the habit of the order; in short, the unfortunate knight was ignominiously degraded, and there was but a short interval between his victory and this kind of punishment, which he found more cruel and severe than death itself.

BUT the grand master, after having by this chastisement performed the obligations due to the preservation of discipline, returned to his natural temper, which was full of sweetness and good nature: he was pleas'd to be pacified, and managed things in such a manner as to make them intreat him to grant a pardon, which he would have sollicit'd himself, if he had not been at the head of the order. At the pressing instances made him by the principal commanders, he restored him to the  
habit

habit and his favour, and loaded him with kindnesſes : all this was not to be compared to the unfeigned praiſes of the people, who diſpoſe abſolutely of glory ; whilſt princes, how potent ſoever they be, can only have the diſpoſal of the honours and dignities of the ſtate.

THEY ſet up the head of this ſerpent or crocodile over one of the gates of the city, as a monument of Gozon's victory. Thevenot <sup>a</sup> in the relation of his travels, ſays, that it was there in his time, or at leaſt the effigies of it ; that he himſelf had ſeen it there ; that it was much bigger and larger than that of an horſe, its mouth reaching from ear to ear, big teeth, large eyes, the holes of the noſtrils round, and the ſkin of a whitish grey, occaſioned perhaps by the duſt which it gathered in courſe of time.

WE ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary an incident, if we reflect, that the iſle of Rhodes was antiently called Ophiuſa, from the Grek word *ὄφις*, which ſignifies a ſerpent, from the great number of thoſe reptiles which infeſted that iſland. Hyginus a Greek hiſtorian relates upon the teſtimony of Polyzelus a Rhodian, that a Theſſalian, ſon of Triopas, or of Lapithas according to Diodorus Siculus, having been thrown by a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Rhodes, happily exterminated thoſe miſchievous animals ; that Phorbas among the reſt killed one of them of a prodigious bignefs, which devoured the inhabitants. The learned Bochart pretends, that the Phœnicians called this iſland by the name of Geſirath-Rod, i. e. the iſle of Serpents ; Geſirath, according to that author, being a term common to the Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabians and Chaldeans, for ſignifying an iſland, and Rod in the Phœnician tongue, ſignifying a ſerpent ; ſo that joining theſe two words together, they formed that of Geſirath-Rod, whence the Greeks afterwards made that of Rhodes, which the iſle has preſerved to this day. But without dwelling upon a point of antiquity ſo very remote from us, perhaps ſuch as have criticifed upon this paſſage of the  
modern

<sup>a</sup> Edition de 1637.

modern history of the isle of Rhodes, have not considered a like event that happened in Africa, whilst Attilius Regulus commanded the Roman army there, and was making war against the Carthaginians; and I do not think it foreign to my subject, to give an exact relation of what the historians of that nation tell us of a serpent still more monstrous and terrible than that killed by the knight de Gozon.

THE Roman army, say these writers, was encamped in Africa near the river Bagradas. The soldiers going to the water were attacked and devoured by a serpent which hindered them from coming near it. He had swallowed up several with his dreadful mouth; others were killed with the lashes of his tail, and several died merely by the infection of his breath. In a word, he gave so much trouble to Regulus, that that general was obliged to employ his legions against the monster, to try which should be master of the river. But as the serpent, by reason of the hardness of his scales, was impenetrable to all the javelins of the soldiers, they had recourse to their military engines; they besieged him as they would have done a fortress; they hurled stones and flints against him at a distance; at last, after abundance of fatigue and sweat, a stone of extraordinary size, thrown from the strongest machine, struck him by good fortune, broke his back bone and killed the terrible monster.

REGULUS, as great a general as he was, say these historians, did not think the skin of this monstrous animal unworthy of being sent to Rome: it was a hundred foot long, and they hung it up in a temple, as a monument of his victory, and it remained there till the Numantine war. Thus it is that Florus, Valerius Maximus, Orosius, Aulus Gellius and Zonaras relate this matter.

I DO not maintain that there has been no exaggeration in the length of the African serpent, nor assert every thing that is told of the monstrous bulk of the crocodile of Rhodes; but what appears certain from the historians of that time, from tradition, and even from

from inscriptions and authentic monuments, is, that Gozon killed a terrible animal, and by that action acquired a great reputation, especially with the people of Rhodes, who looked upon him as their deliverer.

THE grand master, to make him some amends for the mortification he had given him, conferred rich commandries upon him : he took him afterwards to be near his person, and finding a prudence in him equal to his bravery, he made him at last his lieutenant general in the government of the island ; from an opinion he had that so valiant and resolute a knight, who had exposed his life so generously for the safety of the inhabitants of the isle, would, in case of war or surprize, defend them better than any body else against all the attempts of the infidels.

THOSE Barbarians, informed of the forces and vigilance of the grand master, and discouraged by the ill success of their arms, left off their usual roving and pillaging for a time. Rhodes and the other isles of the order enjoyed a profound peace for several years. This security proved in the end prejudicial to the order : they fitted out fewer vessels ; their sea affairs were neglected ; most of the knights, finding no employment for their arms, returned into their own country ; and several commanders, those especially of the kingdoms of the north, under pretence of this apparent calm, neglected to pay their responsions. This disobedience arose from the expence these commanders made in their provinces. Most of them kept little correspondence with the chief house of the order : they seemed to look upon themselves as proprietors of their commandries, and instead of the novices and private knights which every commander was obliged to maintain in his house, and educate in the spirit of the order, nothing was seen but a worthless crowd of valets and hunting equipages. The relations too of the greatest part of these commanders often consumed the bread of the poor, and the revenues appointed for the defence of the Christian dominions.

THE people who used to see their predecessors live like true religious, were soon scandalized at a life so entirely secular. Some good men complained of it to pope Benedict XII. who had lately succeeded John XXII. They represented to him that the hospitallers, by inheriting the immense revenues of the templars, had like them fallen into luxury, and been infected with the dangerous and contagious corruptions that arise from great riches; that whilst the templars subsisted, the emulation between these two military orders engaged them both to vie with one another in armaments and enterprises always useful to Christianity; but that since the extinction of that order, the commanders of the order of hospitallers, whose thoughts were taken up with their pleasures, seemed to shun danger, and neglected the convoy and defence of the pilgrims that went out of devotion to the holy Land. Some secret enemies of the hospitallers, or rather some greedy courtiers, such as are always grasping at other people's substance, and bent upon enriching themselves, proposed to the pope, to resume the estates of the templars out of the hands of the hospitallers; others less self-interested were of opinion, that they should be employed in the foundation of a new military order. The pope, without entering into these different projects, to re-animate the courage of the hospitallers, designed to bring them into a league he was forming against the Turks, who were growing every day more formidable; but his death, which happened a little time afterwards, prevented the execution of his project.

SOME African corsairs having at the same time made descents upon the coasts of the isles of Cyprus and Candia, and ravaged those of the Archipelago, which were less able to make a defence, furnished occasion for new complaints against the hospitallers. They represented to Clement VI. successor to Benedict XII. that the Christians of the Levant were abandoned as a prey to the infidels, whilst most of the knights being retired in the west, either upon their commandries, or at the courts of Christian princes, were taken up with



nothing but their pleasures, or the care of amassing wealth; and that the grand master and the knights that continued with him at Rhodes, secured from the insults of the Barbarians by the fortifications of the place, lived in an utter indifference of what passed at sea. What gave weight to these complaints and murmurs of the public, was, that some chaplains, religious of the order, and some of its Esquires or serving brothers, had sent secret memorials to the court of Avignon against the grand master and the knights, complaining, that in midst of the luxury and effeminacy wherein they lived, they were not ashamed to let them want cloaths, and the necessary sustenance of life. The pope teased with these complaints, wrote about them to the grand master in sharp and reproachful terms.

“ WE are informed, says the pontiff to him, by  
 “ persons of merit and distinction, that it is the com-  
 “ mon sentiment of the clergy, and indeed of all the  
 “ Christian world, that you and your brother com-  
 “ panions scarce make any good use of the immense  
 “ estates you possess, as well on this side as beyond  
 “ the sea. Those who have the administration of  
 “ them ride, say they, fine horses, make good cheer,  
 “ are richly dressed, are served in gold and silver,  
 “ keep abundance of dogs and hawks for hunting and  
 “ game, lay up great treasures, give little alms, and  
 “ neglect the defence of the Christians, especially of  
 “ those beyond sea. For this reason it has been un-  
 “ der consideration, whether it would not be proper  
 “ for the holy see to institute a new military order, and  
 “ endow it with part of your revenues, in order to  
 “ raise and keep up a laudable emulation between the  
 “ two orders, as there was formerly between you and  
 “ the templars: this however we have not yet thought  
 “ fit to put in execution, out of the just confidence we  
 “ have that you will immediately restore the antient  
 “ discipline, and make a general reformation of man-  
 “ ners in your order.”

THE pope in the same letter adds, that he had advice, the Turks were making great preparations for the conquest

quest of all Romania. 'Tis not clear, whether by that term he meant only the province which bears that name, or whether, according to the Turkish and Arabian use of the expression, he comprehended under that name all the states which composed at that time what they called in the east the Roman empire; an enterprise, says the pontiff, which would draw along with it the utter ruin of the Christian religion. The pope added farther, that in order to prevent so terrible a calamity, he had formed the plan of a naval armament, composed of the gallies of several princes, that should keep the sea, and might join and act in concert, either to hinder the descent of the Barbarians, or to carry succours to such places as should be attacked; that the king of Cyprus had agreed to furnish for his quota four gallies, and the republic of Venice five; that he ordered the knights of Rhodes to put six to sea, and the holy see would maintain four. "Though," says the pontiff, we have had remonstrances made us by several of our brethren the cardinals, that your order was rich and powerful enough, not only to save the holy see the charges of this armament, but also to put a whole fleet to sea at their own expence; and that there was in your treasury more gold and silver than could be found in that of any Christian prince whatever, without reckoning the considerable sums which your priors and commanders are scraping together for themselves." The pope concluded this letter with telling the grand master, that the church was but sorely edified with the particular enmities of the knights between one another; adding at last, that complaints had been made to the holy see that they were negligent in providing for the subsistence of the chaplains and serving brothers.

THO' the grand master saw plainly they had imposed on the pope's zeal for religion, by the exaggeration made of the riches of the order, yet, like a true religious, he resolved to obey. They fitted out immediately six gallies in the port of Rhodes; and for their maintenance and expence, he, by the advice, and in

concert with the sovereign council, appropriated a particular fund, arising from the succession of commanders deceased, viz. the rights of mortuaries and vacancies. The mortuary, as is practised even now, was levied upon the revenues of the commandry, from the day of the commander's decease till May first next ensuing, and from that day the vacancy commenced, and held till May the first of the following year; before that time the new commander could not enter upon the enjoyment of the revenues of the commandry.

THE grand master and council made afterwards several regulations for the reformation of manners, especially in respect to the provinces of the west. The knights were among other things forbid to wear cloth that cost more than two florins a canne, a measure which in several provinces of France contains two thirds more than the ell of Paris. And by the same regulation they were forbid the use of delicious wines, and the having more kind of meats than one on the same day: a wise and useful discipline; and happy it were for the order, was it to be revived in our days.

THREE<sup>a</sup> visitors were appointed to carry these regulations to the pope, to desire him to add or retrench as he should see fitting, and invest the commissioners which they sent with his apostolical authority, that they might be in a condition to enforce a more exact observance of them.

THE pope was exceedingly moved and affected with the grand master's ready obedience; and to show the like generous care of the common cause, he fitted out the four gallies that he was to furnish for his quota, to which those of the king of Cyprus, the order of St. John and republic of Venice joined themselves, under the general command of a Genoese captain, Gingarrìa by name. This little fleet kept the sea all the summer, but without attempting any thing answerable to their strength,

<sup>a</sup> Odo de Montaigu prior of Auvergne, Efnard d'Albarno prior of Capua, Peter Plantin prior of the church.

strength, and the expence the allies were at for this armament. The Genoese general, more mindful of his interest than his glory, made use of his authority to load the gallies with divers sorts of merchandize, and employed the money confided to him for the charges of the campaign, to his own private advantage. Henry, titular patriarch of Constantinople, legate of the holy see, mounted on board the admiral galley, and in that quality had the supreme command, according to the politics of the popes, who always assumed it in those wars that were raised for the sake of religion. This prelate, in imitation of the Genoese general, acted more like a merchant than a delegate of the sovereign pontiff. The year following, the allies, full of indignation against the Genoese, chose for their general brother John de Biandra, knight of Rhodes, prior of Lombardy, who had the particular command of the gallies of the order.

THE new general formed a design worthy of his valour. The port of Smyrna, a considerable city of Anatolia, served often for a retreat to the Turkish corsairs who were masters of the city. Biandra having, besides the soldiers on board his fleet, taken in at Rhodes a great number of troops commanded by valiant knights, formed the siege of the place and took it by storm. Some historians pretend that he took only the castle, which was seated by the sea side, and commanded the entrance of the port. All the soldiers in the fort both Turks and Arabians, were cut to pieces. The grand master having advice of it, knowing the importance of that fortress, sent fresh troops immediately thither, with arms and provisions to reinforce the garrison. There are still to be seen upon the gates of the castle, tho' fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of this conquest, the whole honour of which they ascribed to the pope, as head of the league, tho' the knights of Rhodes had the greatest share in it. A Turk called Morbassan, who commanded in the higher town and over all the country, attempted a year after to drive the Christians

out of the place. He laid siege to it, but after three months spent in smart attacks and a gallant defence, he made a feint of abandoning his enterprize, or at least of turning the siege into a blockade. The greatest part of his troops drew off, and only a small number was left in his camp. The Christians having notice of his retreat, made a furious sally, easily forced the intrenchments, which were ill defended, broke into the camp, and put to the sword or took prisoners all that made resistance, or did not save themselves by a speedy flight. They celebrated this victory upon the same spot on which they had obtained it, with the sound of military instruments, with feasting, and a joy which was so much the more dangerous as the enemy was not far off.

MORBASSAN, whom they fancied a great way up in the country, but who only lay concealed with his troops behind the neighbouring mountains, having notice of it by certain signals, marched down, and finding the Christians in disorder, made a cruel slaughter of them in his turn. The greatest loss fell upon the knights of Rhodes: and the pope's legate who was come into the Camp to partake in the public joy, lost there his life, as well as most of the officers and ecclesiastics of his household. The knights who escaped the fury of the Barbarians got back to the fort, and held it out, by help of a new reinforcement, against all the efforts of the Turks and other infidels.

THE dismal news of this disgrace, passing into Europe, the pope to repair it published a crusade with all the indulgences annexed to the first. Humbert II. Dauphin of Viennois, pressed with great earnestness to be declared the chief and general of it. He was a prince of mean parts, naturally vain, inconstant in his projects, and less affected with their solidity, than the lustre and distinctions with which they were attended. He came in person to the court of pope Clement VI. to solicit this employ. In the petition which he presented on that account to the sovereign pontiff, he intreated him to grant him the “ post of captain of this  
“ holy



“ holy expedition against the Turks, and all that were  
 “ not loyal to the church of Rome, which all people,  
 “ as well hospitallers as others, were obliged and bound  
 “ to obey by sea and land.”

To engage the pope to grant him the generalship, he offered to maintain at his own expence in this war three hundred men of arms, a thousand cross-bow men, to furnish five ships of war well equipped, and to bring with him twelve banners and a hundred knights: glaring promises! but as much beyond his ability, as the post of general of an army was above his experience and capacity.

SOME <sup>a</sup> cardinals of the pope's council, who were not prepossessed in favour of this prince's courage, were against his demand; but the sovereign pontiff's inclination prevailed and carried with it all the voices. <sup>b</sup> Humbert was chose general of the Christian army; the pope gave him the oath, and he obliged himself at the same time, by a solemn vow, to spend three whole years in that holy expedition. But as for the mighty armament that he was to furnish by sea and land, it was all reduced to an hundred men of arms; and there was no difficulty in judging of the success of the expedition by the choice of the general. The next day, being the feast of Corpus Christi, he received from the pope's hands the cross and standard of the church, which he had carried before him in the streets of Avignon, with his own particular standard a-breast; thus followed by a numerous retinue, he returned in great pomp to his house; a ceremonial, which in default of a solid glory, gratified the vanity of the man. The great business was to find out funds to supply the expence of so long an expedition.

The

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Villani Hist. l. 2. c. 26. pag. 19. Edit. de Flor.

<sup>b</sup> Et quia inter cæteros principes habui (providere de aliquo duce & capitaneo exercitui agminis Domini Dei Israel) reperi instantem sæpius, supplicantem humiliter, optantem ardentius, offerentem liberalius, dilectum filium Imbertum Dalphinum Viennensem, hic præsentem: idcirco ipsum de fratrum nostrorum consilio ducem & capitaneum contra Turcos exercitus duximus deputandum. Baluz, in Not. ad vit. Papparum Avenion. pag. 890.

The dauphin had recourse to an extraordinary impost, which he laid upon all his subjects; and then prepared for his departure with the princess Mary des Baux his wife, who, during the time the dauphin was at sea, retired to the city of Rhodes and there died.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the disgraces that had happened to the Christians in the holy Land, expeditions beyond sea were still as frequent as ever; and what rendered the enterprize more easy, was that for a sum of money agreed on with the masters of ships, they never wanted vessels in most of the ports of the Mediterranean ready to put to sea, and provided with all necessaries either for navigation or for fighting.

THE dauphin having bargained for four of these ships at six hundred fifty florins each per month, embarked at Marseilles the second of September, on board this little hackney squadron, which carried him first to Venice, the place of rendezvous for all persons engaged in the crusade. He went from thence to the isle of Negropont, where four vessels of the pope's, one of Rhodes, and another of Venice joined him. The prior of Lombardy, at his arrival, retired on board the galleys of the order, taking on himself the particular command of that squadron: 'tis believed the dauphin passed the winter in that island. The year following he was at sea with the whole fleet of the crusades, and contributed to make the Turks raise the siege of Caffa, a town at that time belonging to the Genoese; and the Christian fleet having had some other advantages over that of the infidels, this the dauphin was not a little proud of. The pope foreseeing that the war could not be carried on with success, without providing for the crusade the funds necessary to defray the expence of it, had recourse to an extraordinary tax, which he laid upon all ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England. But the bloody war made by the English at that time in France, and the loss of the battle of Crecy<sup>a</sup>, where

<sup>a</sup> Memoires de Pilati, Hist. de Dauphiné, act. 284.

where seventeen hundred and sixteen French knights were slain, not allowing the raising of this money, the pope fearing that the charges of the crusade would fall entirely upon himself, very gladly embraced the project of a truce with the infidels, which the dauphin proposed to him.

THAT prince wrote to him from Rhodes, where he was retired for the winter, that the Turks appeared inclined to peace, and that they might easily enter into a treaty with them. The pope was heartily ashamed of demanding peace of an enemy whom they were come so far in search of to make war upon; but the fear of being obliged to bear all the expence of it out of his own purse, made him wish to see it ended. He wrote to the dauphin to find out expedients that in this negotiation might save the honour of the league and the interest of religion. He even went so far as to prescribe him the forms and decorums to be observed in treating with the infidels; but it does not appear that the treaty was concluded. The dauphin, after receiving the pope's dispensation of the vow he had made to spend three whole years in that expedition, returned to his own dominions. Upon the death of Mary des Baux his wife, he had thoughts of marrying again with Blanche, sister to Amadeus, Count of Savoy, and the contract for it was signed; but the dauphin having slighted the good offices which the count of Savoy employed to engage him to restore the castle of Mirabel to the seignior of Beaujeu, the little regard shewed to his request caused a rupture of the marriage. The dauphin afterwards turned his thoughts towards Jane, eldest daughter of Peter de Bourbon, and engaged in it by a solemn treaty. But notwithstanding the honour he would have received from such an alliance, being constantly tossed and hurried with his usual irresolutions, he could not resolve to bring the affair to a conclusion<sup>a</sup>. This prince not finding in war, and in the path that others take to find it, the distinction and glory that he  
sought

<sup>a</sup> Registre Palati ad annum, 1348 & 1349.

sought after, fancied he might succeed better in a way that was entirely opposite. He quitted the profession of arms and the government of his dominions, and entered himself among the Dominicans. He resigned Dauphiné to the king of France, who reunited it to his crown from which it had been severed formerly; and to fix the inconstancy of the dauphin, the pope at the king's request ordained him priest. He afterwards undertook the administration of the archbishoprick of Rheims, but without quitting his religious habit which he wore all his life. Thus lived he a sovereign without subjects, a general without troops or experience, a husband without a wife, a monk without a convent, a priest without a title and without jurisdiction; and in all these different conditions without ever having done any good to his province, but in resigning it into the hands of our kings. They likewise reproach his memory, and that pretty justly too, for having taken from the prior Biandra the command of the Christian fleet, which under that general, had made itself terrible to the infidels, and afterwards made fresh acquisitions of glory under the same command.

ABOUT that time the order lost the grand master de Villeneuve, a prince highly to be praised for  
 1346. his œconomy, who during his mastership paid all the debts of the order, repaired and enlarged the fortifications necessary for the defence of the island and city of Rhodes; and besides built at his own expence, as a monument of his piety, a church in honour of the holy virgin, and dedicated it to her; and left a sufficient fund for the maintenance of two chaplains to say mass there every day for the repose of his soul.

A GREAT number of pretenders offered themselves for his dignity. The oldest knights, who professed a regular life, were for such as appeared most likely to keep up the discipline of the order. But the younger, without examining too nicely into the regularity of their manners, wished only to have a great captain, that might head them in war, and be the means of ac-  
 quiring

quiring them glory and riches : such a choice was not without difficulty, The commander de Gozon before-mentioned was one of the electors. When it was his turn to give his voice. “ When I entered, says he, “ into this conclave, I made a solemn oath, that I “ would not propose any one but such a knight as I “ should judge most deserving of this great dignity, “ and to have the best intentions for the general good “ of the whole order ; and after having seriously con- “ sidered the present state of Christendom, the wars “ which we are obliged to maintain continually against “ the infidels, the resolution and vigour necessary to “ prevent a relaxation in discipline, I declare that I “ find no body better qualified for the government of “ our order than myself.” He then made a fine harangue upon his own virtues. The fight against the serpent was not forgot, but he insisted chiefly on his conduct from the time that the grand master de Ville-neuve had made him his lieutenant. “ You have al- “ ready, says he to the other electors, had some experi- “ ence of my government ; you know what you are to “ expect from it, and I do not think you can refuse me “ your votes without doing me injustice.”

How deserving soever this knight was, his col- leagues were strangely surpris'd to hear an elector name himself : such a step made them suspect he was too ambitious ; yet when they came to compare him with the other candidates, they found him far superior of them all, not only in point of courage, of which he had given such illustrious proofs, but also in respect of his wisdom and moderation in commanding. Some of the electors, who were not his friends, could not help saying, that it were to be wish'd, that what he had advanced to set forth his own merit, had come out of any body's mouth but his own. However, this generous assurance did not displease the greatest part of them ; and several maintained, that after such distinguished actions as his, great men were allowed to speak of themselves with that noble confidence which truth in- spires. So all the voices, or at least a majority of them, united



united in favour of DIEU DONNE  
 DIEU DONNE DE GOZON: and he was solemnly  
 DE GOZON acknowledged as grand master, to  
 the satisfaction of the convent, and  
 especially of the citizens of the town of Rhodes, and  
 the inhabitants of the island, who since his victory  
 over the serpent looked upon him as the hero of the  
 order.

HIS conduct in the grand mastership answered the  
 great expectations they had of his valour and capacity  
 for government. His first care was to revive the Chri-  
 stian league: the allies joined their squadrons; and the  
 grand master prevailed by his credit to have the com-  
 mand given to the prior of Lombardy, who going  
 immediately in quest of the infidel fleet, met with it in  
 the Archipelago near Embro, or the Embro, a little  
 isle twenty four miles in compass, with a town of the  
 same name, and a port on the eastern coast: this island is  
 twelve miles from the mouth of the Dardanelles in the  
 way towards the isle of Lemnos.

MOST of the Turks, who imagined the Christians to  
 be still in their ports, were landed and dispersed up and  
 down the island. The commodore of the fleet surprised  
 them in this disorder, fell upon them, and took or sunk  
 a great part of their ships.

THIS was less an engagement than a general rout:  
 the soldiers that were on board the fleet, abandoned  
 it to seek for refuge in the island, and such as were  
 landed before, ran to re-imbark. They only confound-  
 ed one another; and in this disorder and confusion the  
 general of Rhodes took from them a hundred and eigh-  
 teen small vessels, light frigates, brigantines, felucca's  
 or armed barks: but thirty two gallies, by help of  
 their crew, put off to sea, and escaped. The Christi-  
 ans afterwards landed, ravaged the island, and made  
 near five thousand slaves.

So complete a victory gave a great reputation to the  
 arms of the knights; tho' pope Clement VI. like his  
 predecessors, ascribed all the honour of it to the arch-  
 bishop of Candia his Vice-legate. Constans, others call  
 him

him Livon, king of the lesser Armenia, informed of the forces of the order, sent ambassadors to the grand master to intreat his assistance against an invasion of the Saracens of Egypt, who had seized on part of his dominions. Though this prince followed the Greek rites, and was a schismatic, yet Gozon, full of zeal, and animated with the spirit of his institution, thought it his duty not to abandon any Christians to the fury of those Barbarians. He prevailed upon the council of the order to send troops into Armenia; they fitted out a strong fleet, and the bravest knights embarked on board with a considerable body of infantry. All these troops coming off the coasts of Armenia, joined the army of Constans, who had made a motion that way to favour their landing. Being thus joined in a body, they advanced directly forward against the Saracens; they easily found an enemy that fought them, and soon came to an engagement; the battle was long and obstinate, but the usual valour of the knights decided its success. The Saracens, who expected to have only to deal with the Armenians, whom they had beaten several times before, surprized to see the standards of St. John, which they distinguished still more plainly by the great blows that the knights dealt about, turned their backs and fled. The best part of them perished in the heat of the engagement; and the Christians took all their baggage, and a great number of prisoners.

THE king of Armenia, sustained by this powerful succour, besieged afterwards and recovered all the places which the infidels had seized on; 1347. and the knights of Rhodes did not leave Armenia till they had entirely cleared the country of the Saracens, who got back into Egypt, tho' with great difficulty.

As such considerable enterprizes, and so many different wars, could not be carried on without great expence, the treasury of the order was by this time greatly exhausted: especially, as the pope, out of thriftiness, had quitted the league, as we have just now said, and contributed nothing to it afterwards but indulgences.

He even proposed to the grand master to accept of a truce which the Turks offered, on condition they might have an equal share with the order in the customs of Smyrna, and the port duties paid by foreign shipping: and a war breaking out immediately after between the Genoese and the Venetians, on account of their commerce into the Black Sea, the league was thereupon entirely dissolved.

THE order nevertheless did not fail remonstrating to the pope, that though they were abandoned by their allies, yet they were not allowed by their institution to enter into any public treaty with the infidels; and therefore, till God should raise them up new allies, they would at least keep themselves on the defensive. The grand master wrote at the same time to all the commanders who had not furnished their responses, requiring them to pay them in immediately; and history hath transmitted down to us a letter that he wrote to the commanders of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, which deserves to be inserted in this work.

We see by this letter that he reproaches them for having paid no contribution to the order since the loss of the Holy Land: that though they dwelt in the remotest countries of Europe, yet that it would be very surprising, if they had not heard of the conquest which the order had made of the isle of Rhodes, whether they had transferred the seat of their society: that the order, pursuant to its institution, had devoted itself still to religious wars: that all its knights were continually in arms, either on board the galleys of the order, or else at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring isles that depended on it, the defence whereof they had undertaken: and that it was strangely surprising, that the northern knights alone should forget their duty, and continue in a state of indolence and inactivity that dishonoured them: that, as their superior, he charged them, upon their holy obedience, to send immediately a detachment of the youngest of their brother companions, and remit their responses to Rhodes; and that he knew very well how to punish such as should prove

refrac-

refractory to his orders; whereas those who shewed themselves children of obedience, should find in him an head and superior full of tenderness and goodness, who had nothing in his view but the glory of God and the honour of their profession. Another effect of his zeal for the good of the order, was his obtaining of Clement VI. that no commandry should be disposed of by way of provision to any cardinal, nor should the cardinals be allowed, under pretence of Legatine rights and authority, to exact any contribution from the knights. The pope granted this exemption, probably as a retaliation for the complaisance which the grand master and council had discovered in favour of the vicomte de Turenne, the Pontiff's nephew, to whom they made a grant of la Bastie de Detrats, a feignory belonging to the order, and adjoining to his estate, in exchange for other lands situated near the Rhone, which they annexed to the priory of St. Giles. The pope wrote about it to the grand master, to return him thanks on this occasion, but gave him to understand at the same time, that the doge and senate of Venice complained, that in the war in which they were engaged against the Genoese, there were a great many knights in the troops of their enemies, and it looked as if the order of St. John was fighting against them in favour of the Genoese, though their profession obliged them to employ their arms against the infidels only.

THE grand master's answer was, that in a military order composed of religious of so many different nations, it was no way surprising that 1350. the affection of some particular knights should incline towards the interests of their respective countries: that there were likewise Venetian knights, who shewed as much attachment to their own nation as the Genoese; but that the order was far from approving the conduct of these religious, who were seduced, by an irregular love of their country, (which at the same time was natural enough) to intermeddle in those wars; but that neither himself, nor the main body of the order were found engaged on either side in the quarrel be-

tween those two mighty republicks, he having always inviolably maintained the neutrality which he professed to observe between Christian princes.

HOWEVER reasonable this answer might appear in respect to the complaints of the Venetians, I do not know after all, whether those religious, who, from a spirit of penance, had taken the three solemn vows of the order at the altar, could, without very just scruples, imbrue their arms in the blood of Christians. 'Tis evident at least, that in the first ages of the church, they made a doubt whether it was lawful for Christians to bear arms. The quitting the military profession was esteemed a branch of penance; and even laymen who had killed a Christian, though in a just war, were obliged to make some satisfaction by way of atonement for it. This practice continued to be observed in France in the middle of the ninth century; and we see that after the famous battle of Fontenai, which was fought about A. D. 840. the French bishops required all such as found their consciences troubled for having acted in that engagement out of heat of passion, malice, vanity, or, in a word, out of any other human motive, to confess their offence and expiate their guilt by a rigorous penance.

WHAT is still more decisive in the point we are treating of, is, that the church had never given its sanction to the hospitallers in taking up of arms, but only for the defence of the holy places, and of the Christians, who either dwelt there, or came from the west to pay their veneration to a place sanctified by the birth of the Son of God, who had taken our nature upon him; and to preserve the memory of this pious motive it is, that in the form observed at the profession of the knights, the person who officiates presenting the novice with the sword, says to him, "Take this sword, and make use of it for your own defence, and for that of the holy church of God, and for the confusion of the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ." From whence we may well enough infer, that it was not allowable for these knights to use their arms offensively



sively against any but infidels, and such as were the declared enemies of Jesus Christ. This just motive of not drawing their swords against Christian princes, was the reason why the grand master refused to engage in the civil wars which at that time infested the empire of Constantinople. Pope Clement VI. being dead, Innocent VI. his successor wrote to the grand master, recommending to him the interests of the emperor Matthew Palæologus, who disputed that august title with the emperor John, the son of young Andronicus.

To understand rightly the pretensions of these princes, it must be observed, that the emperor Andronicus at his death leaving John Palæologus tutor to his son, and regent of his territories, that ambitious minister, who had the sovereign authority given him only in trust, made himself absolute and independent master of it. He got himself proclaimed joint emperor with his pupil; and to dazzle the young prince, who was scarce passed the state of infancy, married him to his daughter. But as the tyrant's design was to advance his own son, he soon took him in for a partner in the empire: so that now there was a third emperor, and the father and son afterwards drove the son of Andronicus out of Constantinople. The injured prince was not left without revenge; some of his father's faithful subjects brought him back as it were in triumph to the imperial city, and the Palæologi were obliged to quit it in their turn. The father, to secure his life, threw himself into a monastery, and took the habit of a monk; his son applied himself to the pope for succours, promising to unite the Greek church to the Latin, as soon as he should be restored to the throne. This was the ordinary lure made use of by the Greeks, in order to obtain assistance from the Latins. The pope wrote in very pressing terms to the grand master in favour of Matthew, and that prince was himself the bearer of the letter: but the grand master did not think fit to engage his order in a civil war between Christian princes: besides, that the intractableness of a great many of the commanders of Europe, in making good their responsi-

ons, had disabled the order from furnishing the necessary expences for so great an enterprize. The advanced age of the grand master, and his almost continual infirmities, induced him to ask the pope's consent to abdicate a dignity which he then found as burthensome to him as he had formerly shewn eagerness to obtain it. The pope, who was truly sensible of the merit of that great man, and how useful he was to his order, would not at first consent to it. He exhorted him on the contrary, to support courageously the toils of government.

THE grand master not being able to obtain this consent, which he then looked upon as a favour, employed the remainder of his life in fortifying the city of Rhodes. He walled in all the suburbs on the side of the sea, and at the same time built the mole, where the ships and gallies afterwards put in. These useful cares were the methods he took to console himself for the pope's refusing to allow his resignation. The looseness which, notwithstanding all his endeavours, had crept into the discipline of the order, obliged him to renew his instances. 'Twas not without great anxiety that he found most of the commanders, who resided in Europe, were making use of the protection of the pope himself, as well as of the kings of France, Arragon and Castile, only to elude his orders; a protection which made those knights as much arbiters of their duty as they were negligent of it. Gozon finding no remedy for so enormous a grievance, dispatched new deputies to the pope, who complied at last in admitting his resignation. That pontiff's consent for their proceeding to a new election, was brought to Rhodes; but that license proved of no use, by reason of  
 Dec. 13. the grand master's sudden death, if that term  
 1353. sudden may be allowed with regard to so good  
 a man, who had always been more watchful  
 over his own conduct, than over that of the knights  
 under his care. His funeral was celebrated with the  
 just elogiums of his brother knights, and the tears of  
 all the inhabitants of the isle, and of the poor especial-  
 ly,

ly, to whom he was indeed a father. All the inscription put upon his tomb was this : **HERE LIES THE VANQUISHER OF THE DRAGON.**

THE convent and chapter of Rhodes, after Gozon's death, chose for his successor brother Peter de Cornillan or Cormelian, a knight of the language of Provence. He certainly justly merited that eminent dignity, on account of the regularity of his life, and even of

PETER DE  
CORNILLAN.  
1353.

the severity of his morals ; and the order indeed was at that time in need of such a superior. As soon as he had taken possession of his dignity, he called a general chapter at Rhodes. Various abuses had crept into the government, which in time had become customs : and such as made their advantage of them would willingly have made them pass for laws. The first, and indeed one of the most dangerous, was the abuse made of the grand master's seal, in putting it, without his knowledge or consent, to orders and receipts, which were afterwards lodged in the treasury. Another abuse, not less prejudicial to the whole body of the knights, was the priors assuming a nomination to the commandries vacant within their priories, and exercising this usurped power in such a manner, that they often filled up places with their own friends and relations, without any regard to merit, age, or the rights of seniority. The grand master prevailed with the chapter to make a regulation, ordaining, that for the future they should not make use of the grand master's seal in any matter relating to the revenue ; but that all ordinances should be sealed with the seal of the convent, and in a full chapter.

By the second regulation the nomination to all commandries was vested in the grand master and council of the order, who were to fill them up, due regard being first had to the rank, the seniority, and the services of the knights. These were not the only abuses which the grand master had a mind to correct ; but as his prudence was not inferior to his zeal, which burnt with the brightest flame, he brought on the schemes he had drawn up for reformation at different times, deferring  
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the execution of them according as he found his own authority to grow stronger in the government.

WHILST the grand master was thus entirely taken up with the restoring of discipline, some secret enemies of the order, at the court of Rome, resumed the design of getting all the revenues of the templars out of the hands of the knights of Rhodes, expecting, no doubt, to get the best part of them to themselves. However, to avoid suspicion as much as possible, they carried on this attack against the order with a great deal of art. Some went no further than to tell the pope, that they found every day that the riches and confiscated revenues of the templars greatly exceeded whatever had been said of them; others insinuated farther, that the hospitallers were not numerous enough to find leisure to make proper enquiries into those great possessions; that the greatest part of the knights were gone over into Europe; that it looked as if they had abandoned the isle of Rhodes; and though some still continued about the grand master, shutting themselves up in the most retired part of their palaces, yet they were entirely taken up with their pleasures, and the care of amassing wealth. These discourses were spread about with great secrecy and artifice, and the pope was prejudiced with them by insensible degrees. In short their enemies went so far as to propose to the pontiff a sequestration of all the revenues of the templars into his own hands, to be employed afterwards in pious uses, as his holiness should think fit; or, if he thought proper, to be disposed of in founding a new military order, which might, by its zeal, incite the emulation of the knights of Rhodes, and cure them of a profuseness so contrary to their rule and institution.

THE pope took another, and indeed a very extraordinary step with regard to the conquests made by the Turks. Orchanes, whom we have lately mentioned, and who is looked upon as the second prince of the Osman or Othoman race, after having subdued the greatest part of Anatolia, beaten the emperor John Palæologus on several occasions, and taken Prusa, Nicomedia,  
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and Nice, crossed the Hellespont, and seemed inclined to fix the seat of his empire in the Morea. 'Tis said that a great earthquake having rendered the taking of Gallipolis more easy to him, he said to his officers, "Let us stay in Europe, since God opens us the way to it." Pope Innocent VI. above mentioned, alarmed with the rapidity of his conquests, out of an apprehension that he might fall upon Italy itself, did, in order to oblige him to return into Asia, order the knights of Rhodes to abandon that isle, and transport the convent, and their place of residence into some part of the continent bordering upon the Turks or Saracens, and situated on the side either of Palestine or Anatolia, in expectation that the knights, by an advantageous diversion, might draw the infidels arms upon themselves, and thus kindling a war in the heart of the Turkish dominions, might serve for a bulwark to Christendom; a project which had some time before suggested to the pontiff's predecessors, though the author of it must certainly have been some secret enemy of the order, and as wretched a politician as he was ill versed in the art of war. 'Tis amazing how the pope could propose to the order to abandon an isle strongly fortified, and to renounce all the advantages which the Christians derived from the sea and from their fleets, which covered equally the isle of Cyprus and kingdom of Armenia, only to send them, as we may say, to the slaughter, and oblige them, like new adventurers, to seek a settlement in the heart of the dominions of infidels, who were too powerful to suffer them there for a moment.

YET notwithstanding these just considerations, which must naturally offer themselves to the pope's thoughts, the pontiff, still prejudiced in favour of his project, dispatched to Rhodes brother Ferdinand de Heredia, Castellan of Emposta, and grand prior of Castile, who was considered at the court of Rome as Innocent's confident and favourite, sending also with him brother Raimond Berenger, preceptor or commander of Castelsarasin, and brother Peter de Cornillan, commander of Val-



Val-Pujet, and in all probability a relation of the grand master; all three being of the number of the most distinguished knights of the order, the two first of which came afterwards to be grand masters.

THE pope directed them to lay before the grand master and council the complaints which he continually received of the indolence and lethargy wherein the whole order seemed to have been buried for some time; and to represent, that whilst the Turks were ravaging Greece, and threatening Italy, the knights finding themselves secure in Rhodes, by the strong fortifications with which it was defended, and growing effeminate with luxury and ease, seemed no ways affected with it, but squandered away the great income which they enjoyed, from the confiscated revenues of the templars, and derived from the piety of the faithful, in criminal pleasures, that decency and modesty do not allow us to mention; that he knew very well pope John XXII. Benedict XII. and Clement VI. his immediate predecessors, had, in order to get them out of those delightful places, where they ran such an hazard of their salvation, often pressed them to remove their abode into the Holy Land, though as yet in the hands of the infidels; but that the holy see was sensible of the little regard they had hitherto shown to such counsels, which ought rather to have been considered as express orders, and received by them as laws; that he enjoined them to set immediately about this transmigration to some place, from whence they might, with the assistance of heaven, force their way through into the Holy Land, that otherways he should be obliged to employ the most proper methods to force them to it, and should particularly deprive them of the estates of the templars, which he would employ in the founding of a new military order, whose zeal might perhaps excite their emulation, or at least serve for an eternal reproach to them.

THE grand master answered the pope, that he had received his orders with great respect, but could not, without consulting and obtaining the consent of the general

neral chapter of the order, so hastily abandon a conquest of so great importance, and for which so many knights had shed their dearest blood; that he was going immediately to summon a chapter in Rhodes itself, and would notify his holiness's intention to his brethren of the order. The pope apprehending, that if the chapter was held at Rhodes, the riches of that island, its fortifications, haven, fleets, and even soft and luxurious life which they led there, might determine the knights to continue in it, issued out a solemn bull, declaring it to be his pleasure, that the chapter should be held either at Nismes or Montpelier, places not far from Avignon, from whence he certainly flattered himself, that his authority would have the more effectual influence over the assembly. The pontiff observed in his bull, that since the return of his envoys, he had learned with surprise, that some knights about his court had wrote to Rhodes, to this effect, viz. That they had no occasion to be in any pain about what the castellan had said to them, of which he himself was author; that that dextrous courtier had magnified his reproaches and threats, only to make himself necessary to his order, but that the pope had expressed himself very differently on that subject before them, and that they might be very easy about the affair of their removal. The pope added, that he addressed this bull to them, as an irrefragable proof as well of his own will and pleasure, as of the truth of what their Castellan had told them from him, and to prevent such practices from occasioning any delay in their settling upon the frontiers of the infidels.

'TWOULD be impossible to describe the uneasiness which the grand master felt, both in seeing the pope persist in so destructive a project, as well as the fear he had of his order's insisting on its sovereignty, and setting up to oppose it. He was divided between the obedience which he owed to the pontiff, and that which he thought due to his order, and the companions of it; two duties which to him appeared almost equally indispensable. In this terrible conflict, death came in as  
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it were to his assistance, and put an end to his life in the eighteenth month of his mastership. The ROGER knights chose in his stead Roger de Pins, a DE knight of the language of Provence, of an PINS. illustrious house of Languedoc, a relation of 1353. Odo de Pins, the twenty-third grand master of the order, and of Gerard de Pins, who, in the vacancy of the mastership, had won a signal victory over Orchanes the son of Othoman.

THE pope, who would not allow the chapter to be held at Rhodes, and had by his own authority summoned it to meet at Nismes or Montpellier, being still apprehensive that it might come to resolutions contrary to the schemes he had projected with relation to Rhodes; and in order to be better acquainted with their debates, would needs have it held in Avignon itself, as it were under his own eye. But the impatience he was in of getting the knights out of the isle of Rhodes, and a considerable time being necessary for their coming out of the various provinces of Christendom to Avignon, was the reason of his allowing them to hold an assembly at his court, in which brother William de Mailly grand prior of France, and brother William Chalûs grand prior of Auvergne, presided in the grand master's name, and in quality of his lieutenant on this side of the sea.

HAPPILY for the order, some time before the opening of this assembly, it had been suggested to the pope, that in the design he had of drawing the knights out of the isle of Rhodes, it would be of much greater service to Christendom, and particularly to Italy, to settle them in the Morea than in Palestine, where they could never resist the formidable power of the Turks and Saracens. The pope liked the proposal well enough: Robert, titular emperor of Constantinople, was then prince of Tarento, and sovereign of Achaïa or the Morea, by John duke of Duras, his uncle's grant of it to him. But James of Savoy, eldest son to Philip prince of Piedmont, laid claim to the Morea, as belonging to him in right of Isabel de Ville-hardouin his mother; and in  
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the midst of these different pretensions, the Turk, who had the strongest right on his side, daily seized upon some place or other in its province. The pope, to prevent the loss of it to Christendom, proposed to the prince of Savoy to treat with the knights of Rhodes about his claim. This great affair was debated in the assembly at Avignon: the knights, who did not care openly to clash with the pope's sentiments, named their commissioners; but as they expected some change from time, they spun out the negotiation to a great length, under various pretences, and made so slow a progress in it, that death surprized the prince of Savoy before any thing was concluded in it; and the design was not resumed of a long time afterwards, as will be observed in the sequel of this work.

VARIOUS regulations however were made in this assembly, relating to discipline, and which point out the abuses which had crept into the order with respect to the distribution of their alms. Ever since the estates of the templars had been annexed to the<sup>a</sup> manse of the hospitallers, they had, to the great offence of the people, and prejudice of the poor, neglected all the duties of charity in the houses of that order, under pretence that they officiated in the commandries of the knights of Rhodes. The assembly made an order, that, independent from those alms, they should immediately resume those charitable distributions which were used to be made in the houses that had belonged to the templars.

THOUGH the pope was far from being favourable to the order, as we have seen, yet no body had a greater ascendant over him than a knight of Rhodes, brother John Ferdinand d'Heredia by name, of the language of Aragon, and Castellan of Emposta. He was the only counsellor and minister of the pontiff, who employed him even in foreign negotiations. To give him the greater authority at his court, he had made him governor of Avignon, and all the comtat Venaissin. So distinguishing a favour might perhaps make one suspect that the pope's

<sup>a</sup> Manse, an income appointed for the maintenance of the table of any prelate or society.

extraordinary projects were suggested to him by the Aragonian, who, if the order had been obliged to abandon the isle of Rhodes, would have been well enough pleased to have got himself, under the title of bailiff, named sovereign prince of it by the pope. At least all his conduct shews, that he made use of the pope's authority only to aggrandize himself, without any regard to the statutes and regulations of the general chapters. Thus he obtained successively the grand priory of Castile, and also that of St. Giles, to which the greedy Spaniard got himself named by the pope, who conferred it upon him by his own absolute authority, and without the knowledge or consent of the grand master. The order was perfectly confounded at so surprising an innovation; the popes indeed, besides the power of the keys, had likewise a particular authority over the order of St. John, as being the first superiors of it; but they had hitherto made use of this authority only for its protection, or for the correcting of abuses which are inevitable in this life, and which are apt to creep even into the most austere societies.

THE knights complained that this last pope employed his authority only in destroying the form of their government, and that they could no longer depend upon their years of service and seniority, if one of their brother knights, by the insinuations of a court intrigue, and in contempt of the wisest regulations, had it in his power to engross the best commandries in every language. The grand master and council sent ambassadors to the pope, to declare to him the just remonstrances of the whole order; and the grand master, in order to engage Heredia to desist from the pope's nomination, sent him ample provisions, by which he constituted him his lieutenant on this side the sea. But all these steps were alike fruitless; the pope was inflexible, either out of affection to his favourite, or that he might not seem to derogate from that supreme authority, which he claimed to exercise in the government of the order, as a right with which he was invested: and Heredia abusing the new favour done him by the grand master,



master, not only neglected paying into the common treasury the responsions of the many commandries he had engrossed, but also, under pretence of his post of lieutenant, kept the responsions of other commandries in his hands. If they came to be vacant, he got new provisions from the pope, and by this violent conduct, bore a despotical sway in his order.

THIS occasioned a new embassy; the grand master sent brother Roger de Montaut, a great commander, and brother Stephen Montaigu to Avignon, to desire the pope's leave to prosecute Heredia, as an usurper of the estate and revenues of the order. The pope, who did not care to protect his injustice openly, pretended to consent to the grand master's request, and named two cardinals to take cognizance of the affair. But these, under the specious name of judges, acted only as mediators; and in order to make their own private advantage of Heredia's credit, they prevailed with the ambassadors to take up with a slight satisfaction, and give over the prosecution. The pope sent a gentleman of his household to Rhodes, on purpose to tell the grand master from him, that they would oblige him in not giving Heredia any disturbance in his enjoyment of the dignities he had conferred on him, the revenues of which, he said, that knight employed only for the interest of the church, and the service of the holy see.

THE grand master was forced to connive at an abuse which so powerful a protector hindered him from correcting. But for fear such a pernicious example should draw as bad consequences after it, and to prevent other priors from appropriating to themselves, in imitation of Heredia, the commandries, or at least the responsions belonging to the order within the bounds of their respective priories, this wise grand master convened a general chapter at Rhodes, and designedly chose for that purpose a place that was immediately under the government of the order, that the debates might be carried on with the greater freedom, and in order that they might take a resolution not to be baffled by other potentates. In this chapter particular receivers of the

dues of the order were appointed in every priory, and who were accountable only to the common treasury. They made also, at the same time, a decree, incapacitating the priors from being provided with any other commandries but such as composed their priorial court. Some serving brothers having, by their intrigues, got the cross of knighthood, a regulation was made in the same chapter, forbidding the advancement of any serving brother to that dignity: a regulation agreeable to that of a great pope, who had very wisely established the distinction of those two ranks, by a distinction of their habits; a decree, which, it were to be wished, might be strictly observed, for the sake of the nobility and gentry.

THE grand master did not long survive the conclusion of this chapter. The order lost in him a chief who was very zealous for the maintaining of discipline, as the poor of the island did a very charitable father. It was observable, that during the time that the plague infested that island, as well as all the east, and which was followed by a dreadful famine, he immediately employed all his income, and sold afterwards his plate and furniture to supply the necessities of the poor; which justly procured him the title of almsgiver, with which the order and all mankind had distinguished him, and in heaven a just recompence, and the hundred fold so expressly promised by him whose promises are infallible.

THE order elected for his successor brother Raimond Berenger, a native of Dauphiné, of the language of Provence, commander of Castel-Sarasion, whose descent historians derive from the Berengers that were sovereigns of Italy, as others do from those that reigned at Barcelona, and in the county of Catalonia. But whatever his family was, it is certain that he reflected a new lustre upon it by his valour, and the boldness of his enterprises. Some Egyptian corsairs used frequently to infest the coasts of Cyprus, and made prizes of all ships that sailed in those seas

seas under the standard of the cross. The grand master not only fitted out several galleys, which gave them chace, but resolved also, in concert with the king of Cyprus, to go and burn them even in the port of Alexandria. That prince and the grand master made up a fleet of near a hundred vessels of different bulk; they put land forces on board, most of them drawn from the coasts of France, but without being let into the secret of the enterprize they were to be employed in, which was communicated to no body but Urban V. who then sat in the pontifical chair.

THE fleet being ready to sail, the king and the grand master went on board, followed by a great number of knights, and in less than five days landed under the walls of Alexandria. They clapped ladders to the walls, and attempted to scale them. The Alexandrians were struck with surprise; but besides a strong garrison, there were such an infinite number of people in that great city, the richest in Egypt, that the walls were in a moment lined with soldiers and inhabitants, that poured down showers of arrows upon the Christians. The besieged standing firm on the parapet, with their pikes and halberds, dealing great blows about, throw down the besiegers, push them into the ditch, and overwhelm them with stones of a large size. New assailants supply the place of the slain and wounded, and without being daunted at the death of their companions, endeavour to get on the top of the walls; some are pierced through with arrows, others precipitated or overturned with their ladders. The besieged throw boiling oil and fireworks on all sides; these burn the machines of the Christians, stick to their cloaths, penetrate even to their bodies, forcing the soldiers all in a flame to give over the attack, and throw themselves into the water for relief. Never was a more furious and bloody attack known; but in spite of the horrible image of death, which presented itself on all sides, the knights of Rhodes, animated by their own bravery, and the grand master's intrepid air, renew the attack, clap their ladders again to the walls, and mount-

ing over the dead bodies of their companions, get up to the top, leap upon the parapet, throw themselves into the place, and kill all before them. From thence the victorious troops spread themselves over the city, force into the houses that are next the ramparts, massacre husbands in the arms of their wives, plunder the richest furniture, and make slaves of all that escape the first fury of the soldiery.

THO' the king and grand master had lost abundance of men in the several attacks they made, they yet would have been glad to have kept their post and maintained their conquest. But having advice that the sultan was advancing with all the forces of Egypt to drive them thence, and seeing themselves in a place that was still crouded with an infinite number of inhabitants, who had intrenched themselves in the lower town, they resolved to retire; and putting an inestimable booty on board their own fleet, they set fire to all the vessels of the infidels that were in the port, and re-embarked with their prisoners. The king stood away for Cyprus, and the grand master for Rhodes, where both of them arrived happily.

THE grand master having delivered Peter de St. George, a nephew or near relation of Urban, out of captivity among the infidels, would have the merit of conducting him himself to Avignon, but before he set out, advice came of that pope's death. Historians say, that just before he expired, and after having received the sacraments of the church, he said, in the presence of his chamberlain, his confessor, and several cardinals, directing his speech to them, "I firmly believe all that the holy catholic church believes and teaches; and if I have ever advanced any thing in any manner whatsoever different from it, I retract it, and submit my self to the determination and censure of the church."

PETER ROGER, called cardinal de Beaufort, nephew to pope Clement VI. succeeded Urban V. and took

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<sup>b</sup> Præsentibus etiam camerario, confessore, pluribusque aliis familiaribus suis, ac aliis multis notabilibus personis, dixit & asseruit  
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on him the name of Gregory XI. The grand master was then thinking to abdicate his dignity. The intractableness of most of the European commanders had obliged him to take this extraordinary step. Upon his return from the expedition of Alexandria, he was informed by the council, that the order could get nothing from the responses of the west. This inflexibility equally surprised and afflicted him: in vain did he send the most pressing orders; no answer was given to them, but by an obstinate silence, which served as a screen to a direct disobedience. Many of these commanders were in possession of several commandries, and employed their responses and the estate of the order, either in purchasing the favour and protection of princes, or in enriching their own families; and such as were the least irregular among them, whenever they remitted money to Rhodes, considered it as their own free gift, looking upon their responses as arbitrary alms and acts of mere liberality. Considerable disputes arose also between the languages of Provence and Italy; and the principal knights of those two languages refused to submit to the judgment of the grand master. So much disobedience from all parts gave him great uneasiness; but as he truly loved his order, he believed, that another grand master, of more capacity and resolution than himself, would make him be more exactly obeyed, and might restore an happy correspondence between the head and members of the order. This was the chief motive that made him desirous to abdicate his dignity: but the pope, who knew his merit, would not give his consent; and that pontiff, who, to take off some of the burthen from his shoulders, was  
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se tenere & credere firmiter, sicque confessus est simpliciter quidquid sancta, catholica & apostolica tenet, docet & prædicat ecclesia: & si per prius docendo, legendo, predicando, aut disputando, vel aliâ aliud quovis modo prædicaverat, vel dixerat, totum id revocavit, voluitque haberi pro non dicto, submittens se & dicta sua hujusmodi correctioni et determinationi dictæ sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, à qua asseruit se nunquam deviasse scilicet. Cesta U. b. 5. apud Bosq. Rainal. t. 16. ad. ann. 1370. sect. 23.



for taking cognizance of the affairs of the order, summoned a general assembly of the principal commanders at Avignon, dispensing with the grand master's attendance on account of his very great age, desiring him only to send him an account of such  
 1373. regulations as he judged most necessary for the restoring of discipline.

THEY began this assembly with examining into the disputes between the languages of Provence and Italy. The occasion of this dispute arose from the language of Provence's enjoying, as being the most ancient and first of the order, the priory of the kingdom of Hungary, and those of Capua and Barletta in Italy, with the commandries of St. Stephen, Monopoli, Venice, and St. Euphemia, which the language of Italy demanded back; insisting likewise, that the priory of Hungary should be annexed to it by way of equivalent, and to serve as a balance in the chapter to the power of the language of Provence, which alone had more voices than two other languages.

As the language of Provence pleaded in its defence, by virtue of the title of possession, the pope referred the determination of the dispute to the cardinals of Spain and Florence, and by their mediation rather than a rigorous decision, it was agreed, that upon the first vacancy of the priory of Hungary, the grand master and council should collate to it, chusing indifferently out of the two languages the person they thought most deserving, and that afterwards the two languages should nominate to it alternately; that the priories of Capua and Barletta, and the commandries of Naples and St. Euphemia should be annexed to the language of Italy, but that St. Stephen, Estonibbia, Alife, Venetia, Monopoli, and their dependencies, should continue, as they were in possession of the language of Provence.

It was enacted in the same assembly, pursuant to the grand master's intentions, and the memorial which he had sent to the pope, that no knight should enjoy more than one grand commandry, or two small ones, i. e.  
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such as their responsions did not amount to more than two hundred florins, and that all the responsions should be paid exactly every year, on pain of deprivation of the commandry. To these they added another regulation, that in the vacancy of the grand mastership, when they were proceeding to the election of one, they should not chuse the electors out of all the languages, as had been practised till then, but that every language should nominate two electors. As to the sovereign council of the order, a statute was made to determine that it should not be deemed a full one, unless there were present in it the eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the overseer of the infirmary, two of the most ancient knights of every language, over whom the grand master should preside; who, on account of his eminent dignity, was to have two votes in all assemblies, as had been constantly practised till that time; and that this council, when full, should dispose of all vacant priories and commandries.

THESE wise regulations, authorised by the pope's approbation, were sent to Rhodes, and notified to the whole order. The grand master received them with a sensible satisfaction, but death prevented his reaping the fruit of them, that being reserved to brother ROBERT DE JULLIAC, ROBERT DE grand prior of France, whom the chapter JULLIAC. of Rhodes elected in his absence to be their grand master.

HE was in France resident on his priory, when he received the news of his promotion; upon which he immediately set out for Avignon, 1373. where he paid his duty to the pope. He afterwards changed all the receivers on this side the sea, whom he found negligent in the discharge of their office: this was the first use he made of his authority. His next act was an instance of obedience to the holy see, taking upon himself and his order the property and defence of the castle and lower town of Symrna, which the confederate army had taken from the Turks, as we have shewn a little before. The archbishop and inhabi-

inhabitants having complained to the pope, that Ottonbon Cataleo their governor, who was rather a merchant than a soldier, abandoned them frequently for the sake of his traffic, to make voyages into Italy, so that the place was left without either garrison or provisions, the pope signified his intentions to the knights, viz. that they should unite Smyrna to the other possessions of the order. In vain did the grand master represent to him, that the fortress was seated in the midst of the Turkish territories, and at such a distance from Italy, that in case of a siege, there was no hopes of a speedy relief; and that likewise considerable sums were necessary for maintaining the garrison, which his order was in no condition to furnish. The pope assigned only a thousand pounds a year for the defraying of this expence, which the treasurer of the order was to levy upon the tithes of Cyprus. Moreover, as what the grand master had represented to him about the situation of the town of Smyrna, viz. that it was surrounded by the territories of the infidels, was the very reason which had determined him to put the defence of it into the hands of the knights, in expectation that the Turks might have a stop put to the progress of their arms, when they should have such formidable neighbours; the pontiff ordered the grand master and council, under pain of excommunication, to throw immediately into Smyrna a sufficient garrison, that should consist of a good number of knights and troops in the service and pay of the order. The grand master was preparing to set out for Rhodes with these orders, when he received the unwelcome news that divisions were broke out between the knights of the convent, and the council. The knights complained that the council, as well in the nomination to the commandries, as in disputes arising between the knights, paid little regard either to the rights of seniority or to justice, but regulated their nominations and decisions by the credit which the parties had in the society. The council on their side sent the grand master word, that the knights had found out a way of eluding all their orders, by continually appeal-

ing to the holy see, which entirely ruined the discipline and authority of the government. The grand master acquainted the pope with these reciprocal complaints; and the pontiff, in order to favour some particular knights, issued out a bull, expressly annulling all the nominations made by the council in the vacancy of the mastership and absence of the grand master; but withal, he, by the same bull, (after having severely reprimanded the knights that made use, as he said, of appeals, for no other end but to withdraw themselves from the obedience which they owed to their superiors) ordered the council not to mind such appeals for the future, requiring all of them to dispose themselves equally for receiving their grand master, as their lawful superior, and one whom he had invested with the apostolical authority over them.

THE grand master set out with these orders, and arrived happily at Rhodes. His presence, his affability, and the exact justice which he distributed with impartiality to all his religious, without the least distinction, soon restored peace and concord among them. He then acquainted them with the pope's intentions with respect to the defence of Smyrna; and tho' the principal persons in the council saw plainly, that it was sacrificing all those knights whom they put on that service, and that it would be the sending them to the slaughter, they nevertheless resolved to obey; nay, a considerable number of knights generously offered to take upon themselves an employ in which the danger and glory were equally certain. In fact, there was no likelihood that the Turkish emperors, whose power was daily encreasing, would suffer the knights to continue peaceable possessors of a place, and that too in the heart of their dominions, which they had taken from them.

SOLIMAN I. the eldest son of Orchanes, following his father's steps, had in less than two years annexed the best part of Thrace to his empire, and made himself master of Adrianople and Philippopoli. As Amurath I. his brother and successor lived longer, so he extended

tended his conquests much farther. The kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia and Thessaly, and the principalities of Epirus, Achaia and Caramania, which had been formed out of the ruins of the Greek empire, became the object of his ambition : and he looked upon the conquest thereof as a means of opening a way to that of Constantinople. He defeated in battle Cracovilchs king of Bulgaria, and had the same advantage over the Despot of Servia ; he had lately reduced the town of Pheres, which was at that time the capital of Macedonia. Mysia fell before him ; and the emperor John, or Calojohn Paleologus, advancing into Romania to stop his progress, was entirely routed, and 'tis even said, that this sultan was victorious in thirty six engagements or battles.

YET, as if in all this he had yet undertaken nothing for his glory, he made extraordinary levies of troops in all his territories. So considerable an armament, the marches and countermarches of such a number of troops, alarmed all his neighbours, every body stood upon his guard, without being able to guess on what side he would turn his arms.

THE grandmaster acquainted the pope with all these motions, and with the reasons which made him apprehend that Symrna and even Rhodes might be the secret object of this mighty armament. He represented to him at the same time, that, in the expedition of Alexandria, the order had lost above a hundred knights, whose places had not been filled up with others ; that the isle and city of Rhodes wanted a speedy succour, and that he besought his holiness to make immediate provision for it, for fear of any surprisè from the infidels.

THE pope on this occasion convened an assembly of the chief commanders at Avignon, where it was resolved to send five hundred knights, and as many esquires or serving brothers to Rhodes in the month of March following. The priors, pursuant to a particular order of the pope, were to name the knights of their priory whom they thought in a condition to march ;



march; and each knight had the right of chusing himself the serving brother that he would have to attend him, and thought fittest for his service; which, by the way, is a proof that these serving brothers were a sort of esquires to the knights, and that every knight at that time had a serving brother appointed to attend his person, and perform military service under his orders. These knights and their attendants arrived safe at Rhodes, and the grand master and convent were highly pleased with so considerable a recruit. But they had no dispute this year with the Turks, all whose forces fell again upon the Bulgarians and Serbians.

THE order however suffered more this year from its own members than from the infidels. Domestic enemies, and the seeds as it were of rebellion, started up in it, which broke out chiefly in England, Castile and Portugal.

BROTHER Robert d'Alri prior of England, Sancho de Sumassa prior of Castile, and Alvarez Gonsalvo prior of Portugal, being cantoned in their priories, and being supported by the monarchs of their respective countries, refused openly to pay their responsions. The prior of England founded his disobedience upon an injustice which he pretended the grand master had done him, in bestowing a commandry of Scotland upon a Scotch knight; whereas he maintained that it depended on the prior of England. His sovereign, who considered Scotland as an antient fief of his crown, not only supported the prior in his disobedience, but confiscated likewise the revenues of all the commandries which the order had within his dominions. The grand master complained of these violent proceedings to the pope, who being informed of the justice of his nomination, caused the proofs of it to be transmitted to the court of England, and at the same time threatened to excommunicate the prior of that nation, if he did not immediately pay his responsions, and get the sequestration taken off the goods of the order, which he had procured to be seized. The fear of excommunication brought him back to his duty, as

well as the prior of Castile, to whom the like menaces had been intimated from the holy see. These fulminations, however terrible they might be, made no impression on the prior of Portugal; upon which the pope, to touch a man to the quick, who was to be wrought upon by nothing but what concerned his interest, conferred his priory upon brother John Fernand, commander of Thoulouté, and cited him to appear at Rome, in order to be degraded of the dignity of knighthood, and stripped of the habit of the order. The mischief was, that these decrees of the court of Rome had scarce any effect with regard to temporalities, any farther than the prince had a mind to support them with his authority; and several years passed away before this rebellious prior returned to his duty.

THIS year is assigned for the death of the grand master de Julliac, who enjoyed that dignity little more than two years. He was generally regretted on account of his wisdom, prudence, and particularly the mildness of his government. The chapter and convent of Rhodes chose for his successor brother JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA, castellan of Emposta, or grand prior of Arragon, grand prior alio of St. Giles and Castile, who was absent at that time, he being always near the person of the popes, in quality of governor of Avignon, and the Comtat Venaissin.

'TWILL perhaps appear strange, after all that hath been said of the conduct of this knight, that the order, the principal dignities whereof he had usurped contrary to all their rules, should make such a choice. But in all probability the electors considered that this knight was still in great credit at the court of Avignon, and that he had the like credit with most of the princes of Christendom, who were careful to distinguish a man of capacity in a peculiar manner, whose advice had a great influence in the various resolutions and conduct of the pope's court. Besides, a mischievous spirit of rebellion,

rebellion, arising from a sordid avarice, having for some time past infected several of the commanders, 'twas no ill policy in the order to put a man of Heredia's power and authority at their head, in a dignity where the interests of the order were no longer to be distinguished from his own.

WHATEVER the motives were that determined the electors to choose him their grand master, the reader perhaps will not be displeas'd to have a little more particular account of a knight, who after having play'd the tyrant over his order, became afterwards a tender father, and one of the principal ornaments of it. John Ferdinand d'Heredia was descended from one of the noblest houses in Arragon: Blasco Heredia, his elder brother, was invest'd with the dignity of d'el justitia, or great justiciary; a dignity established in the kingdom, to curb the regal authority, and hinder the sovereign from abusing it, contrary to the privileges of the nation. He discharged singly that function which the Ephori of Sparta were formerly entrusted with against their kings. This lord, having for several years had no children by his wife, to prevent the extinction of his family, oblig'd young Heredia his brother, whom we are now speaking of, to marry. He had only two daughters by that marriage, and his wife dying in childbed, his brother, who was still fond of seeing heirs of his own name, engag'd him in a second alliance, and married him to Donna Theresa Contellia, niece and heiress to his own wife; so that all the estate of those two great houses was like to center in young Heredia and his children. He had a son and a daughter by this second marriage, and was soon after left a widower by the death of his second wife; but his elder brother's, after many years of barrenness, having been brought to bed of two sons one after another, he saw himself at once left without any estate, and all his hopes blasted.

IN this melancholy situation, after recommending his children to his elder brother, and without communicating his design to any body, he embark'd and sail'd for Rhodes, where he desired to be admitted into the

order, and was received by the grand master de Ville-neuve as a knight of the language of Arragon. His noble air, his polite behaviour, and the courage and bravery whereby he distinguished himself in various engagements against the infidels, soon gained him the esteem and affection of the principal knights. He recommended himself particularly to the grand master by the regularity of his life, and by an adroit and insinuating temper, which enabled him with ease to assume any shape that might any way contribute to his advancement.

'Twas to these rare qualities, and the particular esteem which the grand master had for him, that he was indebted for a faculty commandry (one in the disposal of which favour was allowed) called Alambro, which he either exchanged afterwards, or was promoted from it to that of Villet. And as a great number of the knights, especially of the old ones, had been killed in the Scado of Alexandria, he rose gradually from one preferment to another, till he came in his turn to be bailiff of Capsa, and afterwards castellan of Emposta, one of the principal dignities of the order, and the most considerable in Europe, after that of grand master, as well from its immense revenues, as from the largeness of its jurisdiction, and the number and quality of its vassals.

FORTUNE, which had hitherto led him as it were by the hand, did not desert him in that conjuncture. The grand priory of Catalonia becoming vacant, two candidates presented themselves for it; the one, in prejudice of the rights and privileges of the order, got a provision to it from the pope; the other, a knight called Peter Berenger Nicossa, claimed the priory by right of seniority. Nor could any doubt be made of his right; and it was moreover the interest of the order, not to suffer the knights to turn their views to the court of Rome, instead of applying themselves to merit preferments by their services. But as at Rhodes they were fearful of offending the pope, the grand master and council resolved to send an ambassador to him. The negoti-

negotiation was such as required an able, subtle minister, and one who was of a tractable disposition, and could find out a way to preserve the rights and privileges of the order, without violating the papal authority. The grand master fancied, that among so great a number of knights, he had distinguished in Heredia all the qualities of an able negotiator. He nominated him ambassador to the pope, and got his choice approved of by the council. The instructions given to the castellan were, that after having complimented the pontiff in the name of the grand master and the whole body of knights, he should represent to him the injury that the order was like to suffer from his nomination; that the greatest part of the knights would find it a much shorter way to arrive at commandries in obtaining them by favour and intrigue, than to wait a tedious number of years, and expect them from length of time, and a series of services; that such provisions would ruin their discipline entirely; that the convent would soon be a desert; and the knights, neglecting their residence at Rhodes, and the other duties they were obliged to, would apply themselves entirely either to the court of Rome, or to those of the princes of Europe.

THE ambassador had orders to insist strenuously on the revocation of the apostolic brief; but as they were apprehensive the pope would stand by his nomination, be the consequence what it would, they gave the ambassador leave to terminate the affair by an accommodation, if he found the least overture towards one.

HEREDIA set out with these instructions, and arriving at Avignon, in the first audience that he had of the pope, he represented to him, with great art and eloquence, that tho' the order paid an absolute submission and all due respect to his nomination, yet it could not help complaining of a provision which violated its privileges, and was going to destroy all that had been done in its favour by the pontiff's his predecessors; that he was commissioned to lay at his holiness's feet, who



was the common father of the faithful, the just remonstrances of a body that was consecrated to the defence of Christianity, but whose zeal would infallibly cool, if the several members that composed it, found that they were to be bereaved of the recompence which had till then been always annexed to their services. The pope made answer in general terms, importing, that he had heard a very good character of the person he had named to the priory of Catalonia, but should not be sorry if the matter was accommodated in an amicable manner, to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, provided it could be done without infringing the authority of the holy see. The ambassador saw plainly from hence that there was no bringing the pope to repeal the provision which he had granted: he therefore applied himself entirely to make up the dispute, not forgetting at the same time his own private interest in the accommodation. The two claimants saw him often, and he played his cards so dextrously, that he brought them to agree on dividing the great revenues of the priory, which he prevailed with the pope to approve. He had hitherto carried on his negotiation agreeably to his instructions and the grand master's intentions; but he deviated afterwards from both, when he found that he might, by devoting himself to the court of Rome, get the profits of the priory to himself. The two pretenders to it being incapacitated by their age and infirmities to go in person and reside upon the priory, he got the stewardship of it from the pope. This was the first step he took; his next was to abandon openly the interests of his order, and without any sense of shame, to get himself named by the pontiff for their successor; so that the two knights living but a little while after this provision, he was the only person that reaped any advantage from their rivalship. All Rhodes was prodigiously surpris'd when they heard after, that their ambassador, instead of following his instructions, and opposing those nominations of the pope's, had been himself a solicitor, when he found an opportunity of obtaining them for himself.

THERE was no possibility after this of returning to the grand master; Heredia was forced to stay at Avignon, and adhered entirely to the court of Rome. He soon formed himself a secret plan of all the intrigues and politics of that court, and conducted himself with such dexterity, that he had afterwards a great hand in the elections and the confidence of the popes.

NEWS being brought to Clement VI. that Philip de Valois king of France, and Edward III. king of England, were on the point of entering into war against one another, made choice of Heredia as a fit person to be sent to those two princes to perform in his name the office of a mediator between them. This knight, whose courage equalled his capacity, foreseeing that a bloody battle would infallibly be fought between them, got a permission from the pope to declare himself against either of the princes that should decline the mediation of the holy see. As Edward had been the aggressor, he went first to his camp, and gave him an account of his commission. He would fain have engaged him to a suspension of arms; but he found the English prince so elated with some advantages that he had already obtained, that he could not prevail with him. When he saw that he rejected all proposals of peace with disdain, and even slighted his offices of mediation, the haughty Spaniard, provoked with the little deference shewn to his character, declared to him, that as his commission was at an end, by reason of his obstinacy in rejecting it, he would go and fight under the banners of the king of France. He acquainted him at the same time with the permission he had from the pope, and thereupon took leave of that prince, and threw himself into the French army, which was not long before it came to an engagement with the English.

THE unfortunate success of that day is but too well known; the battle was fought near Crecy in Ponthieu. The French lost it by the treachery  
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of some of their commanders, and by the precipitation of others. Philip shewed more valour than conduct in the action; he was one of the last that staid

in the field, and he still fought it out, though he had but sixty horsemen cavaliers left about him; but his horse being killed under him, he would infallibly have been taken by the enemy, had not Heredia leapt immediately off his own, and presented him to that prince, who retired out of the field along with him.

THE castellan seeing a body of foot that still kept on fighting, put himself at their head, and disputed the victory for some time with the English. But these battalions being at last overpowered by the victorious army, he was forced to take his fate in the general rout; and as he was grievously wounded, it was with great difficulty that he got off, and came up with the scattered remains of the French army.

WHILST he lay under cure for four great wounds he had received in the battle, he was informed that they threw reflections on his conduct in the English camp; and that some officers of that nation said, that he being invested with the character of an ambassador, could not fight on the French side without violating the law of nations. The knight, as soon as he was cured, sent an herald into their camp to challenge any one who should blemish his conduct; and in all probability a private duel would have ensued, had not the king of England, whose leave was asked for that purpose, done him justice, by declaring that he had notified to him before the battle, the permission which the pope had given him at the bottom of his instructions, of fighting against either of the princes who should reject the conditions of peace which he was commissioned to propose. He afterwards set a negotiation on foot again, as they pretend; and it is to him that historians ascribe a truce which the two kings agreed to for a year.

BUT be that matter as it will, he had the satisfaction, at his return to Avignon, of seeing the pope pleased with his conduct; and Innocent VI. succeeding to Clement VI. Heredia's fortune became still more illustrious under the pontificate of a pope, to whom, as he had ever been a particular friend, he then became his minister and confident.

INNOCENT, as the first marks of his favour, declared him governor of Avignon and the Comté Venaisin; and, as if his favourite's fortune engrossed all his thoughts, he seemed entirely taken up with providing for his advancement. He was daily heaping new benefits upon him; he was the channel thro' which all his favours were conveyed; the greatest princes strove eagerly to gain his friendship, and he shared the power of the keys with his master; or rather, the pope had the bare title, whilst his minister enjoyed all the authority of them.

By means of this boundless credit he amassed immense riches, part of which he employed in the settlement of his children whom he had left in Arragon. And to prevent the imputation of being ungrateful to his benefactor, and provide at the same time for the security of the pope and all his court, he was at the expence of building strong walls about the town of Avignon, fortifying them at proper distances with towers, which secured the place against a surprize, and put it in a condition of defence. The pope, delighted with these great and distinguishing expressions of his acknowledgments, plundered, as we may say, the order of the two great priories of Castile and St. Giles, to confer them upon his favourite, contrary to all the rules and privileges of that religious society, and in contempt of the important services which the order was doing continually to the Christian world, by the brave resistance they made against the infidels\*.

THE death of this pope, who was succeeded immediately by Urban V. and afterwards by Gregory XI. was the occasion of his losing part of his credit, though his ambition continued as violent as ever; and the grand master Julliac being grown very old, he considered

\* Retulere etiam nobilem victoriam hospitalarii equites de Turcis in Græcia, quamvis longè numero impares: investiti enim quatuor tantùm triremibus atque onerariâ, viginti novem barbarorum naves, dum in eas vicinorum agrorum prædas inferebant, interceptere, ut narrat Matthæus Villanus. Rain. ad ann. 1359. num.

ed that dignity as an honourable asylum against the insults of fortune and the disgraces of the court. He took his measures for it in good time; his friends at the court of Avignon exerted themselves strenuously in his favour; most of the European princes engaged in his interest, and recommended him to the knights who were born their subjects: so that upon Julliac's decease, the convent, however displeas'd at his conduct, was under a sort of necessity to chuse him for their grand master.

HEREDIA, as soon as he received the news of his election, prepared to set out for Rhodes; but as he had a mind to make his appearance there with forces that might keep up his reputation, and justify the choice of the order, he fitted out at his own expence nine gallies, besides other vessels of different bulk, on board of which he embarked a great number of volunteers, whom he took into his pay. He was ready to set sail, when he found himself oblig'd to delay his departure at the request of pope Gregory XI. who had just before been chosen successor to Urban, and was for making use of him and his fleet on a great design which he had for some time revolved in his thoughts, and then thought fit to put in execution.

NEAR seventy years had passed, as we have seen, since the holy see had been translated to Avignon by pope Clement V. During this long absence, though the popes pretended to be sovereigns of Rome, that capital of the world was then governed by a magistrate, who took the title of senator<sup>a</sup>, and by twelve other citizens, who were called bannerets, from the different banners which they set up to distinguish themselves in their several quarters. Their design, as they endeavoured to persuade the Romans, was to set up the old commonwealth again in Rome; but what they then called Romans were very different from those illustrious republicans, so renowned for the greatness of their sentiments, as well as for their singular valour, which had made them masters of a great part of the universe. These last Romans were only a confus'd medley, and

<sup>a</sup> Glossaire de Ducange, t. 3. p. 796:



a miserable remnant of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards, and other Barbarians, who in the precedent ages had over-run Italy. From the time that Rome was become the capital of the popes, the greatness of soul of the old Romans, their awful love of liberty, their valour and intrepidity, were degenerated into the narrow ambition of attaining the first dignities of the church.

THE study of the laws was the only way to such preferments. Rome, peopled, as it were, with ecclesiastics, was scarce ever free from cabals: these divisions occasioned their weakness; and the inhabitants of new Rome had scarce any thing of the Romans but the bare name. Besides, that great city, since the popes had quitted it, was little more than a country place, and that golden stream, which before used to flow in from all the states of Christendom, had been turned into another channel. and ran directly into the pope's court. Most of the other places of St. Peter's patrimony were either seized on by petty tyrants, or else, under the specious pretences of liberty, had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, who were then making war upon the pope himself, and ravaging the Campagna di Roma.

GREGORY XI. had employed the arms of the church against them; they had been publicly excommunicated by a solemn bull; and as they did not seem much affected with it, the pope had sent an army into Italy under the command of cardinal Robert of Geneva, as legate of the holy see. But the pontiff not meeting with all the success he expected, had again recourse to spiritual arms; and to make them cut the deeper, he had sharpened them as it were after a new and extraordinary manner. He not only aggravated the former excommunication, thundered out against the Florentines, but he involved in it all the faithful that should hold any commerce with them, or supply them with gold, silver, corn, wine, provisions, wool, cloth, and even with wood to burn: and moreover, says the pope, "we  
" confiscate all the effects of the Florentines, and en-  
" join every body to attack them, to seize their per-  
" sons,

“ sons, to make them slaves, and reduce them to a  
“ state of servitude.”

THIS bull had all the effect that the avarice of men, animated by the pious credulity of those times, could expect from it. Every body made it a merit to persecute these poor excommunicated people, and to seize their effects wherever they could discover them. The commerce of the Florentines, in which their main strength lay, was entirely ruined; their debtors refused even to pay them; and in foreign countries, particularly in England, several of their merchants were arrested by the king's orders, and made slaves.

THE Florentines laid down their arms, and sent ambassadors to the pope to bring him to temper; but not being able to obtain a repeal of this terrible bull, they had recourse to St. Catharine of Sienna, a nun of the order of St. Dominic, famous over all Italy for her piety, and especially for some revelations and intimate communications with heaven, which she took care to publish, tho' it must be owned they are a little extraordinary.

THE she-saint, at the request of the Florentines her neighbours, embarked for Provence, and arrived safe at Avignon. She saw the pope, and in an audience she had of him, made him such warm instances in behalf of the Florentines, that she obtained the repealing of his bull, though the pontiff had told her, that she would find herself deluded by those merchants. This was not the only important commission she had taken: The Romans, deprived of the profit they used to reap from the residence of the popes and cardinals, and the continual concourse of so many strangers as had business at the pope's court, had secretly sent deputies to Avignon, conjuring the pope to return to the capital of the Christian world. To determine him to do so, they made protestations of acknowledging him for their sovereign, and preserving an inviolable fidelity to him and his successors. St. Catherine employed all her credit to second their request: she represented to the pope, that his presence would quiet all the troubles of Italy,  
and

and that by fixing the holy see again at Rome, he would likewise fix again its authority in all the places that had been seized upon by usurpers.

PETER, infant of Arragon, a Franciscan friar, and St. Bridget, pressed him likewise to return to his church; but what absolutely determined the pope to quit Provence and return to Rome, was the advice he received by an express from the cardinal of St. Peter, who was then resident at Rome as his vicegerent, that the Romans, if he did not return speedily, had resolved to elect another pope, and had even made sure of the abbot of Mont Cassin, a monk not over scrupulous, who, without being startled at the guilt that is inseparable from schism, had agreed with them to act the infamous part of an anti-pope.

GREGORY, terrified at a project which was going to raise a competitor for his dignity, resolved to prevent such a misfortune by a speedy return into Italy. His own father and mother, William count of Beaufort and his wife, who were still living, and who indeed survived him, used the most tender intreaties, but all in vain, to keep him in Provence. King Charles V. <sup>a</sup> likewise foreseeing the fatal consequences that this precipitate journey would occasion to the church, wrote to him in the most pressing terms, in order to divert him from it. "You are going, holy father, says that prince to him, into a country where you are but very little beloved; if you die there, as is probable enough you will, the Romans will get all the cardinals into their power; and to prevent the court of Rome's returning to Avignon, will force them by dint of arms to elect an Italian pope."

BUT notwithstanding all the pressing instances of that prince, and of most of the cardinals who plied him with representations of the seditious and mutinous temper of the people of Rome, the pope was inflexible being prepossessed with the remonstrances and advice of St. Catherine, and the other devout persons abovementioned. He left Avignon, and went to embark at Marseilles on board the galleys of the order,

<sup>a</sup> *Questa vita Gregorii XI. p. 481,*

which were commanded by the new grand master Heredia in person, who had with him the priors of St Giles, England and Rome, and a considerable number of the knights and commanders of the order.

PETER AMELIO, bishop of Senigallia, who was in this voyage, has given us an exact relation and journal of it, which Abraham Bzovius has taken care to preserve. That prelate represents the grand master with a large white beard, holding the rudder of the pope's galley, and surrounded with all his knights. The same historian too acquaints us, that this little fleet being dispersed by a storm off of the coast of Provence, the grand master by his resolution and skill in the art of navigation, baffled the violence of the winds, and brought the pope safe into the port of Ostia.

THE pontiff, before he made his entry into Rome, got from them, for his own security, and pursuant to the promises made by the magistrates, a declaration, wherein they, in the name of the people of Rome, acknowledged him for sovereign of the city, and all the territory belonging to it. He was afterwards received there in great solemnity with all his court; the grand master going immediately before his holiness, carrying the standard of the church. The magistrates with a crowd of people at their heels, proclaimed the general joy with loud acclamations; but it was soon found that there was more shew and pomp in these outward submissions than fidelity and real obedience; and that the senator and banerets would not easily give up the authority they had usurped.

THE grand master having acquitted himself with so much honour in convoying the pope, took his leave, went with all his knights on board the fleet, and set sail for Rhodes, where all the convent expected him with great impatience. As he was pursuing his course, he met off of the coast of Morea a fleet of Venetians, who were then in war against the Turks: those Barbarians had a little before taken the town of Patras, so famous for its silk trade, from that republic. The Venetian general coming on board the grand master's galley

galley to pay him his compliments, as he knew his valour and capacity in the art of war, he conjured him in the name of his republic, and for the common good of Christendom, to consent to join their forces for recovering a place of that importance out of the hands of the infidels. Tho' affairs of great consequence required the grand master's presence at Rhodes, whither he was going to take possession of his dignity; yet his courage prevailed over his interest, and he embraced with joy an occasion of signalizing his warlike talents against the eternal enemies of his order. The two fleets joined, and landing their troops, they marched straight to Patras, a town situated on an eminence, about a quarter of a league's distance from the sea.

As the place had but few fortifications, and took up a great compass of ground, the grand master tried to take it by scalado; ladders were laid against those places in the walls that were almost ruined, and he took it without any great resistance. The governor had reserved his garrison for the defence of the castle, into which he retired along with it. The castle was seated in the highest part of the town, and wanted none of the fortifications which art had at that time invented to render it impregnable.

It was necessary to besiege it in a regular manner; the attacks were smart and vigorous, and the defence was as brave. The order lost several knights of distinction; but at last the machines made use of in those times, having made a breach, the grand master impatient of so long a resistance, takes a ladder, claps it to the breach, mounts up first sword in hand, and without minding whether he was followed or no, throws himself into the place. The governor on his side opposes his progress with great courage; a sort of duel ensues between them, till the Christian, more expert or else stronger than the infidel, runs him thro', kills him, cuts off his head, whilst his knights, uncertain of his fate, mount up the breach in crowds to his succour, bear down all before them, and breaking into the place, put the garrison to the sword.



THE grand master flushed with this good success, and invigorated by the interested praises of the Venetian general, took up a resolution to extend his conquests over all the Morea. Corinth was the first place to be attacked; it was resolved, in a council of war, to take it from the infidels, and the christian army advanced into the territory about it to besiege it. The grand master however, before he sat down before the place, had a mind to view the situation and condition of it himself. But as the convoy he took with him was weak, he fell unhappily into an ambuscade; the Turks cut his small corps in pieces and took him prisoner. The infidels thought they had only taken a private knight; but some deserters discovering his quality to them, they sent him to the castle of Corinth, where they kept him under a strict guard.

THE grand priors of St. Giles, England and Rome, who had followed him in this expedition, offered, with the Venetian general's consent, to give Patras for his ransom; but the Turks rejecting the proposal returned a proud answer, that being masters of the Morea they knew how to recover that place in less time than the Christians had employed in reducing it. The knights inconsolable for the reproach they might lie under of having left their grand master behind them in the hands of the infidels, offered besides Patras, a very considerable sum, and the three grand priors in hostage to be kept till the whole was paid.

THE Turks seemed to come into this last proposal; but when they acquainted the grand master with it, he generously opposed it, and would never consent that the three grand priors should be put into the infidels' hands as hostages on his account, saying, "Let me alone, my dear brethren, suffer an useless old man, that cannot live much longer, to die in prison: and do you that are younger, reserve yourselves to be serviceable to the order." In vain did his knights, who had got leave to see him, labour by their prayers and tears to gain his consent for this exchange; nothing could shake his resolution. He would not even  
allow

allow his ransom to be paid out of the treasury of the order: "if it must be paid said he, my family hath received estate enough from me to give this proof of their gratitude." The Turks, regardless of so noble a generosity, sent him into the mountains of Albania, to oblige him to be the more expeditious in paying his ransom. He was there shut up in a close prison, and instead of enjoying his new dignity at Rhodes, he was kept above three years in a rigorous slavery, where he had time enough to make serious reflections on the little solidity of human grandeur.

DURING his captivity a furious schism broke out, which distracted the church for above fifty years afterwards; the order of St. John having the misfortune to be involved in it, as well as all the states and other orders of Christendom. We have seen how pope Gregory XI. prevailed upon, by the promises and pretended submissions of the Romans, and seduced, if I may be allowed the expression, by the confidence he had in St. Catherine's predictions, had quitted Provence, and fixed his residence at Rome, the natural seat of all the sovereign pontiffs.

BUT he had not continued long there, before he had the mortification to find, that the spirit of rebellion was still reigning in that city; and the magistrates, in contempt of the most solemn oaths, far from paying the obedience which they owed him, had resumed their first authority and perpetuated themselves in the government. The just reason he had to fear; lest after his death these mutineers should tyrannize over the conclave, and force it to elect whom they pleased for his successor, made him take the resolution of returning to Avignon. But being seized with a sudden illness which carried him off, a little before he died, holding the holy sacrament in his hands, he conjured all the cardinals, who assisted him in those his last moments, to chuse that person for his successor whom they should find most worthy of that great dignity. He cautioned them against giving credit to certain persons of both sexes, who under colour of pretended revelations, pro-

posed their own visions as a rule of conduct to be observed in the government of the church; which by the too great confidence he had therein, joined with the seditious temper of the Romans, was going to expose the church to the danger of a terrible schism, if the Saviour of the world did not of his infinite goodness interpose to preserve his spouse from it <sup>a</sup>.

'TIS plain whom the holy pontiff meant in this discourse: and his apprehensions were unhappily justified by the event, and proved truer than the predictions and prophecies which had imposed on him.

For as soon as his eyes were closed, the bannerets and magistrates of the city, for fear a new pope should translate the holy see to Avignon, resolved to oppose the election of a French cardinal, and to force the members of the conclave to chuse a Roman, or at least an Italian for pope. 1373. Mar. 27.

WITH this view they seized and put guards at the gates of the city, as in a garrison and time of war, for fear the cardinals should get out unknown to them and retire to some city of Italy, where they might proceed with freedom to the election of a pope.

THIS seditious gang drove afterwards out of Rome, all well designing persons, and such as could oppose the violence they were offering to the cardinals; and then let in a company of banditti and peasants of the neighbouring mountains, a savage set of men, whom they supplied with arms, and who running over all quarters of the city, threatned a general massacre, if they did not chuse a Roman, or at least an Italian, for pope. *Romano lo volemo, ó al manco Italiano,* was the cry of these furious wretches, to whom the dregs of the people joined themselves, and to which they were secretly instigated by the magistrates.

THE disorder did not end with this tumult; for when the cardinals, after the ten first days employed about

<sup>a</sup> Quia per tales ipse seductus, dimisso suorum rationabili consilio se traxerat, & ecclesiam in discrimen schismatis imminentis, nisi misericorditer provideret sponfus Jesus. Gerson, exam. doct. part 2. Wading. ann. minor. l. 4.

about the funeral of the deceased pope were passed, prepared to go into the conclave; the seditious seized on the doors, and declared, that if they resolved to chuse a foreign cardinal for pope, "they would make their heads redder than their hats;" and to hasten the election of an Italian, the most furious among them piled up faggots of vine twigs and straw under the place where the cardinals were assembled, as if they were ready to set it on fire. Others struck against the floor with pikes and halberts; and in order to force them to comply, they presented death before them in several shapes; all of them equally frightful and terrible.

THE cardinals, says an historian of that time, chusing rather to be ranked in the number of the confessors than that of the martyrs, did, to save their own lives, and pacify these furious wretches, agree to name an Italian for pope. But before they proceeded to an election so visibly extorted from them by violence, the foreign cardinals, and even some of the Italians, made a protest before public notaries, that the election was extorted from them, and that they did it only to avoid an immediate death; and that when they should be free and in a place of safety, they would proceed to a new and more canonical election. They afterwards named for pope Bartholomew Prignano, a Neapolitan, archbishop of Bari. They made so unexpected a choice, in hopes that this prelate, who was looked upon as the most learned man in all Italy in canon law, and was likewise an eye-witness of the violence offered them, would not make use of it to maintain himself in a dignity to which he had not been raised according to the rules of the church. Some historians go so far as to say, that when he saw the violence used against the cardinals, not imagining that he should reap the benefit of it himself, he said to one of his friends, who was then with him in S. Peter's church, "that he would never acknowledge any one for pope, whom the cardinals should be forced to chuse with daggers at their throats."

BUT

\* Froissart, t. 2, ch. 12.

BUT when those princes of the church had sent to fetch him, in order to notify his election to him, he received the news at first with great surprise : but these first sentiments soon made way for those of joy ; and ambition made him readily give his consent. In vain did the cardinals, after this forced election, solicit him to leave Rome, under pretence, as they said, of ratifying his nomination in a free place ; the ambitious Neapolitan, far from giving into the snare, declared that he looked upon his election as lawful and regular, and to hinder the cardinals from repeating it, had recourse to sedition ; and made use of it to keep them in Rome, notwithstanding all their endeavours to leave it. They were forced by a new violence to assist in person at his taking possession of the pontifical chair, and the ceremony of his coronation, when he took the name of Urban VI.

THIS was not all he exacted of the cardinals<sup>a</sup> ; he obliged them to write letters to the principal potentates of Christendom, to certify that his election was free and canonical. The cardinals who saw themselves every day, as it were, in a state between life and death, to satisfy a man whom they considered as their tyrant, signed whatever he required of them, but gave private notice at the same time to several princes, particularly to Charles V. king of France, that they should not mind what they wrote so long as they were in Rome. Their design was to get out of town, and they got leave at last on pretence of the great heat. But instead of retiring to their respective country houses, most of the foreign cardinals that were in Italy went by concert to Anagni, from whence they wrote to the king of France and all the princes of Christendom to inform them of the violent manner in which they had been forced to put the archbishop of Bari in the chair of St. Peter, transmitting at the same time an exact account of all that had passed at Rome since the death of Gregory XI. with authentic copies of their protests. They wrote

<sup>a</sup> Theol. de



wrote likewise to the new pope, representing to him, that nobody was better acquainted than himself with the defects of his election; that being an eye-witness of the violences offered them, he could not but be sensible that he was no true pope; and they conjured him, in the most pressing terms, generously to quit a dignity, which he could not keep any longer without exposing the church by his ambition to the terrible calamities of schism, for which he would be accountable to the divine justice.

URBAN rejected their exhortation and entreaties with disdain, and treated them as rebels and schismatics. He seemed afterwards to be a little mollified, and to bring them back to his court, offered them a general pardon, which the event shewed would have been ill observed, had they suffered themselves to be imposed on by his promises. The cardinals, from a principle of conscience, as we may suppose, retired to Fondi, a strong place in the kingdom of Naples; and for their security, got a guard of foreign troops, Gascoons and Bretons, which Gregory XI. had taken into his service for the defence of St. Peter's patrimony. 'Twas in this town that they proceeded anew to the electing of a pope, and after shutting themselves up in a conclave, cardinal Robert of Geneva, brother to Amé count of Geneva was at the first scrutiny elected by the unanimous voices of a majority of the college of cardinals, and was afterwards crowned by the name of Clement VII.

THE two popes soon made the schism notorious by the anathema's which they thundered out reciprocally against one another, and against all that followed the opposite party. All the princes of Christendom were divided on one side or other in this famous dispute, some adhering to Urban, and others owning the authority of Clement. Nor were there wanting on either side famous universities, eminent divines, learned canonists, and even persons of great sanctity, famous, as is pretended, for their gift of miracles, to declare in favour of the opposite parties, as if God almighty were

not willing it should be known which of the two was the lawful pope.

THIS spirit of division spread itself into the order of St. John and infected the knights: the grand master Heredia being ransomed by his own family out of the hands of the infidels, and all the convent of Rhodes declared in favour of Clement <sup>a</sup>, and the languages of Italy and England, with several commanders of Germany, acknowledged Urban. This pope, to have his revenge against the grand master, declared that he had forfeited his dignity; and not being able prevail with the convent to elect another in his stead, he named brother Richard Coracciolo prior of Capua for grand master by his own authority. Thus were there at the same time two grand masters in the order, as there were two popes in the church. But excepting Italy and England, and some commanders in Germany, as we said before, all the rest of the order adhered inviolably to the authority of Clement, and continued subject to the government of Heredia.

THIS grand master, who was formerly grasping so much at riches and honours, had, whilst he was in captivity among the infidels, time enough to reflect on the vanity of all human grandeur. Adversity, a severe but useful mistress, returned him back to his order, a disinterested and modest man, full of zeal, over-actuated by the spirit of his profession, strict as to his own conduct, and without any view but the good of his order, the maintenance of discipline, and his own satisfaction.

DURING his captivity, and a year before he was ransomed, brother Bertrand de Flotte, a grand  
1380. commander, and the grand master's lieutenant, had held a general chapter at Rhodes, in which several regulations were made, which would have

<sup>a</sup> Rhodiorum pariter equitum magister schismatis laqueis se irretiit, ut queritur Urbanus, qui ob eam rem vectigalia quæ in Germania Rhodio magistro pendebantur, pontificio fisco inferri jussit. Rain. ad ann. 1387. num. 10.

have been useful, if there had been authority enough in the government to enforce the observance of them. It was there enacted, that the collations which the grand master and council should make of the commandries of Europe, should be received with submission, notwithstanding the pretensions of some priors who had assumed to themselves a right of naming to those commandries that fell vacant within their priories; that the great estate which composed the commandry of Cyprus should be divided into seven portions and seven commandries, and that the first of the seven parts should go by the name of great commandry, with the right and title of grand cross; and that the other six should devolve upon the knights according to their seniority, and be subject to the jurisdiction of the grand commander; that the commander of the isle of Coos or Langos should be obliged to maintain twenty five knights, and every knight of the order should be bound to keep an horse and his equipage, exercise himself in shooting with a cross-bow, and be always in a readiness to march upon the orders of his superiors; and if he failed, should be deprived of the allowance and pension that he received from the treasury.

To these regulations several articles were added, relating to the conduct of the grand masters, to oblige them to a strict residence at Rhodes. It had been enacted, that they should not confer any dignity, nor give away any commandry out of the convent: and to prevent an abuse which was introduced insensibly by the grand masters, who solicited at the court of Rome, to be eased of the burthen of their dignity; a statute was made, that when a grand master was worn out with years, or on account of his infirmities had a mind to abdicate the grand mastership, he should not be allowed to resign it, unless he did it to the general chapter or the convent at the head of the order, who had the sole right of providing him a successor.

THE grand master, having in the mean time paid his ransom, came to Rhodes, where he took possession  
of

of his dignity and government. He thereupon caused an estimate to be laid before him of the revenues of the order and the state of the treasury: 1331. two things very necessary for the preservation and defence of the isles and places belonging to the order in the Mediterranean sea, and on the coasts adjoining; and he was very sensibly afflicted, when he found that in the time of his captivity a destructive anarchy had, by the favour of the sultan, crept into the order, and that most of the knights, especially the priors and commanders, had made themselves independent, and acted as they saw fit, without any regard to their obligations. Some of them paid no deference to the orders of the council, any further than they found their own present interest promoted by them. Those of the North scarce kept up any correspondence at all with the convent; they did not make good their responsions, or else paid but a very small part of them; and as the order was obliged to furnish subsistence and pay to the soldiers that were in garrison in the fortresses belonging to the knights, they had been forced to borrow considerable sums, the bare interest of which swallowed up all the revenues they could draw from Rhodes.

THE grand master conferring with the council about the distressed condition of the order, and the difficulties of providing a suitable remedy, the council was of opinion, that nothing but a superior authority, such as that of the pope, could correct such great disorders. They entreated the grand master to go to Avignon, where pope Clement resided; but as they were apprehensive he might stay too long in a court where he had spent part of his life, and still remembered, that whilst he was in favour with several popes, he had diverted most of the responsions of France and Spain to his own profit, the council, before he embarked, required him to take a solemn oath, that he would pay all the money that he received from the responsions of the order into the public treasury; and in order to bring him back the sooner, that he should not, during his absence, nominate to any dignity of the order, as had been resolved

resolved in the last chapter held at Rhodes during the time of his captivity.

THE council carried their precautions still farther, and under pretence of providing him an honourable attendance, they sent with him Bertrand de Flotte grand commander, Buisson prior of the church of Rhodes, Eston de Slegleolts commander of Friburg, and William de Fontenai commander of Espailons, all of them knights truly zealous for the observance of the statutes, and who resolved to maintain them inviolably: but the event shewed how needless these precautions were, and that the grand master, after his advancement to that dignity, had no other view in all his actions but the good of his order. 'Twas this motive that engaged him, before he set out, to appoint brother Peter de Culant marshal of the order to be his lieutenant at Rhodes, a gentleman as much distinguished by his illustrious birth as by his singular valour. The grand master, upon his arrival at Avignon, having paid his duty to the pope, and taken the oath of obedience, represented to him the deplorable condition the order was reduced to, by means of the unhappy schism that had infected it, and deprived the public treasury of the responsions of the schismatical commanders; that even the commanders who continued subject to his authority, were scarce more exact in their duty to the order, and were still making use of one excuse or other to keep from paying that just and necessary tribute, and that they were afraid of pressing them on this article, for fear lest the spirit of avarice, that possessed them, should make them fancy it no dishonour, whilst the schism still kept up its head, to change sides under pretence of chusing the right one. Clement entered into his views, and agreed, that in such a juncture there was no dealing with them, nor means of reclaiming them, but by gentle methods; for which purpose the pontiff, by his authority, called several chapters, one after another, at Valence and Avignon, and in the castellany of Emposta for Spain.



THE grand master presided in all these assemblies, and laboured still more effectually by his example than he could by his discourses, to revive a spirit of union and charity in his knights. Several seemed really concerned; some engaged to go away immediately for Rhodes; others offered to pay the arrears of their responsions. But as these supplies were neither present nor considerable enough, by reason of the schism in the order, and that Rhodes and Smyrna were equally threatened with a siege by Bajazet I. sultan of the Turks, the grand master generously sacrificed part of his great estate to the succour of the order, and sent at different times, ships loaden with arms and provisions to Rhodes and Smyrna, taking care in the same manner to remit considerable sums thither for paying the soldiers in their service.

TWAS from the same spirit of piety, and perhaps from a motive of penance and restitution, that he employed the great fortune he had acquired before his being raised to the grand mastership, in founding at Capua and Rubulo in Arragon, a commandry for his knights, and a collegiate church of twelve priests for the chaplains of the order, annexing thereto for ever for their subsistence, the manor of Exariel, and a moiety of the revenues of the castle of St. Peter.

BROTHER Richard Caracciolo prior of Capua, whom pope Urban VI. by virtue of his own authority, had nominated grand master in Heredia's stead, desirous of imitating this liberality of his, founded, at his own expence, a famous monastery of religious ladies of the order, in the city of Florence, by the title of the nuns of St. John.

DAME Perrere Viviani was the first commandress of this convent; and no young lady could be admitted into it till she had first produced proofs of her noble descent, which were to be examined by the prior of Pisa, under the direction of the grand master. Caracciolo enjoyed that title with respect to Italy and England during his life; but upon his death, Boniface IX. who, during the schism, had succeeded

to Urban VI. foreseeing that if he should provide him a successor, he would never be owned by the soundest part of the order, for their grand master, to Heredia's prejudice; contented himself, as if the grand mastership had been vacant, with disposing only of the title of lieutenant to brother Boniface of Carmandre, his own relation. But excepting Italy and England, as was before observed, the whole order adhered inviolably to the grand master, whose great qualities commanded their respect and reverence. This prince died that very year at Avignon, in a very old age, after having governed his order nineteen years and eight months. His body was carried to the church of Capfa, which he himself had founded, and became afterwards the head of a bailiwick.

March

1396.

IN his private life he distinguished himself as much in the quality of a great captain, as in that of a skilful courtier; was grasping at wealth and honours, and sacrificing every thing in order to raise his family; and purchased in his son John Ferdinand d'Heredia's name, the castles and lands of Mora and Valbonne, several other manors, and among the rest the county of Fuente, which his descendants enjoy at this day. But after he arrived at the grand mastership, he became disinterested, liberal and magnificent, zealous for the support of discipline, and especially for the defence of the rights and privileges of the order, which he had formerly so openly violated, in order to aggrandize himself. We have some excellent laws, or rather wise ordinances, instituted by him, still preserved in the book of statutes, which shew his zeal and great capacity in government. He had learned from his own faults, of which ambition was the source, how to prevent those of his successors. From the time that he became grand master, he was, as we may say, another man; and it were to be wished, either that he had never entered into the order, or that the condition of human nature would have allowed him to have always continued in the government of it.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Knights Hospitallers  
O F  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,  
Styled afterwards,  
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,  
And at present,  
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.  
B O O K VI.

**W**HEN the news of the grand master Heredia's death arrived at Rhodes, the knights that were then in the island assembled in a body to provide him a successor. Their choice fell upon brother **PHILEBERT DE NAILLAC**, grand prior of Aquitain, a gentleman equally esteemed for his wisdom and valour. The order indeed, during the schism, which divided it as well as the whole Christian church, stood in need of a chief of his consummate prudence; nor was he less serviceable to it in the wars it was afterwards obliged to maintain against most of the eastern princes.

SCARCE had the new prince of Rhodes taken possession of his dignity, when he was solicited to enter in-

to a league against Bajazet the first of the name, and fifth sultan of the race of the Ottoman Turks<sup>a</sup>, who threatened Hungary with a cruel invasion. Sigismond, of the house of Luxemburg, and son to the emperor Charles IV. was then upon the throne of that kingdom in right of queen Mary his wife, a prince, whom adversity and the various disgraces he had passed through in his youth, had rendered very skilful in the arts of government, but he was a much better politician than a general. The ravages which the Turks made almost every year on the frontiers of his territories, obliged him to make application to the pope for succours. The pontiff, for that purpose, formed a powerful league against the infidels, in which he engaged Charles VI. king of France, Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, the republic of Venice, and the knights of Rhodes. Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, desired to be comprehended in it ; and several petty Christian princes, as well Latins as Greeks, sued for the same favour, but very little succour came from their side ; and their names were of no other use than to increase the number of signatures that were put at the bottom of this famous treaty. Charles VI. alone furnished more troops than all the other allies put together. They pretend that there went out of France, upon this expedition, above a thousand knights with banners, or cheiftrains of companies, and more than a thousand esquires, who generously abandoned their country in a warmth of zeal to signalize their courage against Bajazet.

THAT infidel prince was the son of Amurath I. whom a slave of Lazarus, Despot of Servia<sup>b</sup>, stabbed in the midst of his guards, to revenge 1383. the death of his master, whom the barbarous sultan had taken in an engagement, and caused to be strangled in his presence<sup>c</sup>. Bajazet, before the news of his father's death became public, obliged a secretary of state to write a letter in his father's name to prince

Q3

Giacup

<sup>a</sup> Abu-Jesid-Benmorad-Gazi.

<sup>b</sup> Histoire des Turcs, t. 1. p. 45. chez Foppens.

<sup>c</sup> Laon. C halcondyl. t. 1.

Giacup his brother, to come immediately to him. The unfortunate prince, having no notion of the cruel destiny that was to befall him there, came to Adrianople, where Bajazet, to get rid of a rival in the empire, ordered him to be strangled with a bow-string, a fatal instrument, which most of his successors, out of a pretended scruple of shedding blood so precious as that of the Ottoman race, have generally made use of to dispatch the princes of their family.

BAJAZET, freed from a competitor, applied himself to secure the dominions left him by his father, and enlarge them by new conquests. He was a prince full of fire, of a courage equal to his ambition, warm, bold, and enterprising; always on horseback and in the field, thirsting after the blood of his enemies, and prodigal of that of his own soldiers. He looked upon the art of making one's self feared, as the surest rule in politics\*. He first fell upon Bulgaria, and the sovereign of the country falling by the fate of war into his hands, he caused him to be immediately strangled. He next ravaged Bosnia and Croatia, carrying off more captives than he left inhabitants. Macedonia was not exempted from the fury of his incursions; and he fell down from thence upon the Morea, reduced part of it, and on the side of Constantinople, forced his way through to the very walls of the city. He would willingly have besieged it in form, but not having a number of forces sufficient for so great an enterprize, he only blocked up that capital of the Greek empire, with several detachments of troops, which he posted in different quarters about it.

HE went to finish in Asia, the campaign he had begun so successfully in Europe. Passing the Hellespont, he over-ran Cappadocia and Phrygia, with the same rapidity, and without distinguishing the princes of his own, from those of the Christian religion. He attacked Aladin, sultan of Cilicia, but finding too much resistance on that side, he turned his arms against some petty

\* Philippi Loniceri Turcica. Hist. l. 1.



ty princes of the Turcomans, of the old Selgeucidian race, called Ethein-Sarkhan-Mendez-Teko, and Me-tin, who were possessed of different districts of Anatolia, and plundered them of their dominions. Could he but made himself master of their persons with the same facility, he would have given them no better treatment than he did the king of Bulgaria: but those princes knowing his bloody temper, took a seasonable refuge at the court of Tamerlane, the great Cham of Tartary, another conqueror, who had reduced Persia, Mesopotamia, and a great part of Syria.

BAJAZET, after these expeditions, left prince Ortogules his son, in Asia, at Bursa, the capital of his dominions, to shew his subjects at once the authority of his own reign, and the expectations of his successors. He returned afterwards into Europe, and fixed his residence at Adrianople, from whence he ravaged Attica and Thessaly, conquered part of Macedonia, defeated the prince of Wallachia, and forced him to submit to pay him tribute. The rapidity of his incursions allowed no time to oppose them, which gained him the surname of Ilderim, i. e. the thunder or the storm. A small body of his troops, detached from the body of his army, advancing on the side of Delphos, Theudelinda, the widow of Don Louis Davalos, whose predecessors had seized on that little  
1394.  
state, fearing to be besieged by that conqueror, went out to visit him at a distance, and in his camp made him magnificent presents, and presented him her daughter, who passed for one of the greatest beauties of the east. The charms of the young princess disarmed Bajazet, who valued this conquest more than he did that of Delphos. He left Theudelinda mistress of it, and brought away her daughter with him in exchange. At the end of the campaign he ravaged the frontiers of Hungary, destroying all before him with fire and sword. They say, that as he retired, he sent back some prisoners to Sigismund, charging them to tell that prince, by way of an insulting threat, that he would return the next spring to visit him, and when he had drove him

out of his dominions, would pass into Italy, as far as Rome; would plant his standards on the top of the capitol, and feed his horse with oats upon the very altar of St. Peter.

THE pope, alarmed with these threats, published a sort of crusade against that infidel prince, which was the occasion of the league above mentioned. The Greek emperor, the Venetians, and the knights of Rhodes, put a strong fleet to sea, under the command of the noble Thomas Mocenigo, who lay off the mouth of the Danube all the campaign, whilst the king of Hungary made all the nobility and gentry of his country, as well as the militia of the nation, take the field. France alone, as we have already observed, furnished more regular troops than all the other allies together; and when they were ready to march, the king gave the command of that body to John count of Nevers, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy. Philip d'Artois, a lord of the blood<sup>a</sup>, as the stile was at that time, and constable of the kingdom, went with that young prince; and there were in the same army the count de la Marche, Henry and Philip de Bar, all three related to the king; John de Vienne, admiral of France, the marshal de Boucicault, the sire de Coucy, one of the most considerable lords of the kingdom, and yet more distinguished

by his admirable valour than his riches; Guy  
1397. de la Tremouille, the seigniors of Koye, St. Paul, Montorel and Sampi, and in a manner all the most illustrious youth of France, who were inflamed with an eager desire of coming to an engagement with the infidels.

THIS French crusade marched through Germany, and as they passed through Bavaria and Austria, were joined by brother Frederic, count of Zollern, grand prior of Germany, at the head of the knights of his nation. All these troops came into Hungary about the same time that the grand master arrived there from Rhodes, followed by the principal commanders, and a great number of knights of his order. Sigismond, who  
knew

<sup>a</sup> L'Hist. Anon. de S. Denis, l. 16. c. 2.

knew their valour, declared that he would fight at their head, lodged them in his own quarter, and kept the grand master near his person.

BAJAZET was at this time in Anatolia, tho' others say he was encamped near Constantinople, his troops continuing the blockade of that place; and though he was informed of the mighty succours arrived in Hungary, yet he made no motion at all; whether he confided in the valour of the governors, whom he had put in the principal places of his frontiers, or would allow time for the impetuosity of the French to cool, or perhaps flattered himself that jealousy and dissensions would not fail to break out soon in so vast a body as the Christian army, composed of different nations; and that the change of air and diet, and the difficulty of getting provisions, might occasion sickness in the camp; in fine, whatever were his motives, he like a wise prince, resolved at first to try what time would produce in his favour. The only precaution he took was to keep the Christians from knowing any thing of his march, and whether he was still in Europe or Asia. The allies having no news of him, passed the Danube, entered Bulgaria, took some little places, and on a particular occasion, a party consisting only of French, and commanded by the sire de Coucy, cut to pieces the troops which the sultan had left in the country, who had advanced to disturb the Christians in their foraging. This trifling advantage, the number and valour of the Christian troops, the facility they had afterwards in sending out the parties on all sides, puffed up the soldiery with presumption; the very generals were infected with that dangerous poison of a too favourable fortune, and Bajazet was not talked of but with contempt.

THEY said that he was lurking in the farther part of Asia; the marshal de Boucicault maintained in council that he durst not pass the Hellespont; and an Hungarian historian relates<sup>a</sup>, that Sigismund seeing himself at the head of an hundred thousand men, of which

sixty

<sup>a</sup> Bonfin. rer. Hung. Dec. 3. l. 2. p. 379.

sixty thousand were horse, most of them men of arms; bragged that he would not only drive the Turks out of Europe, but that if the sky should fall, his soldiers were numerous enough to bear it up with the points of their lances.

THIS confidence, rash in itself, and ever dangerous in the event, made him undertake the siege of Nicopolis, a strong place, defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by Dogamberg, one of Bajazet's principal captains. This Turkish officer soon made the Christians sensible, by his frequent sallies, that it was much easier to ravage the open country, than to take a place, the government of which had been put into his hands; there were fresh combats every day, and the Christians did not gain an inch of ground but what cost them the lives of their bravest soldiers. This vigorous resistance weakened the army of the allies considerably, whilst luxury and debauchery, two enemies yet more dangerous than the Turks, infected all the camp, which, by the young gentry, was made a place of public prostitution. It looked as if they thought the pious motive of their expedition was a sufficient dispensation to authorise their violating with impunity the most essential obligations of Christianity<sup>a</sup>. The French especially passed whole days with common prostitutes, and in pleasures as scandalous as they were easy to be obtained. The soldiery, by their example, drowned themselves as it were in wine, and their drunkenness could not even be moderated by their indigence; they passed away every moment like so many bacchanals, which scandalized even the very Turks, as well as the Christians that inhabited the country. This looseness in military discipline, and the little care taken by the commanders to send out parties for intelligence, allowed Bajazet time to advance with great secrecy to the succour of the place besieged; he was but a day's march off when the Christians believed him still in Anatolia. Some soldiers that had straggled out for pillage were the first that brought the account that the sul-

tan

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Anon. de S. Denis, l. 16. c. 10.

tan was within six leagues of the camp; they were eager to carry the first intelligence of it to the generals. Marshal de Boucicault, still ridiculously possessed with his first notion, and that the Turks durst not venture a battle, rejected the advice brought with great contempt, and turning to those marauders, "You rascals," says he, you shall dearly repent putting the camp in "alarm with your false news<sup>a</sup>." He went so far as to threaten cutting off their ears; but he was soon undeceived of his fatal prepossession; and they saw the van of the enemy's army appear, advancing in good order, and drawing up in battle array in the plain.

To this excess of confidence, succeeded surprise, tumult and confusion, in the Christian camp. The count of Nevers, who did not think that the Turks could, with their javelins and scymitars, resist the lances and swords of the French, made his cavalry mount on horseback. He pretended to have the post of honour in the field of battle, and insisted on making the first charge upon the infidels; but the king of Hungary represented to him, that that great multitude of Turks, which covered the neighbouring plains, were only militia and peasants, sordidly armed, that had been brought out of Asia in chains, and dragged to the war by force; and that it was the general custom of the infidels to put a great body of these fellows before them, and expose them to the first fury of their enemies only to fatigue them: that afterwards they might, with the fresh and regular troops, which they had in reserve, make their advantages of the disorder and motions that would inevitably happen in the beginning of an engagement; that the Hungarians, in imitation of their practice<sup>b</sup>, usually opposed this sort of enemies with militia of a like nature, of whom they made as little account; that he earnestly besought him to permit his infantry to stand the first shock of the infidels; that his cavalry might afterwards, with their lances, open and pierce through the thickest battalions of the Janizaries; that he would sustain his attack with the grand master at  
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<sup>a</sup> Hist. Anon. l. 16. c. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 11.



the head of his knights, and the gentry of his own kingdom; and that after all, he desired him to remember that the honour and glory of a battle did not so much consist in the first onset, as in the last attack, which put an end to the engagement, and decided the victory.

THE count of Nevers assembling his council, to give an answer to this representation, addressed himself first to the sire de Coucy, whose advice the duke of Burgundy his father, had, at parting, recommended to him to follow. That lord, considering the experience which they had in Hungary, of the manner in which the Turks drew up their troops in battle, approved the order and disposition proposed by the king of Hungary, and supported his opinion by saying, that it would be impossible for the militia of that kingdom to give back when sustained by the French cavalry. The admiral John de Vienne, an old captain, was of the same opinion; but the constable and marshal de Boucicault being piqued that the prince had addressed himself to the sire de Coucy, before he asked their sentiments, declared that it would be scandalous for the French nation to march after the Hungarian foot; and that they were not come so far to let themselves be preceded by a crowd of sorry peasants and militia, more used to run away than to stand their ground. All the young men, inveigled by this discourse, and hurried away by a mistaken emulation of glory, brought over the count of Nevers by their clamours into the same sentiment. The prince therefore notified to the king of Hungary, that the French could not yield the post of honour in battle to any nation. He ordered his cavalry immediately to mount on horseback, but before they drew their swords against the enemy, these violent and hot-headed young men put them to an use that was unworthy of the name of Christians as well as of Frenchmen. These knights, under pretence that the prisoners which they had taken in several occasions might embarrass them in the action, massacred them all in cold blood, without any regard to the faith and promise

mise they had given them of saving their lives, upon paying the ransom agreed on between them.

THEY afterwards gave the signal of battle; the French going on to charge, found themselves stopped at first by a pallisado, and several rows of piles sharpened at the end, which embarrassed the cavalry, and hindered them from marching close together, and in good order. There was a necessity of dismounting, to force and remove this obstacle, which, when they had done, the men of arms mounted again on horseback, and fell upon the Turkish infantry posted over against them; meeting first in their way the great body of militia, which made very little resistance, as the king of Hungary had foretold. Those peasants, who did not merit the name of soldiers, suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, or sought their safety by flight. The Janizaries or Turkish infantry, composed of regular troops, shewed more courage and resolution. They fought with a valour no way inferior to that of the French; the fight was long and obstinate; at last the French lances open a way into the thickest battalions of the enemies: the Turks keep their ground no longer: every thing that appears to make head is pushed back, beaten down, and hemmed round; terror seizes every quarter, and safety is to be found no where; and those formidable janizaries, after losing above ten thousand men, were forced to retire behind a great body of cavalry that advanced to their succour<sup>a</sup>.

THIS was a sort of a second engagement which the French were forced to come to with the infidels. The Turkish cavalry advanced with a large front. The Christians, to prevent being surrounded, extended themselves in a long line, and without keeping their ranks duly, or taking any orders but from their own courage; every man of arms, as if the victory had depended on his single valour, threw himself in among the Turks with so resolute a courage, that nothing

<sup>a</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 12.

could resist their impetuosity. The Hungarians, who seemed only come to be spectators of the battle, and the infidels themselves could not cease admiring a bravery that seemed superior to the ordinary force of nature. Five thousand Turks fell in this second engagement; and the French would have ended the day victorious, and covered with glory, had not the fire of those young men hurried them on to the pursuit of the remainder of that cavalry, which had retired to a neighbouring hill.

IN vain did the chief commanders, and particularly the sieur de Coucy, and admiral de Vienne advise them to let the infidels fly, or at least to suffer themselves to take breath, and form their squadrons anew whilst the Hungarians advanced. All the young gentlemen about the count of Nevers, crying out, that it was cowardly to let their enemies escape, pushed on immediately, and without keeping any order, or letting their horses take breath, galloped away to a great distance from the body of the army, and mounted the rising ground where they thought to have found the broken remains of the Turkish army.

BUT what was their surprise, when in their stead, they discovered a new army, composed of forty thousand horse, the flower of Bajazet's troops? The sultan was posted in the middle of that grove of lances, as in a citadel, in order to take his measures as events might happen. The soldiers start at the sight, and are daunted; they even suspect their first advantages; the certainty of vanquishing, which may be called the first earnest of victory, vanishes at once, and fear and terror soon succeed to a rash confidence. These heroes, who like lions, make the Turks tremble before them, says the anonymous author of St. Denis, "more dastardly than hares." the whole body breaks, and every one flies for the safety of his own life. Bajazet's cavalry cuts off their retreat: the greatest part of the French was cut in pieces, and no less than three-thousand of them taken prisoners, among whom

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were the count of Nevers, the count de la Marche, the prince of Bar, Boucicault the constable, and Enguerrand de Coucy. The admiral de Vienne seeing all lost, made a motion to save himself, when immediately calling to mind what he owed to his glory, and turning about to ten or a dozen horsemen that stuck to him<sup>a</sup>. "God forbid, my companions, says he to them, that we should sully our reputation for the saving a poor remainder of life; we must try fate by a noble defence, or die here in the bed of honour." His words were scarce spoke, when he charged the infidels, pierced several times into their squadrons, and after first seeing his companions fall, oppressed with the number of their enemies, he himself, covered over with wounds, expired on the very spot where he was fighting.

THE Turks having broke this great body of French, marched with all the confidence that the beginning of a victory inspires, straight against the Hungarians, who were encamped along the banks of the Danube. Their infantry, which was only composed of militia, as we have observed, terrified at the defeat of their allies, did not wait the coming up of the enemy, but broke and fell back upon their own cavalry, filling all with terror and confusion; so that it was a general rout rather than an engagement on this occasion. Such of the gentry of that nation, and the knights of Rhodes that survived, rallied about the king and the grand master: and tho' they saw their ruin was inevitable, by reason of the prodigious number of Turks that surrounded them, no body dishonoured himself so far as to endeavour to save his own life by flight; they all stood their ground, and fought with a bravery worthy of a better fate. The greatest part of these gallant gentry, and a great number of the knights, died on the spot they fought on. The king and the grand master would have shared the same fate, if in the disorder of so general a rout they had not by chance found a fisherman's boat by the river side: this

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<sup>a</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 12.

they got into, and in spite of a shower of arrows which those barbarians let fly at them, put off from the shore, and letting themselves drive with the current, got to the mouth of the river, from whence they discovered the Christian fleet that was riding near it. The king and the grand master, overwhelmed with grief, went on board one of the galleys of the order, which carried them safe to Rhodes. The king, notwithstanding the loss of so many knights, was received there, if not with joy, yet at least with all the respect due to his birth and dignity. There are other historians who pretend that he stopped on the coast of Dalmatia \*.

THE day after the battle, Bajazet ordered his prisoners to be brought and massacred in his presence, by way of reprisal for the Turkish prisoners which the Christians, before the battle begun, had sacrificed to a shameful precaution. The sultan, whose avarice served for a counterpoise to his cruelty, exempted the count of Nevers and twenty five of the principal nobility out of the general massacre, in hopes of having a great ransom for them; and the money being come from France, when the count de Nevers went to take leave of him, "I do not require thee, says Bajazet to him with an haughty air, to take the most solemn oath never to fight against me, as I might force thee to do; on the contrary, if thou hast any sense of honour, I entreat thee to take the field as soon as thou canst, and to assemble all the forces of Christendom: thou canst not do me a more sensible pleasure, than by furnishing me with new occasions of acquiring glory."

THE sultan, after so glorious a victory over the Latin Christians, turned his arms against the Greeks, his troops over-running the Morea, and destroying all before them with fire and sword. He afterwards called in all his detachments, and joining them in one body, advanced towards Constantinople, and changed the blockade of it into a regular siege. The emperor Manuel, terrified

\* Bonfin. *ib.* p. 379.



terrified at seeing so formidable an enemy before his walls, begged for succours of all Christian princes; but the different wars which then distracted Europe, did not allow him to expect any immediate relief; and besides, the loss of the battle of Nicopolis, and the tears that were still streaming for the death of so many noble lords as had perished there, had cooled the zeal of the principal nobility and gentry. The Greek emperor therefore saw himself reduced to have recourse to Tamerlane the great chan of Tartary. He sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, entreating him to use the power of his arms, or at least to interpose his good offices, in order to put a stop to the enterprises of an ambitious prince, who, without any distinction of religion, was for enslaving all the sovereigns that were in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

WHILST this great affair was treating at Tamerlane's court, Thomas Palæologus, despot of the Morea, and brother to the Greek emperor, considering that great potentates never assist little ones *gratis*, laid no stress upon that embassy: he therefore retired to Rhodes, from whence the king of Hungary 1399. was just gone, to return into his own dominions. The Greek prince was received full as honourably as the king of Hungary, in an island which served at that time for a refuge to all Christian princes that were persecuted by the infidels. Palæologus, diffident of his own strength, and perhaps of his courage, sold the Morea to the order of St. John<sup>a</sup>, and agreed with the grand master and council, to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and the principal towns of that great province: he received the price stipulated for them, partly in money, and the rest in jewels.

THE commissaries of the order embarked immediately in order to take possession of the province; they were received with great joy by the magistrates and inhabitants of Corinth, who thought themselves, under the protection of the knights of Rhodes, sufficient-

<sup>a</sup> Bozio l. 4.

ly secured for the future from the incursions of the Turks.

BUT the inhabitants of Sparta acted very differently. The bishop of that city, who followed the Greek ritual, and was consequently an enemy to the Latins, not questioning but the order would, as soon as they were masters of the place, put a Latin bishop into his episcopal see, called all the citizens together, and represented to them the misfortune they were going to be exposed to by submitting to the power of the Latins, in so warm and moving terms, that all the inhabitants by concert sent a deputation to the commissaries of Rhodes, to tell them, that they were resolved not to admit them into their city; and that if they offered to come near it, they should be treated as enemies; so that the commissaries not having forces enough to make themselves be obeyed, resolved to return back to Rhodes.

THE despot being naturally inconstant, and finding it hard, after he had reigned as a sovereign, to reconcile himself to the condition of a private man, gave back part of the money, went from Rhodes, and returned to Sparta, where he was received with great joy by his subjects, who assured him that he should find the same obedience from them, and the same fidelity that he had experienced for so many years, provided he would not treat with the Latins, nor admit any of them into the government: so great and so implacable was that aversion which the Greek bishops had inspired into their people, against every body that acknowledged the authority of the pope; and I don't know whether they would not have submitted to the government of the Turks, rather than to that of any Christian prince whatever, in the communion of the church of Rome.

THE order had a great deal of trouble in getting back from the Greek prince the rest of the money, which they had given him. Raimond de l'Estoure, prior of Tholouse, Elias du Fossé, commander of St. Maxence, and Peter of Beaufrémont, the grand hospitalier,

pitaller, made several voyages into the Morea on that account. At last this affair was terminated by brother Louis d'Allemagne, commander of Naples, a knight of an insinuating temper, and a very able negotiator; and by the treaty made with Palæologus, it was stipulated, that the order of St. John should deliver back to him the town of Corinth, and he should give in exchange the county of Soleil, with the barony of Zetonne, besides 46500 ducats, which he was to pay back of the money he had received at Rhodes, and of which he paid 22000 down.

BAJAZET in the mean time carried on the siege of Constantinople with vigour, designing to make it the capital of his empire, and would at last have taken it, had not Tamerlane, the great cham of the oriental Tartars, at the sollicitation of the Greek ambassadors, and the entreaties of the petty princes of Anatolia, whom Bajazet had plundered of their territories, advanced to put a stop to the progress of a prince who seemed inclined to put no bounds to his ambition and conquests. 'Tis more than probable, that the Mogul or Tartar prince engaged in this war, not so much out of a principle of compassion, rarely to be met with in princes, as out of jealousy against a neighbour who was grown too powerful.

WHATEVER be the motives with which princes usually set off their manifesto's, Tamerlane made use of none but what were noble and generous, and he sent an ambassador to Bajazet, to demand of him the re-establishment of the petty princes that had taken refuge at his court, and that he would at the same time raise his siege from before Constantinople. The ambassador presented him likewise in his master's name with a magnificent vest; but as in the east, presents of that sort are never made but to inferiors, Bajazet, the proudest mortal living, rejected it with disdain. When he mentioned Tamerlane, he treated him as a soldier of fortune, and a captain of a band of robbers, and ordered his ambassador to tell him, from him, that if he was daring enough to enter into his dominions,  
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he knew how to make him repent so rash an enterprise.

THERE are some authors who pretend that Tamerlane was only the son of a shepherd, or an herdsman. Some modern historians, or rather some modern translators of old historians, derive his descent from a royal house among the Moguls of Zagathay. The Tarikh Montekh pretends, that he was descended from Ginghizkhan by the woman's side ; and yet he took upon himself at first only the title of Emir, i. e. commander ; to which, after he had conquered some provinces, he only added that of Kurkhan, or the ally of princes ; which might incline one to think, that he did not at that time look upon himself as a prince. But fortune having raised him to the dignity of great cham, his extraction grew up in proportion to his power, and he at last became too potent not to be descended of royal blood.

WE are but little better informed of the religion of this prince, than we are of his birth. There are some who say, he was neither a Jew, a Christian, nor a Mahometan. Ahsneben-Arabschach says, that he adhered to the law of Ginghizkhan, and that his religion had a greater affinity to the Christian, than to the Mahometan ; yet it looks as if from a political view he accommodated himself, at least as to the outward exercise, to the worship and religion of the greatest part of his subjects, who were Mahometans ; the rest was indifferent enough to him, and contenting himself, as Ginghizkhan did, to adore a first being, and one God alone, he very freely left him the care of his own glory, and the establishment of his law.

WHATEVER was the case as to the birth and religion of Tamerlane, the Arabian Alhacen, in the history or romance of his conquests, pretends that this prince or chieftain of the Moguls, at the head of a numerous army, first reduced under his empire, falling upon 'em successively one after another, all the Tartar princes that possessed the north of Asia ; that he gained victories over the Muscovite, and afterwards subdued Per-

fia, Mesopotamia and Syria; that he made the sultan of Egypt tributary to him; that some monarchs of the Indies were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him; and that China itself, or at least the northern part of that vast empire, owned him for its sovereign; so that during the whole course of his life, a victory served only to open a fresh occasion for a new war: and if we may believe Alhacen, the whole world was attentive, and turned its eyes upon his enterprizes, which became, says he, the greatest spectacle of the whole universe. This famous Tartar had a stern look, squinting eyes, a lowring countenance, and a terrible and menacing air, that broke out in all his actions.

SUCH was the greatest of all the successors of Genghiskhan, and the second hero of the ancient Mogul Tartars. But without adopting all the fables published about him, 'tis certain that he was a great captain, a native of Zagathay, who by his valour raised himself to a prodigious fortune, and by his activity, courage, and admirable discipline, made himself the terror of all his neighbours. He was otherwise cruel and bloody in his temper, and it was his usual saying\*, "That a monarch was never safe, if the foot of his throne did not swim in blood;" a maxim worthy of a Tartar, and which he never deviated from during the whole course of his reign.

THIS barbarous prince, upon receiving Bajazet's answer, took the field at the head of 800,000 men, that followed him, and were commanded, under him, by the princes his sons, and by other princes his tributaries: But the absolute power which he exercised indifferently over both, sunk them to the level of the meanest officers, and all of them were equally submissive to the power and majesty of this dreadful monarch.

No sooner had he declared war against Bajazet, but he attacked Sebaste or Siuvas, a city of Cappadocia. Ortogules, a young prince, full of fire and courage, had

\* Hist. de Tamerlan. par M. Petit de Croix.



had thrown himself into the place, in order to signalize his valour, in hopes of stopping the Tartar's progress, and giving time to the sultan his father, to advance to his relief: but notwithstanding the valour of the prince, and all the bravery shewn by the garrison in its defence, nothing could resist the violence of the attacks of Tamerlane. The place was carried by storm; the soldiers, and all persons capable of bearing arms, were put to the sword, the women and maidens, the children and the old men, were all carried out of the town into a plain, where they were massacred, without distinction of age or sex. The city was afterwards razed to the ground, and the Tartar, who never reckoned clemency and generosity among the virtues, caused the son of his enemy to be beheaded.

BAJAZET, whose constant prosperity rendered the insults of fortune more insupportable to him, abandoned himself to a violent grief when he heard the fatal news. He loved his son tenderly, and took pleasure in seeing the seeds of ambition and glory, which he had inspired him with, take root and grow up in the heart of the young prince. A death so unworthy of his rank and birth, threw him into inexpressible transports of rage: he swore the destruction of Tamerlane, and hurried away with the violent desire of a speedy vengeance, without allowing himself time to raise a sufficient body of troops to make head against so mighty an enemy, he raised the siege of Constantinople, passed the Bosphorus, and advanced towards Phrygia.

HISTORIANS relate a passage of him, viz. that as his army was on the march, he saw a shepherd upon a neighbouring hill, who secured by his poverty from the rapaciousness of the soldiery, was playing quietly upon his pipe. The sultan stopped for some moments to hear him, and being full of grief, and perhaps envying the condition of the poor man, "Shepherd, says he to him, I beg of thee let the burthen of thy song be, for the future, to repeat these words, Unhappy Bajazet, thou shalt see no more thy dear son Orto- gules, nor thy city of Sebaste!" After this, he continued

tinued his march, and met the Tartars near Angouri, or Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. He had scarce above 120000 men in his army, most of them natural Turks, without reckoning an hord of Tartars that inhabited beyond the Euxine and Caspian seas, commanded by Mahmoudkhari, who had enlisted himself under Bajazet. As the sultan had experienced the valour of the Treballians, before he had entirely subdued them, he drew from them a body of foot, though contrary to their inclinations; and fear and terror, the only bonds of slavery, forced them to expose their lives to support the dominion of a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them. 1399.

THE battle was fought at the foot of Mount Stella, and in the very plain where Pompey had formerly beat Mithridates. The shock of the two armies was terrible, and the action very bloody: the Treballians distinguished themselves by an extraordinary valour, victory began to declare itself in their favour, and they pursued the Tartars whom they had obliged to run away. Bajazet fearing that the heat of the action should carry them too far, sent them orders to return to their post. They obeyed: Tamerlane rallied his troops, put himself at their head, and shewed them at the same time the retreat of the Treballians, representing it to them as a downright flight. He gave orders to prince Sarach his son, who commanded a wing of his army, to charge them, which he did, and after a bloody fight, forced them in their turn to fly away. The Asiatick Turks terrified at their defeat, quitted their ranks without striking a blow; and Bajazet found by experience, that in an engagement there was no making the least motion without danger, before so able a general as Tamerlane.

We have observed, that Bajazet had a great body of Tartars in his army. Those barbarians, bribed by their own countrymen, deserted the sultan's party in the very height of the combat; and their commander, to give the finishing stroke to his treachery, pursued the Turks in their rout, killed great numbers of them,

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took Bajazet prisoner, and presented him to Tamerlane.

THERE are very different accounts of the manner in which the Tartar received him. Some historians say, that he reproached him with his pride, his cruelty, and his presumption; "Oughtest thou not to know, says he to him, that none but the sons of the unfortunate dare resist our invincible power?" Other writers pretend, on the contrary, that Tamerlane received him with great civility; that he conducted him into his own tent, entertained him at his table, and to comfort him under his affliction, discoursed of nothing but the vicissitude and inconstancy of fortune. They add, that he sent him an hunting equipage, either from a principle of compassion, or else perhaps from contempt; and that the haughty Tartar felt a pleasure in letting him know, that he thought him fitter to follow a pack of hounds, than be at the head of a great army.

THIS at least was the interpretation that Bajazet himself put upon the mysterious present of his enemy. That unfortunate prince, having no command over his resentment, and being eaten up with a surly melancholy, "Tell Tamerlane, (replied he with an air of haughtiness, to the man who came from him with the present,) That he has acted very right, in inviting me to an exercise that hath always been the diversion of princes, and is much fitter for Bajazet, who derives his birth from the great Amurath the son of Orchanes, than for a soldier of fortune, as he is, and a captain of a band of robbers."

TAMERLANE soon resumed his true character, and provoked at so outrageous an answer, gave orders that very moment for putting Bajazet without a saddle upon an old horse that had been used to carry the baggage, and expose him in that manner through the camp, to the jests and raillery of his soldiers; which was immediately executed; and at his return they brought the unhappy Bajazet back before his conqueror, who asked him, with a scornful sneer, and in the most

most cutting terms, if that recreation was not likewise one of the pleasures with which his illustrious ancestors used to divert themselves? To these sharp invectives another outrage succeeded, that pierced him to the very soul.

BAJAZET had married Miliera, or Mary, daughter to Eleazar despot of Servia. The Turks called her Ucogli; she was the most dear to him, and the best beloved of all his wives. Tamerlane, who had taken this princess in the town of Bursa, which he had reduced just before, caused her robe to be cut shorter than the knee, and in this condition, in a manner half naked, forced her to wait upon him at table, and fill out his liquor in her husband's presence. Bajazet, who had no weapon left him but his tongue, distracted with anger and indignation, and perhaps with jealousy, told him aloud, that sprung as he was from the dregs of the people, and from parents too obscure to be known, he ought to be ashamed of trampling upon royal blood, and of being wanting in the regards due to a princess whose birth commanded respect from him.

THE Tartar only laughed at the impotent rage of his prisoner; he carried him about afterwards in his train, loaden with chains; and they even pretend, that he caused him to be shut up in an iron cage like a wild beast. Bajazet could no longer support such a number of outrages; and his misfortune was the greater, because he had always been happy before. Some historians pretend, that life growing insupportable to him, he, to put an end to it, knocked out his brains against the bars of his cage. Other writers relate, that a slave having insolently thrown him a fish-bone, as he would have done to a dog, Bajazet, after having sharpened it with his teeth, made use of it to dispatch himself: others, again, make him die of an apoplexy, as they were conducting him to Samarchand, the capital of Tamerlane's dominions.

As all the designs of that prince had ever tended to an imperious sovereignty, he had no sooner triumphed over the power and life of Bajazet, but he propos-

ed to reduce all the other princes of Anatolia. Most of them, those especially who had implored his protection against Bajazet, were continually making their court to him ; but under the name of allies, they were little different from his other subjects, and their chains were no less heavy for being gilt. There was none but the grand master of Rhodes and his knights, who, though eternal enemies to the Turks, would not yet crouch under the power of the Tartar ; this was the reason which obliged him to declare war against them. But as he had no fleet to transport his army cross the sea, and besides, as the whole island of Rhodes was defended by bastions, redoubts, towers and bulwarks, and seemed to make but one single fortress, and to defy an attack on any side, the Tartar chose rather to begin with Smyrna, a city inhabited by the knights, rich by its commerce, and having the convenience of a port, which in time might supply him with ships to transport his troops into the isle of Rhodes, and the other islands in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, which he was desirous of conquering.

THE city of Smyrna, as we have already observed, is situated in that part of Asia which was peopled by the Greeks, and known antiently by the name of Ionia, though since called, as it is at this day, Anatolia. The town was built like an amphitheatre, on the declivity of an hill that lay to the south-west ; but from the middle up to the very top of this hill, nothing was to be seen but ruins ; the lower part was always well inhabited. In Tamerlane's time there was a castle which guarded and commanded the port. Brother John de Biantra, prior of Lombardy, when he took this fort, had put the arms of the church upon it. And though Clement VI. who was at the head of the christian league, assumed to himself the honour of this conquest, yet Gregory XI. one of his successors, weary of the charge of maintaining a garrison in it, granted the property of it to the knights of St. John, who undertook to defend it.



'TIS easy to imagine, from what has been observed in the course of this history, what a vast expence the maintaining of this place, and the fortifications which they added to it, were to the order, they always keeping there a numerous garrison, commanded by some of the knights. The grand master seeing himself on the point of being attacked, either by Bajazet or Tamerlane, according as fortune should decide of their fate, sent brother William de Mine, the grand hospitaller of the order, to command in Smyrna; and he threw into the place at the same time a supply of ammunition and provisions, a body of fresh troops to reinforce the garrison, and a sum of money for the paying of them.

TAMERLANE, who knew that Smyrna was still better fortified by the number and valour of its defenders, than by its fortifications and height of its walls, in order to prevent the dangers and length of a siege that might prove a very bloody one, made no other demand but what he thought necessary for his glory, insisting only as a point of honour, that the knight, who commanded in the place, should suffer him to plant his standard upon the towers; but the governor rejected this proposition with indignation, there was no remedy left, but the fortune of war must decide that of the place. Tamerlane,<sup>a</sup> incensed at the refusal, caused it to be invested; his troops began their attack by filling up the ditches with earth, hurdles and fascines, whilst their archers were plying those that

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defend-

<sup>a</sup> Hic etiam Tamerlanus Smyrnam tunc fortissimum castrum in Græcia, vicinum Turcorum dominio, quod erat hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, etiam ea tempestate, vi destruendo solo æquavit. Tamen quidam Cathalanus qui pro eodem hospitali erat capitaneus, si vexillum dicti Tamerlani super Mo collocare voluisset, rogatu cujusdem episcopi christiani, Tamerlanus illud nullatenus destruxisset: sed quia dictus Cathalanus illud cum festu seu aliâs recusaret facere, dictus Tamerlanus hoc ægrè ferens, et vim viribus accumulans, tandem dictum castrum cepit et destruxit totaliter; adeo quòd etiam, ut ipsimet fratres dicti hospitalis aiunt, cum centum millibus florenorum auri in statum pristinum reduci non posset, Theodorici à Niem de Schismate. *L.v. 2. cap. 30.*

defended the walls, with showers of arrows. The knights made frequent sallies to hinder their works from advancing; there was every day some skirmish or other in which those soldiers of Jesus Christ strove with emulation to signalize their valour against the infidels.

THE next thing Tamerlane had recourse to was that of undermining the walls: but the Christians throwing down great pieces of rock, large stones, and beams of timber, crushed the most daring in pieces, and hindered the rest from coming near the foot of the walls. The Tartar provoked at so brave a resistance, and greater designs calling for his presence in other places, he resolved, in order to take the place with a greater expedition, to attempt a scalado. With this view he caused a prodigious number of wooden towers to be built: they were a sort of walking machines, which the besiegers pushed upon wheels, and brought very near the walls. Chalcondilas, speaking of this siege, says, that Tamerlane put two hundred men in every one of these towers, which had ladders within them, and a sort of stair-cases to go up to the different floors. The lowest floor was generally designed for the workmen who conducted the machine, or for the soldiers who worked to undermine the wall; the middle floor was to be on a level with the top of the wall, and contained a bridge which was to be thrown down upon the wall itself, for the besiegers to pass upon it and force their way into the place; and, upon the highest floor they placed their archers, who, having the advantage of the higher post, infested and drove off with their arrows such as offered to defend the place.

CHEREFEDDIN ALI, a native of Yedz, a cotemporary author, translated out of the Persian tongue into the French, by the late M. Petit de la Croix junior, has left us a relation of the siege of Smyrna; and tho' that author does not expressly name the knights of Rhodes, yet it is very easy to distinguish them in the description that he gives of the defenders of the place; and

and I fancy it will not be disagreeable to the reader to copy that passage of his history. The Persian historian, who died in 1456, expresses himself on this subject, in these, or such like terms.

“ TIMUR was informed, that there was upon the  
 “ sea-coast a place exceeding strong, built of hewn  
 “ stone, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and on  
 “ that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime,  
 “ and cemented from the top to the bottom ; that  
 “ there was a great number of Europeans within it ;  
 “ that it was called Ismir or Smyrna ; that the Greeks  
 “ looked upon it as an holy place ; and persons re-  
 “ sorted thither from remote countries in pilgrimage  
 “ with great devotion, who there offered up their  
 “ vows, and brought their alms ; that there was near  
 “ it, about the distance of an horse’s course, another  
 “ fortress upon the ridge of a mountain, called also  
 “ Ismir, but possessed by Musulmen, who were con-  
 “ tinually at war with those of the other place, on ac-  
 “ count of their difference in religion ; and as the  
 “ Smyrna of the Christians was surrounded by the sea  
 “ on three sides, they were relieved from Europe by  
 “ sea, and had provisions, cloaths, arms, and all other  
 “ necessaries brought them that way. And as this  
 “ place was seated in the farthest part of the frontiers  
 “ of Asia, and the country of the Musulmen, the  
 “ Greeks carried on from thence a cruel war, and de-  
 “ fended the place, as being of the utmost consequence  
 “ to them ; that it had never been taken by any Mu-  
 “ sulman prince, nor ever paid tribute to any body ;  
 “ that Amurath, the father of Bajazet, had taken the  
 “ field several times at the head of a mighty army with-  
 “ out being able to carry his point, and that Bajazet  
 “ himself had kept it besieged for seven years toge-  
 “ ther, without making any progress in it ; that this  
 “ place infested the Musulmen exceedingly, and no-  
 “ thing was to be seen but slaughter and streams of  
 “ blood flowing continually into the sea like tor-  
 “ rents.

“ WHEN Timur was informed of the state of Smyrna, his zeal for religion persuaded him that it was his duty to deliver the Musulmen from trouble by entirely destroying their enemies. He detached thither the Mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoicz, the Emir Check Nouredden, and others, with orders, first to summon them by an ambassador to embrace the Musulman religion, (for such is Mahomet’s order;) that if they should be happy enough to do so, his pleasure was that they should be kindly treated, and that they should give him notice of it, in order that he might bestow his favours upon them; that if their obstinacy should soften, and whilst they desired to continue Christians, would submit to pay tribute, they should regulate the sum with them and receive it; but if, unhappily for them, they should dare to stand upon their defence, they should put them all to the sword.

“ THE Mirza and the Emirs obeyed immediately, and coming before Smyrna, sent an ambassador to invite the inhabitants to turn Musulmen, using threats as well as promises for that purpose; but as they were predestinated to destruction, both were useless; and Mahmouy, the governor of the place, had sent to demand succour of all the princes of Europe, so that he had got together a great number of the bravest christian captains, or rather a company of mad devils, who erected magazines there, and supplied it with ammunition and provisions.

“ OUR generals gave advice thereof to the court, and Timur, upon the news, resolved to go thither in person. He left his baggage at the foot of the mountain of Tire; and though it was winter, and the weather exceeding rainy, he would needs mount on horseback, that the merit of this religious war might be ascribed to him, and march on that side. He arrived there on Saturday the 6th of Jumazyulevel an. 805. at the head of his army, and sent orders to the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, who was in winter quarters at Magniscab, to advance and post him-

“ self

“ self before Smyrna. The like orders were sent to  
 “ Merasimiren-Chuh and Bouléen, as also to the Emir  
 “ Gehan-chah and others. At Timur’s arrival before  
 “ the place, they beat all their drums and kettle  
 “ drums, and the whole army set up a great shout.  
 “ The place was immediately attacked on the land  
 “ side, and every general carried on the sap over a-  
 “ gainst his post, and prepared engines and battering  
 “ rams for the assault. They shot arrows and threw  
 “ pots of wildfire upon the gates of the castle; the  
 “ Emir Chamelec caused likewise great scaffolds with  
 “ three feet to be erected in the middle of the water  
 “ near one another, over which they threw great  
 “ planks, and from the two sides of the castle to the  
 “ place where the feet of the scaffolding touched up-  
 “ on the land, they made a plain even way, and so  
 “ firm, that the soldiers might boldly stand and walk  
 “ on them, without fearing their breaking down, and  
 “ fight there as well as if they had been upon land.  
 “ This being finished, the Musulmen took their buck-  
 “ lers, and got up on the scaffolds, assaulting the  
 “ castle from thence; and the way being thus shut  
 “ up on the side of the sea, it was impossible for any  
 “ body whatever to succour the besieged.

“ IN the mean time the Mirzas, Mehemmed sultan,  
 “ and Miranchah arrived, having left their baggage  
 “ at Magni-siah, under the care of the Emir Chaméd-  
 “ din-Abbas: this reinforcement was of great service  
 “ in forwarding the siege, for Timur gave orders for  
 “ the general assault. The Emir of Loumans and co-  
 “ lonels of Hézarés, with their troops advanced to it.  
 “ each on the side where he was posted, and the as-  
 “ sult lasted from morning till evening, and from  
 “ the evening till morning, the brave men on both  
 “ sides performing actions of wonderful vigour. If  
 “ the attack was obstinate and resolute, the defence  
 “ was equal to it, and no body had time to rest a  
 “ moment; the engines and battering rams beat down  
 “ the walls and towers, and the besieged still undaunt-  
 “ ed, were continually throwing pots of naphta,  
 “ wildfire,



“ wildfire, and showers of stones and arrows from  
 “ engines as well as bows, without the least inter-  
 “ mission.

“ ALL this while the rain was so excessive, that it  
 “ looked as if the universe was going to be over-  
 “ whelmed with a second deluge; yet notwithstand-  
 “ ing this prodigious storm, the indefatigable Timur  
 “ was every moment giving orders to his generals, and  
 “ encouraging his soldiers in person. After the min-  
 “ ers had finished their works, and propped up the  
 “ bastions and courtines with stones, they filled the  
 “ mines with fascines and faggots dipped in naphtha  
 “ and set fire to them, upon which the walls were  
 “ thrown down at once, and several of the besieged  
 “ fell from the top of them, and were killed. The  
 “ Musulmen forced them sword in hand to quit the  
 “ breaches that they defended, and made their way in-  
 “ to Smyrna, crying out victory, and praising God,  
 “ to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies  
 “ by way of thanksgiving for their success. Very few  
 “ of those escaped who had thrown themselves into  
 “ the sea, and were swimming to the ships that lay off,  
 “ great numbers of them being drowned in the at-  
 “ tempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to  
 “ the sword, they demolished the buildings both of  
 “ the town and castle, and threw the materials, the  
 “ bricks, arms and goods, into the sea.

“ SOME great ships called caracas came from cer-  
 “ tain parts of Europe; these had two masts at least,  
 “ and were well provided with soldiers and arms on  
 “ board to succour those of Smyrna. When they drew  
 “ near the port, and saw no marks either of the town  
 “ or castle, they were startled and stopped their course.  
 “ Timur gave orders to throw the heads of some of the  
 “ Christians on board these ships, and the throwers  
 “ of wildfire having executed his orders, several heads  
 “ fell into the very ships. The seamen knowing  
 “ the heads of their comrades, tacked about and re-  
 “ turned in a fright, altogether disappointed of their  
 “ expectation.”

THIS is Cherefeddin's relation of what passed at the siege of Smyrna. 'Tis plain from thence, that what he says of the pilgrimages made by the Christians to that city, whither, he says, they brought alms, is to be understood of Jerusalem, which name the knights were called by. The succour which those of Smyrna sent to get in Europe, from whence they received a number of brave captains, or rather a company of mad devils, all this description represents the gallant defence made by the knights. The author has not forgot the great carrack of the order, and when he treats the knights as sea-faring men, it is plain that he means those of Rhodes. Yet after all, they were unable as we have seen, to resist the efforts of Tamerlane.

THAT barbarian, as his custom was, slaughtered all the inhabitants, and demolished the place. He acted in this cruel manner, purposely to intimidate such as should refuse to open their gates to him. Whenever he laid siege to any town, they always planted the first day a white standard upon his tent, to shew that he was disposed to use clemency to those that should surrender immediately. The day following, that signal was of a red colour, to signify that he would have blood, and that the lives of the governor and those principal officers of the garrison must pay for their not surrendering on the first summons. But the third day they planted a black standard, to declare, that whether the place was carried by storm, or made a voluntary surrender, every body was put to death, and the town entirely destroyed. Notwithstanding all the precautions that his cruelty made him take, several knights, and a considerable number of the soldiers made their escape, upon the town's being taken, by throwing themselves into the sea, and swimming to the ships that were come to throw succours into the place.

TAMERLANE whom we may consider as another Attila, and as a scourge of God, after filling Asia Minor with blood, had a design to pass over into Europe,

rope, and extend his conquests as far as the pillars of Hercules ; to cross afterwards the streights of Gibraltar, and after reducing Africa, to return by the way of Egypt into his own dominions. But as he was making preparations proportionable to so vast a project, he received advice that a king of India, whose name historians do not mention, had fallen into Persia, ravaged a great part of the country, and taken Cheri, one of the principal cities of that kingdom, where Tamerlane's treasure was kept, which now became the prey of this other barbarian.

THE proud Tartar, who fancied himself superior to all the monarchs of the world, and perhaps even to fortune, and the condition of human nature itself, fell into a rage at the news. He marched immediately against that prince, resolving to cut him to pieces ; but after several engagements and trials of his forces, finding he had to do with a prince as powerful and as great a captain as himself, and feeling himself likewise advanced in years, he thought proper to make peace with his enemy, which he did, and retire into his own territories to Samarchand, where he died a little while after<sup>a</sup>, which was occasioned by his having given too great a loose to wine and women. Other historians pretend that he died upon the road to China. His sons divided his empire between them, but soon fell into dissensions, which gave Bajazet's children an opportunity of recovering their father's dominions. These were four in number, viz. Joshua, Musulman or Calapin, Moses and Mahomet. These four princes reigned successively one after another : the three first came to a violent end ; Mahomet survived the rest, and several historians of that nation, without taking notice of his brothers, rank him as the immediate successor to Bajazet.

WHILST these civil wars lasted, and these infidel princes disputed the empire in their several turns, the grand master made his advantage of their divisions ; and to provide for the better security of the isles belonging

<sup>a</sup> April 1. 1415.

longing to the order, particularly of that of Langos, he formed a project for taking an old castle situated on the main land twelve miles from that island in the gulph of Ceramis, and upon the ruins, as they say, of Halicarnassus, the capital city of Caria, a town famous for the magnificent tomb that queen Artemisia antiently erected for king Mausolus her husband. This place was not less illustrious in antiquity for the birth of the Greek historian Herodotus, and Dionysius surnamed Halicarnassæus. The grand master went himself on board his fleet, coasted along Caria, landed in the gulph, entered in the port with a south-west wind, landed his troops, surpris'd and attacked a garrison of Tartars, which Tamerlane had left in the place, and made himself master of it; but finding it weak, he resolv'd to raise another, which he built upon a rock, on the point of a peninsula that jutt'd out into the sea: He nam'd it the castle of St. Peter, and the Turks call'd it afterwards Bidrou, strengthening it with all the fortifications that art could invent; the walls were very high, and there were port-holes or openings in them at certain distances, supplied with cannon, which kept the enemies ships at a distance. The place was still better fortified on the land side, and besides the height and thickness of the walls, the entrance of it was defended by bulwarks and bastions, and 'tis pretended that seven gates must be pass'd thro', before there was any getting into the body of the place. There was an inscription over the last of them, in these words of the psalmist, "Nisi Dominus ædificaverit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam," to signify, that the strongest garrisons cannot preserve a place which is not built in the name and for the glory of the Lord. When the fortress was in a condition of defence, the grand master made them hollow and enlarge the ditches about it, so as to let the sea water into them, and he always kept a certain number of brigantines, barks and feluccas, which upon the least signal, in concert with the gallies of Lango and Rhodes, block'd up the river of Caria, and hindered the vessels of

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the Corsairs from entering it ; and the castle on the land side served as a place of refuge to such christian slaves of the neighbouring countries as could find means to escape out of the prisons and chains of the infidels.

THE grand master's care was not confined to the bare preservation of the isles of the order ; he equally concerned himself in the defence of all the christian states in the East : he was a sort of general in ordinary to them. The isle of Cyprus particularly, which is situated near Rhodes, owed its preservation entirely to the fleets and forces of the knights. But if their valour kept the infidels at a distance from it, all the prudence and skill of the grand master could not guard against and prevent the ill effects of the little courage and dastardly spirit of the Cypriots, a nation effeminat-ed by luxury and voluptuousness, which tho' they professed the christian religion, still sacrificed in reality to the goddess of pleasure, the antient tutelary divinity of the island in the times of paganism.

PETER of Lusignan was reigning in the island at that time. Some important affairs calling him to Italy, he, before his setting out, left the government of his kingdom to the count of Rohas or Rohais ; so they then called the county of Edeffa, of which however he was only the titular lord, since the conquest made of it by the infidels. The regent, in the king's absence, debauched the queen, as they pretend, and in concert with her, took measures to deprive him of his crown : 'twas almost impossible for them to have carried their iniquity higher. The king having advice of their ill designs, by an express secretly dispatched to him by a lord whose name was Visconti, returned home immediately, caused the traitor to be seized, and delivered him into the hands of justice to be punished according to the rigour of the law. But as the laws in that effeminate nation had scarce any vigour at all, the judges being corrupted by the queen's credit and her adulterer's presents, pronounced him innocent, and Visconti was condemned as a slanderer to perpetual banishment



banishment. The king, enraged at a sentence that dishonoured him, changed from a wise and moderate prince, to be a furious and cruel tyrant ; and in order to revenge himself, fell upon all his subjects without distinction. He loaded them with irons, confiscated their goods, ravished the honour of their wives and daughters, and even abandoned them to the ministers of his tyranny upon the slightest pretences ; and the least suspicion of rebellion was the same thing as if the criminal had been found guilty, who was immediately hurried away to punishment.

THE common prisons not being sufficient to hold the great number of unhappy wretches whom he caused to be seized every day, he ordered a new one to be built in the middle of the public square ; and from the most refined vengeance, forced even persons of quality of both sexes to work at it, and assist the maçons. In this number of persons born for slavery, there happened to be a woman of spirit, who tried to engage them to throw off so detestable a yoke. To gain her point, she, who was a gentlewoman born, and of one of the best families in the island, under pretence of walking with greater ease under the burdens she was forced to carry, tucked up her petticoats and shift above her knees, and continued so till the king, who came regularly every day to see his workmen, appeared with all his court about him : as soon as she saw him, she let down her petticoats, but when he was gone by, she tucked them up again. Some persons, scandalized at this breach of modesty, demanding of her why she veiled her nakedness before the king only, “ Because, says she, women are not so scrupulous before one another on that head<sup>a</sup> ; and as to you there is not any one among you that seems to have any thing of the man in him but the king.” This reproach raised a violent indignation in the Cypriots : they were ashamed of their own weakness and cowardice, and fell immediately upon the king and slew him.

VOL. II.

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\* Hist. de l'isle de Chypre par Ant. Maria Gratiani.

They gave the crown to Petrin or Peter II. his son, a young child, who was still under the direction of a governor, and put the regency of the kingdom into the hands of James de Lusignan, a prince of the blood, and the child's uncle.

THIS prince, at his accession to the government of the kingdom, or as others say, at the young king's coronation, made a noble feast: a great number of Venetian and Genoese noblemen were at this royal entertainment. These strangers disputed for precedence, but by the regent's credit it was decided that day in favour of the Venetians. The Genoese, in order to revenge themselves, resolved to carry it by force, and agreed together to come the next day to the palace with arms concealed under their cloaks. The regent having notice of their plot, ordered eight noble Genoese, who were walking in the hall of the palace, to be thrown out of the windows: and to make the act still more odious, they pretend, that these noblemen were entirely ignorant of the design of their countrymen.

THIS news being carried to Genoa, the senate, to revenge the barbarous outrage, sent a strong fleet to Cyprus, with fourteen thousand land forces on board, under the command of Peter Fregose. The Genoese ravaged the island, besieged and took Famagusta, and seized upon the regent, who was carried ignominiously with the princess his wife to Genoa, and shut up in prison. He continued there till the young king his nephew's death, who leaving no issue, he became his heir. The Genoese in this juncture set him at liberty, but sold it him very dear; and before they suffered him to embark, in order to return to his dominions, they obliged him to make them a cession of the city of Famagusta, to be enjoyed by them in absolute sovereignty, and to submit to pay them an annual tribute of ten thousand ducats.

JAMES, to gain his liberty and crown, signed the treaty, resolving to give it one day such an explanation as should be suitable to his interest. The situation  
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of his affairs did not allow him, during his life, to get rid of this vassalage. Janus his son, so called because he was born at Genoa, being brought up from his cradle in an hereditary hatred against the Genoese, attempted to surprize the city of Famagusta; which occasioned a war between that prince and the Genoese. Those republicans had for a long time been torn to pieces by the terrible dissensions that broke out between the body of the nobility and the people, and had a little before given up themselves to Charles VI. king of France, who had put John le Meingre, called marshal de Boucicault, to command in Genoa, as governor or viceroy. That lord, to oppose the designs of the king of Cyprus, ordered a fleet to be fitted out immediately, resolving to command it in person; and till this armament might be in a condition to set sail, he dispatched away Anthony Grimaldi, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, with three gallies and some land forces, which entered the port of Famagusta, without the least opposition.

BOUCICAULT, having equipped seven great vessels and nine gallies, set sail for the Levant; he landed first in the isle of Rhodes, and was received by the grand master and the knights with all the honours due to his personal merit, and to the dignity of the prince he represented. The grand master lodged him in his own palace, and entertained him several times in a castle or banqueting-house seated on a rising ground near the city. In the discourses that passed between these two great men in private, the grand master represented to the marshal, that whatever pleasure he had to see him in the isle of Rhodes, he could not help being sensibly concerned at the occasion that brought him thither with an army; that the island of Cyprus lying in the neighbourhood of Palestine and Egypt, had always hitherto been a convenient place for all the European fleets to put in at; that it was the strongest bulwark the Christians had then left in the East; that he was going with his army to bring upon it all the calamities that are inseparable from war; that he was

even going to assist the Saracens, and facilitate their conquest of the island; and then conjured him to suffer him to go over into Cyprus, being in hopes that God would bless his voyage and intentions; and he might perhaps be happy enough to restore peace and amity between the two nations.

BOUCICAULT replied, that conquest was not so much his business as the preserving the rights of a republic that had put it self under the protection of the king his master; that the king of Cyprus might have peace if he pleased, and would give over his enterprise on Famagusta, and that as for himself, he had much rather turn his arms against the infidels, than employ them against a christian king, especially against a prince whose illustrious house derived its original from France.

THE grand master having got so favourable an answer, ordered the admiral galley to be fitted out, and taking two others with him for a convoy, set sail for Cyprus. The marshal not caring to remain idle during the grand master's voyage, went on board his fleet, thinking to ravage the country about Alexandretta, a city of Syria then called Lescandelours or Scanderoon, situated twenty five leagues from Aleppo on the gulph of Lajazzo, in the midst of some marshes, and but a little distance from the sea; a Turkish prince was lord of it at that time. Boucicault landed his troops, which consisted of 800 knights and esquires, among which were the banners of the marshal, of the seignior d'Acher, of the seignior of Chateau Morant, of messire William de Naillac, of the same name with the grand master; and those likewise of the seigniors Chateaneuf and Puyos; he had about 2000 men on board that little fleet in all. The lord of the country was then five great days journey from Alexandretta, and was encamped on his frontiers to oppose his brother who disputed the seigniorship with him. The marshal taking advantage of his absence, ordered the seignior of Chateau-Morant to attack the lower town, whilst brother Lewis de Culan, who executed the office of camp-marshal

shal in this little army, guarded a narrow pass that hindered any succours from being thrown into the place. The attack and defence were smart on both sides; the Christians were twice repulsed, but returning the third time to the assault, carried what was called the lower town, that was inhabited chiefly by merchants. Every thing there was plundered, and their rich magazines amply rewarded the valour of the soldiers, whilst at the same time the marshal's fleet made themselves masters of the port. The lord of Scanderoon having advice, that whilst he was defending the entry of his country against his brother, the Christians were on the point of taking his capital, hastened to the succour of the place, which was much straitned. He made several attempts to throw in succour, but finding all the passes secured by the marshal's troops, he had recourse to treaty, a method always most suitable to the weaker side, and sent ambassadors to the marshal to complain, that without having ever had any dispute with the Genoese, and without any previous declaration of war, he had fallen upon his dominions, and there committed acts of hostility, which are never practised but between open and declared enemies.

His ambassadors added, that how just soever the complaints of their master were, yet if the marshal would withdraw his troops out of his territories, he was ready to enter into a strict confederacy with him; and in case he came to a rupture with the king of Cyprus, he would oblige himself to furnish him all the necessary supplies for sustaining that war in an island so remote from Genoa.

THE marshal listened to these proposals the more willingly, in that if he was obliged to make war in Cyprus, he might draw provisions and other succours from that country which lay near the island; and besides he was afraid of making any stay on that coast, in a season when the air of Alexandretta was so very unwholsom and dangerous, by reason of the exhalations arising from the marshes, when those who did not die outright, would be sure not to come off without a



grievous fit of sickness. Having therefore made his treaty with the lord of the country, and spent only 14 days in the expedition, he re-embarked his troops, and stood off for the coast of the isle of Cyprus, to hasten the grand master's negotiation, but he found the affair very much forwarded.

THAT prince having a conference with the king, made him sensible of the power of the Genoese, and represented to him that he was not in a condition to make head against the forces of that republic; especially when commanded by a general of the marshal's experience; that if he should call the Venetians to his succour, he would make his country the theatre of a bloody war; that he himself would be the victim of it; and that whoever would be victorious in war, he would have nothing left him but the choice of his tyrants; that he therefore advised him to adhere religiously to the treaty which the Genoese had made with the king his father, and not to trouble them in the possession of Famagusta, by which means he would interest them in the defence of the whole island, against the enterprises of the sultans of Egypt, who had several times attempted already to make themselves masters of it.

THIS representation was not only founded upon good sense and the wisest politics, but being given from the grand master, was something more than bare advice. The kings of Cyprus had for many years been supported meerly by the protection and succours which they drew from Rhodes; and the prince then reigning could not reject the grand master's good offices and mediation, without incurring the indignation of the whole order. The grand master indeed was at that time considered as the most powerful christian prince in all the east; and the order never had braver officers, nor a greater number of them. The convent was generally peopled with a thousand knights; most of the isles called Sporades depended on it, and the sea was covered with their fleets. The Rhodian merchants under the protection and convoy of the vessels of the order,

order, grew rich at the same time by their commerce : there was not a corsair that durst venture near the seas of Lycia, and we may affirm, that the arms of the order was as terrible to the infidels, as its valour was generally esteemed by the princes of Christendom ; so that it is less surprizing the king of Cyprus should pay so submissive a deference to the grand master's sentiments. It was agreed between them, that the siege of Famagusta should be raised, and the king, by the grand master's mediation, had a conference with the marshal : but a difficulty started up, which had like to have ruined the negotiation before the treaty was signed.

The Genoese engaged Boucicault to insist that the king of Cyprus should re-imburse them the expence of the war, which they made amount to very considerable sums. The king pretended on the contrary, that they ought to be satisfied that he had, out of regard to the grand master, been pleased to be content to raise the siege of a place which had belonged to his ancestors for so many ages, and which he was on the point of reducing. Both sides maintained their pretensions with equal ardour, and there was reason to apprehend that this article might break off the whole treaty ; but the grand master, who knew the importance and necessity of a peace, prevailed with the king of Cyprus to pay the Genoese 70,000 ducats ; and as the young prince was not master of such a sum, he got it lent him out of the treasury of the order, which for security had the regal crown, with vessels of gold and silver, and precious stones, as a pawn, till the money advanced should be all paid. After the conclusion of this treaty, the grand master and the marshal re-imbarked, but before they returned to Rhodes, they resolved to ravage the coasts of Syria and Palestine, which were then in the possession both of the Saracens, and the troops of Tamerlane. They landed on the coast of Tripoli thinking to surprize the garrison and inhabitants of the place ; but they found the shore defended by above 15000 men, in which number were 600 cavalry, part of Tamerlane's troops,

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all dressed, says the historian of Boucicault, in fine velvet and cloth of gold.

THOUGH the Christians saw plainly that the infidels had notice of their design, and were prepared to receive them, yet they resolved to make a descent upon the coasts of the Saracens. The marshal put himself at their head with the grand master, who was attended by brother Raimond de Lesture, grand prior of Toulouse, brother Peter de Beaufremont, hospitaller, and a great number of other knights of the order. These knights, hurried on by their courage, and without waiting till the boats could put them on shore, threw themselves up to the neck in the sea, and advanced boldly sword in hand against the infidels; and though the christian troops made at most but 3000 men and the Saracens army was computed at 15,000, our knights, sustained by the troops of Genoa, charged them so furiously, that the barbarians, not able to stand the attack, gave ground and fled, but rallied afterwards at some distance from the shore, when their commanders drew them up in order of battle. There was no great likelihood that the Christians should with so small force advance, and attack that great body of Saracens, which was likewise covered with hedges and defiles, and had the strong city of Tripoli behind them. But the grand master and the marshal could not bring themselves, notwithstanding the inequality of number, to re-embark without advancing nearer them; so that letting their soldiers take breath a while, they divided their little army into three bodies; and taking care not to get at too great a distance from the shore, for fear of being intercepted by the Saracens, they march towards them, and attack them sword in hand. They charge on both sides, and close together in a moment; the combat grows bloody, and lasts for some time with fury; but the greatest loss falling upon the infidels, they can no longer bear up against the efforts of the Christians; they retire into gardens planted with fruit-trees, and fenced about with thick hedges, but not thinking themselves safe enough there, most of  
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them run to the very city for refuge; in a word, the whole body is broke, and the christian generals meet with no enemy to resist them. However not having a sufficient body of troops to form the siege of Tripoli, a place of great strength, and defended by a garrison numerous enough to take the field, the Christians re-embarked; but before they returned, the grand master and the marshal, resolved to make an attempt on Baruth, and try if they should find the enemy on their guard, and prepared to receive them.

BARUTH, or Berytus, a town of Phœnicia, was at that time considerable on account of its commerce. Its harbour served for a sort of staple to all the merchandize carried from Egypt into Europe; and most of the Christian merchants, and particularly the Venetians, had their counting-houses and considerable magazines there. The Christian fleet sailing on in its course saw a light bark, called at that time Gripperio, coming out of the port of Baruth, and making all the sail it could to get out to sea, and escape from the Christians; but a galley being ordered to pursue it, soon came up with it, and brought it back to the generals. The captain of this little vessel being examined according to the laws of war, about his condition and circumstances, and the reasons of his eagerness to avoid the Christian fleet, he owned himself a Christian and a Venetian, but did not care to say more. However, being threatened to be put to the rack, the fear of torture made him confess, that he had been dispatched by the Venetian general to all the sea-ports of Phœnicia, Palestine and Egypt, to give the subjects of the sultan of Egypt advice of the Christians being at sea, under the command of the grand master of Rhodes and the governor of Genoa, in order that they might take the necessary precautions against the enterprizes of their enemies. Most of the soldiers and officers of the fleet, enraged at the intelligence given them by this Venetian, were for throwing him into the sea, but were hindered by their generals, who continued firm in their resolution  
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of keeping on their course and making a descent near Baruth.

As the town was but poorly fortified, the inhabitants, upon the advice brought them by the Venetian, had carried off the best of their effects to the woods and mountains. This did not prevent the Christians from landing; and after plundering the town, they set it on fire, re-imbarked and sailed towards Sayda, anciently called Sidon, another town of Phœnicia, 35 miles from Baruth. They found the same precautions there, viz. the port and shore lined with inhabitants all in arms, to the number of 10,000 men. The grand master and the marshal, however, by help of the engines which they had on board, made their descent at the head of 200 men of arms and as many cross-bow men, and were going to land the rest of the troops, when they were surpris'd by so violent stormy weather, and a contrary wind, that they could not continue their landing. The grand master and marshal saw themselves by this means left with only 5 or 600 men about them, destitute of succours, and exposed to enemies vastly superior in strength, who might have cut them in pieces if they had known how to make their advantage of so favourable an opportunity.

THE barbarians indeed advanced to charge them, but the Christians closing and keeping their ranks, made head against them on all sides with so resolute a countenance, that they thought fit only to fight at a distance and incommode them with their arrows. The Christians did the same, and the sea, after a storm of five hours, growing calm, they re-imbarked in sight of the infidels, who never durst advance nearer than within bow shot of them.

THE fleet landed afterwards on the coast of Lidda, another town of Palestine, which the Greeks called anciently Dio'polis, i. e. the city of Jupiter. This place was situated in a plain, about a league north of Ramatha; it was covered on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a wood. They landed there, not



on the side of the main sea, but in a little creek or bay, which was defended by two towers. They discovered only 3000 men, or thereabouts, who appeared and kept themselves at a distance from the sea, seeming to be afraid of them. The generals, in order to reconnoitre them, put some troops on shore, without any opposition being made to their landing, and upon the report of the principal officers, resolved to attack the enemy next day. But for fear lest the barbarians assisted by the night, should surprize the troops that were landed, they made them retire on board the fleet in the evening. The infidels seeing the Christians re-imbarking, and believing that their scouts had discovered the ambuscade, which they had laid between the town and the sea, sallied out from behind the mountain and the wood, to the number of above 30,000 men, all of them sword in hand, and setting up a great shout, advanced boldly to the foot of the towers, and very brink of the sea. 'Twas this precipitate eagerness of theirs to shew themselves, which saved the Christians, who would else have been all cut off the next day, if they had, pursuant to their generals design, marched to Lidda, and advanced into the plain, where they must have been intercepted and surrounded by an army that was so very numerous, and so vastly superior to their own.

THE grand master and the marshal seeing the season advanced, and that there was nothing to be done along the coast, took leave of one another, the grand master returning to Rhodes, and the marshal sailing for Famagusta, where, upon his arrival, he gave the necessary orders for the security of the place. He stayed but a few days there, and then set out on his return for Italy; but before he made for Genoa, he touched at the isle of Rhodes, to thank the grand master and the order, for their good offices towards him in the late treaty concluded with the king of Cyprus. The grand master treated him nobly, stored his fleet with provisions and refreshments, and shewed him, before he embarked, the principal fortresses of the island,

island, their garrisons, arms, and the magazines in each of them. The marshal admired particularly the port of Rhodes, which was fortified with two castles, well provided with warlike engines that commanded the mouth of it, and filled with an infinite number of ships of war, merchant vessels, gallies and galliots, saicks and felucca's, most of them equipped for war, and making frequent returns with various prizes that they were continually taking from the infidels, and chiefly from the subjects of the sultans of Egypt. Those barbarians could scarce venture any more out of the port of Alexandria, or sail in the seas of Cyprus and Lycia, without being snapped up by the knights of Rhodes.

THE sultan, though full of resentment at these captures, and the several descents which the grand master had just made upon his coasts, thought it yet more proper to make peace with the order, than to continue a war so prejudicial to his subjects: with this view he sent an embassador to Rhodes. As the knights were on the point of entering into a league of Christian princes against the Turk, and it was not proper to have two such mighty enemies to oppose at once, they resolved to hear the sultan's minister. Commissioners were named to enter upon a negotiation, and peace was soon enough agreed upon, by reason of the disposition there was in both parties to conclude it; but it was easy enough to see that the grand master prescribed the terms of the treaty.

NAILLAC, who had always in view the spirit and main design for which his order was instituted, took care to have it stipulated, that in order to prevent the profanations of infidels, he should have leave to wall in the holy sepulchre; that he might always keep six knights in Jerusalem who should be exempted from all Carache, i. e. from all tribute; who might entertain other knights in their house, and such pilgrims as should come out of devotion to the holy city; that the order might ransom Christian slaves either by paying the same money that they cost their masters, or by  
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giving a Saracen in exchange for a Christian; that there should be a free commerce between the subjects of the order and those of the sultan, and that the grand master might keep consuls at Jerusalem, Rama and Alexandria, to secure the Christians from the exactions they were exposed to in the territories of the infidels: and in fine, that the ships of the order might export corn out of the sultan's dominions. - It was agreed likewise, that in case either party was for breaking the treaty, and beginning the war a-fresh, he should be obliged to make a publick denunciation of it three months before, that both sides might secure their effects before acts of hostility were begun: all which conditions are a demonstration of the sultan's eagerness to make peace, and his fear of the power and forces of the knights.

BUT how numerous would the forces of this formidable body have been, had they not been divided by the unhappy schism which then infested the order as well as the universal church? We have already observed, that there were two popes at the same time in the church, each of them having different nations under their authority, and two superiors in the order independent on each other. The convent of Rhodes, the knights in the east, with those of France, Castile, Scotland, and part of Germany, acknowledged the authority of the grand master, who adhered to Benedict XIII. successor to Clement VII. whilst the popes that succeeded Urban VI. had, in order to retain the Arragonian, Italian, and English knights, as well as those of the kingdoms of the north, Bohemia and Hungary, in their obedience, appointed Italian commanders to be their superiors, under the title of lieutenants of the grand mastership; and who, as if that great dignity was not already filled up, governed this part of the order without having the least intercourse with the grand master of Rhodes. 'Tis easy to guess what prejudice such a fatal division must cause in that island, which saw its forces divided, and that for a long time received no contribution from the priories and com-

mandries that had separated themselves from the body of the order.

HAPPILY at this juncture the cardinals who adhered to both the popes, excited by the zeal of most of the princes of Christendom, agreed together to join their endeavours to assemble a general council; and it being then uncertain which of the two rivals was the true pope, whether Peter de Luna, still'd Benedict XIII. or Angelo Corrario, who had taken the name of Gregory XIII. these cardinals resolv'd to put a person into the chair of St. Peter, whose election should be so indisputable, that no Christian could help acknowledging him for sole and lawful head of the universal church.

'T WAS with this view that these cardinals had in all the conclaves held from the time of the death of Urban VI. and Clement VII. subscribed to a formal instrument, whereby the person who should be elected out of their body, engag'd himself for the sake of peace to renounce the popedom, which they call'd accepting of the vote of cession. But experience demonstrated afterwards, that all those whom they rais'd to that supreme dignity, thought themselves, the moment they received the papal crown, dispens'd from the promises they had made in order to attain it: and the competitors, by a tacit collusion, agreed in nothing but in one point, which was never to agree upon any of the several expedients propos'd in order to bring about a reciprocal cession.

THE fear of seeing this schism perpetuated in the church, determin'd the cardinals to call a general council in the city of Piã in Italy. Scarce had a more illustrious and vihal a more numerous assembly been seen in any part of the Christian world. There were present at it 22 cardinals, 4 patriarchs, 12 archbishops in person, and 14 by their proxies. 80 bishops, and the proxies of above 100; the grand master of Rhodes, accompanied with 16 commanders, the prior of the knights of the holy sepulchre. and procurator of the Teutonic order; 87 abbots, in which number  
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were the abbots, superiors of the order of the Cisterians, of Grammont, of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa, with the proxies of the abbots general of the order of the Premonstrants, and of St. Anthony of Vienna; the proxies of 200 other abbots; an infinite number of priors and ecclesiastics; the deputies of the universities of Paris, Thoulouſe, Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Oxford and Cambridge; above 300 doctors in divinity and canon law; and the ambassadors of the kings of France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland and Cyprus, of the dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Bavaria and Pomerania, of the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Thuringia, and of almost all the princes of Germany.

THIS famous council was opened on Lady-day; they sat several times, and after several citations had been made in vain to the two pretenders, who would never answer them, and all other formalities requisite to be observed in *causa majori*, and in an affair of such importance, the holy council proceeded at last to a definitive sentence, declaring Peter de Luna and Angelo Corrario schismatics, and guilty of perjury and artifice, in order to impose on the faithful, and keep up the schism which had distracted the church for so many years together, depriving them of the popedom, and allowing the cardinals to proceed to the election of a sovereign pontiff: during which, the guard of the conclave was committed to the grand master and his knights.

ALL the cardinals present in the council gave their votes unanimously for the cardinal of Milan, who at his inauguration, and at the ceremony of his coronation, took the name of Alexander V. a person illustrious for his eminent piety and profound knowledge; qualities equally to be wished in all those persons who fill that august dignity. This pope was a Greek by birth, and of the isle of Candia, but born of parents so miserably poor, that he was abandoned by them in his infancy,



infancy, inſomuch that he never knew of any he had : this made him ſay, after his advancement to the pontifical chair, that the church would, during his pontificate, be ſecure from nepotiſm. This holy pope indeed made a more worthy uſe of his riches, employing them equally in relieving the poor, and in rewarding men of virtue and merit. Whatever joy the church in general expreſſed at the election of ſo pious a pope, and in expectation of its putting a final end to the ſchiſm, no body could be more affected with it than the grand maſter, who conſidered it as a means to reunite all Chriſtian princes, and engage them in a league againſt the Turks. With this view, and to carry on this important negotiation, he made choice of brother Walter de Graſſy, prior of the church of Rhodes, and brother Lucius de Valines, grand maſhal, and ſent them as his embaſſadors, to moſt of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, to notify to them the pope's election. Their orders were to repreſent in his name the favourable-  
neſs of the preſent juncture for making war upon the Turks ; that the throne of Bajazet had received a terrible ſhock by the fall of that prince, and by the victories of Tamerlane, and that they might make their advantage of the civil wars riſen up between the ſons of the turkiſh prince, who diſputed his ſucceſſion, and the weak remains of his empire.

THE grand maſter having acquainted the pope with the deſign of this embaſſy, received the praiſes due to his zeal on that account. The holy pontiff told him, that if they could carry their point in that affair, he would declare himſelf head of the league, and be at the chief expence of the expedition. At the ſame time he ſent a nuncio to Rhodes, to notify his election to brother Dominic of Germany, the grand maſter's lieutenant, and the council and convent of Rhodes. The pope, though the grand maſter was near his perſon, took this ſtep from a particular regard for the whole body of the order, which was always ſuppoſed to reſide in the iſle of Rhodes.

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THE pope, to put a final end to the particular schism which had so long infested the order, issued out a bull which he ordered his nuncio to publish over all Christendom, wherein he declared that brother Philebert de Naillac was the only lawful grand master of all the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, enjoining, by virtue of the obedience they owed him, and under pain of excommunication, all the religious of the order, whether knights, chaplains, or serving brothers, in what part of the world soever they might reside, to acknowledge him for their head and only superior.

IN consequence of this bull, the grand master summoned a general chapter at Nice, which was afterwards translated to Aix in Provence; and in his summons, after representing at large and in a moving manner, the evils which the schism had caused to the whole church in general, and to the order in particular, he orders all priors, and the four oldest commanders of each priory, to appear at the chapter by the first of April, to take measures by concert for the restoring of discipline and the reformation of the order, in the head as well as in the members of it.

THE grand master was preparing to set out for this assembly, where his presence was highly necessary, in order to extinguish the remains of the schism, and restore a perfect union and harmony between all the knights: when the pope, who knew his merit, and the peculiar talent he had for negotiations, obliged him to undertake an embassy from him to the kings of France and England, who were then at war, to mediate a good peace, or at least a long truce between them. The grand master accepted this commission the more willingly, because he considered the peace he was going to treat of as a means to engage those two powerful monarchs to join their forces against the infidels. But not to deprive the order by his absence of the advantages that might be expected from the chapter, he allowed that august assembly to chuse three persons to preside there in his stead; and the choice of

the members fell upon the brothers James Tivelly prior of Auvergne, Raimond de Lesture prior of Thoulouse, and Philip de Langueglia prior of Lombardy. In this chapter several regulations were made, of very great consequences relating as well to the responsions, which were payable out of the commandries into the common treasury, as to the ill use which certain priors made of their authority. The treasury had during the schism been deprived of all its dues and contributions arising from the commandries situated in England, Scotland, Arragon, and part of Germany; in the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary, and over all Italy; it was therefore ordered that visitors should be sent into all these countries, to re-establish the right of the order there: and the priors were expressly prohibited from seizing for the future, as some had done, in the commandries within their priories, upon the forests, rights of fishery, those of mort-main and for-marriage, and in a word, upon all the seignioral rights which they had assumed to themselves to the prejudice of the commanders; and a statute was made, that for the future, every commander, in order to enable him to pay his responsions the more easily, should enjoy all the rights and profits of his commandry, without the prior's appropriating the least part thereof to himself under any pretence whatever. They chose likewise in this chapter an administrator of the treasury, naming for that post brother Raimond de Lesture prior of Thoulouse, and grand commander of Cyprus, a knight very zealous for the interest of his order, and well versed in the direction and ordering of the public revenues. The order made choice of him, in hopes that he would find out an expedient to oblige the commanders of Italy and other countries, who had divided from the body of the order during the schism, to pay the arrears of their responsions, and continue them for the future, with the exactness which their profession required them to observe, with respect to their statutes and the orders of their superiors.

BUT

BUT unhappily the schism was not yet extinguished. The council of Pisa, far from terminating that great affair, had only perplexed it the more. Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were indeed deposed there, and they had chosen Alexander V. for their successor; but the two first refused to acknowledge the authority of the council, and each of them maintained his own election with more obstinacy than ever; so that instead of two popes as they had before, they had now three. These troubles which infested the church, served as a screen to most of the commanders, who under a pretence of adhering to those two antipopes, refused obeying the grand master, and neglected to pay their responsions.

POPE Alexander V. dying in the beginning of May at Bologna, they were strangely surpris'd and scandalis'd to see his place filled by cardinal Baltazar Cossa, legate or rather tyrant of Bologna. <sup>a</sup> He had been a pirate in his youth, and afterwards turned ecclesiastic, as thinking it the best profession for him to make his fortune. This change he made without deviating in the least from his first way of life, and one would rather have taken him for a soldier than a man devoted to the service of the altar. His relations procured him afterwards an archdeaconry in the church of Bologna; but finding that post too narrow for his ambition, he resolv'd to go to Rome; and 'tis said, that when he set out on his journey to that capital of the Christian world; his friends asking him whither he was going, "I am going," says he, "to the popedom." Boniface XI. successor to Urban, and one of the popes who kept up the schism, made him his chamberlain; a dignity in which he had amass'd immense wealth, by employing all the tricks and artifices of simony. But he did not labour for himself only, for he was oblig'd to account with Boniface, who was as greedy as himself in scrap-  
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<sup>a</sup> In cujus electione multi scandalisati sunt, quia ut tyrannus rexisse Bononiam, & vitæ mundanæ deditus dicebatur. Gobillin, in Cosmod. ætatis 6, cap. 30.

ing up riches, and who connived at his pilferings to share the profits with him. Colssa procured the legateship of Bologna from him, and a publican or farmer of the revenue made the most of it. They say that it was partly by his credit and intrigues, that after the death of Boniface IX. and Innocent VII. his successor, he got Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. deposed in the council of Piã, and Alexander V. elected, whose great age made him flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding him in a little time. But death moving with a slower pace than his ambition, he was suspected of having got him poisoned in a dose of physic. Theodoric of Niem, who was his secretary, in his history of the schism, represents him as a man polluted with avarice, cruelty, and the most abominable incontinency. However, as he was elected canonically, he was enthroned and adored by the name of John XXIII.

THIS change of dignity did not make him alter his conduct; he was still as loose as ever in his morals, always grasping at other people's wealth, and carrying on a sordid traffic with the most holy things. Sigismond the emperor, or only king of the Romans, whom we have had occasion to mention before in quality of king of Hungary, in a conference which he had with this pope at Lodi, opened himself very freely in relation to his irregularities, and pressed him to put an end to the scandal he gave to the whole church by his simony. That prince had desired this interview in order to engage the pope to call a general council. Besides the benefit that might accrue from thence to the whole church, Sigismond who had always his own interest in view, and was as great a politician as he was an ill captain, not finding himself in a condition singly to support the war, which the Turks were making upon him in his kingdom of Hungary, flattered himself with the hopes, that if he could but carry his point in extinguishing the schism, he might find a way to unite all the christian princes in a league against the infidels. With this view he caressed John XXIII. persuading him



him that he would get him acknowledged in a general council (by the condemnation of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) for the sole pope and pastor of the universal church. But his real design, which indeed he kept to himself, and which was at last discovered by time only, always was to have all the three popes deposed, and a fourth elected, by the concurrence and votes of the cardinals of the three parties. Pope John who did not see thro' this fine political turn, and who stood in fear of the emperor, in order to keep measures with him, called the council at Constance. Besides the rooting out of the schism, which was the chief thing proposed to be done in that august assembly, they were likewise to set about reforming the church in its head and members, and to examine at the same time the doctrine of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who had revived Wickliff's heretical opinions in Bohemia.

'T WAS expected that the emperor's remonstrances, and especially the calling of a general council, would keep the pope or the officers of the apostolical chamber in some awe; but it made no alteration in their conduct. The order of St. John suffered in a particular manner upon that account: the pope, or such as made use of his authority, in consideration of a large sum of money, issued out a bull, by which licence was given to a certain knight commander, who had made his vows, to renounce them, and to quit the habit of the order, and marry. The sovereign pontiff at the same time caused the commandry, which that religious enjoyed, to be resigned to him; and they say, he sold it afterwards to a boy not fourteen years old, whom he dispensed with from taking the habit and making his vows. He carried these sorts of dispensations still farther, in favour of another child but five years old, named Aloyse or Alexis, natural son to the king of Cyprus, whom he suffered, in consideration of a rich commandry, which he sold to the king his father, to make the vows of the order at that age.

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FROM the same principle of avarice, and without any regard to the important services done by the order to all Christendom, he seized on all the priories and commandries that he heard were fallen vacant, and sold them afterwards to such as offered most money, so that the convent of Rhodes, or rather the whole order, was in danger of being utterly ruined by his avarice.

THIS was the occasion of a letter which the council wrote to him in the strongest as well as most moving terms. In this letter they represented to him with a generous liberty, that the knights, who resided at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring isles, were to signalize their zeal against the enemies of the faith, shedding their blood daily in the defence of the Christians that went to visit the holy places; that themselves, as well as their predecessors, had, at entering into the order, founded several commandries out of their own patrimony. That most of the Christian princes, edified with their zeal, had followed their example in making those pious foundations; that his holiness, by seizing on those estates, or bestowing them on his creatures, was going to deprive Rhodes of its gallant defenders, and the convent of the necessary supplies for its subsistence; that the oldest knights had always looked upon those commandries as the just recompence of their services, and the only means of relief in their old age; and that if he went on to deprive them thereof, they would soon see the isle of Rhodes abandoned as a prey to the infidels, and every knight unable to subsist there any longer, seeking at last a refuge among his relations; which could not fail of redounding to the great scandal of Christendom, and the dishonour of the holy see.

FOND as the pope was of his sovereign power over all ecclesiastical possessions, the just complaints of the order, and his fear of the knights laying them before the council, served to counter-balance his avarice. He revoked the grant that he had made of the commandry of Cyprus in favour of the bastard abovementioned; but

but as he never did any favour or act of justice gratis, he could not bring himself to pay the king of Cyprus back the money that he had received in hand; the order was forced to re-imburse it out of their own treasury; and after the council, in order to get rid of this oppression, had submitted to such hard conditions, he exacted six thousand florins more from them in ready money, before he would issue out the brief of revocation.

WE pass over in silence other excesses of his, still more shocking, which are mentioned by historians, and the very acts of the council, though it were indeed to be wished they had drawn a veil over them. We shall only say, that though the pontiff, out of regard to the emperor, had appointed the council to be held at Constance, an imperial city, situated between Suabia and Switzerland, he yet came thither with great reluctance, as if he had foreboding apprehensions of the fate that awaited him in that place.

'Tis said, that when he was arrived near the city, viewing it with some concern from the top of a neighbouring mountain, he could not help saying, with an heavy smile, "There is the hole where they catch foxes." But as he had gone too far to return back, he entered the place, attended by the cardinals and his whole court: he opened the council on the first day of November, and appointed the first session to be held on the sixteenth of the same month. There passed in this council things that will be ever memorable; the prosecution and deposing of two popes; the voluntary or forced abdication of a third; the canonical and lawful election of a fourth; the re-union of all the churches of the west under his obedience; the execution of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague; the civil war that broke out on that occasion in Bohemia; the various springs made use of to bring about such great events; all this has been treated of by such learned pens, that we shall only say, with regard to the particular design of our work, that after the deposing of  
John

John XXII. the cession of Gregory XII. and the condemnation of Benedict XIII. when they were to fill the chair of St. Peter, the holy council, in order to avoid the cabals so usual in the conclaves of the cardinals, and provide a worthy head for the universal church, ordered, in the fortieth session, that for this once, and by consent of the cardinals, six ecclesiastical deputies, out of each of the five nations which composed that august assembly, should be joined with them to make this important election.

IN fine, upon Thursday the eleventh of November, fifty-eight electors gave their votes for Otho Colonna, cardinal deacon of the title of St. George, a *velo aureo*, who in memory of St. Martin of Tours, whose feast was kept that day, would be called Martin, and was the fifth of the name. This pope was descended from one of the most noble houses, not only of Italy but of all Christendom, which has in various ages produced great men and heroes of all characters. Such as have since descended from this noble race, have, by their great actions, reflected back as much lustre as ever they derived from their ancestors.

THE pope, after the forty-fifth session, dismissed the fathers of the council on April 25th, with  
 1418. the usual ceremonies; and those prelates who had so long been kept at a distance from their respective dioceses, set out on their journey back with pleasure. The grand master would have been glad to have returned at the same time to Rhodes; the necessities of the order called him back, and he was invited thither by the ardent wishes of all his knights, who had made several processions and public prayers for his preservation and return. But his zeal for the whole body of the order did not allow him to quit Europe so soon: all he could do was to send eighteen thousand crowns out of his own purse to Rhodes, in order to relieve the wants of the convent there, which, by the unhappy consequences of the schism, was reduced to an extreme indigence.

WE have seen a little before, in the course of this history, that the fatal schism, which had infested the church for above forty years, had occasioned a like division in the order of St. John, and that most of the European knights adhered to such of the popes as their sovereigns followed. The unanimous election of Martin V. having put an end to these different parties among christian princes, the next business was to root them out likewise in the order, and re-unite to the body of it all the various members that had separated themselves from it, and particularly the Italian knights, who, notwithstanding the decrees and particular ordinance of pope Alexander V. had, under pretence that Gregory XII. would not own the authority of the council of Pisa, persevered in the obedience of that antipope, under the authority of the pretended lieutenants of the mastership. The grand master, after the voluntary cession of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. considered that the most important affair of his order would be to efface the least footsteps of this unhappy schism.

But as he could not undertake any thing without the consent and concurrence of the principal persons of the order, he called an assembly of the priors, receivers, and oldest commanders of France, Spain and Savoy, at Avignon. The grand master acquainted them with the reasons of that particular convocation, and after various opinions had been proposed and debated, they agreed in one that suited the republican government of the order, which was, to call a general chapter at Rhodes, and summon the greatest number of priors and old commanders that could possibly be got together to it; and withal to send a particular deputation to the priors of Lombardy, Venice, Rome and Pisa, who had been till then averse to own the grand master's authority, in order that their re-union to the entire body of the order might be authorised by the decrees of a general chapter; or else that that august assembly, in which the sovereignty of the order was



vested, might decree such penalties as they should think proper, against the disobedient and refractory.

WITH this view they commissioned brother John de Patru, the conventual treasurer, to go into Italy; and to authorise him with proper power, the grand master gave him the title of visitor and corrector in the four priories above-mentioned: and his orders were to demand of them the re-establishment of their respondents, which had not been paid ever since the beginning of the schism. A proposal of this nature, though undoubtedly just, was not without great difficulties. The business in question was to levy a sort of tribute or tax upon a set of men that had been bred for above forty years together in a spirit of independency. However, as those knights had adhered to the Italian popes, only out of a notion, that they alone of all the competitors were the rightful successors of St. Peter, and had submitted to them in the sincerity of their heart; these, as soon as they had account of the voluntary cession of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. readily acknowledged this last pontiff; and from the same disposition, received the visitor with respect, making protestations of their filial obedience to the grand master, and promising to come to Rhodes to the general chapter, in order to receive its decrees in person, and conform themselves to them in every article.

THE priors of Capua and Barletta, the commanders of St. Euphemia, Venusia, Naples, and St. Stephen de Monopoli, and all the knights of the kingdom of Naples, excited by their example, dispatched the chevalier de la Porte to the grand master, with a letter drawn up in the form of a legal instrument, wherein they acknowledged him for their lawful superior, and demanded with earnestness to be received immediately into an union with the body of the order, from which they said they had been separated by the misfortune of the times.

THEIR deputy met with the grand master at Bologna. That brave old man, notwithstanding his great age,

age, and the fatigues he must necessarily pass through in such continual voyages, had come to Florence to confer with the pope, in order to find out an expedient to engage the most potent Christian princes in a league against the sons of Bajazet, who began to make themselves formidable; and after having taken leave of the pontiff, he went to Bologna, where the envoy from Naples met him. The grand master was greatly pleased to see all his order united at last together, and informed with the same spirit of submission and obedience. His answer to the Neapolitan knights was, that now he had received such a declaration of their submission and re-union with the body of the order, he had nothing more to wish for before he died; that he invited them to come to the general chapter that was to be held at Rhodes on the eighth of September that very year; and that in order to prepare the matters which were to be treated of in that place, it would be proper for them to meet him at Ancona, to deliberate together about them in an assembly which he would hold there before the end of March.

THE bailiffs, the priors, and the principal commanders of Italy, did not fail to come to the assembly. Brother John Pignatelli, commander of St. Stephen of Monopoli, was the only person, who, though expressly summoned, neglected to appear there. The grand master was at first of opinion to take no notice of the only person that proved refractory to his orders: he saw plainly that it was the dregs, and a sort of leaven of the same rebellious spirit that had caused such a destructive schism in the order; but as he was for extinguishing even the least sparks of it, he ordered him to be summoned a second time to appear before him, allowing him only to the fifteenth of April for that purpose. The commander persisted in an obstinate silence; and the grand master was forced to send him a third summons, enjoining him upon his obedience to come to Rhodes within five months, on pain of being degraded from the order, and deprived of his commandry. He persisted even some time longer in his

disobedience; but seeing preparations made for executing the grand master's orders against him, he made his submission and returned to his duty. The next thing the assembly applied themselves to, was to restore the regular discipline in all the provinces of Italy: several very necessary regulations were there made; what was less urgent was put off to the general chapter, and every body prepared to set out immediately for Rhodes.

THE grand master embarked soon after, and arrived safe at Rhodes towards the end of July, where he was received with universal joy, and with that tender respect which a great merit, supported by a great dignity, always inspires. The people in particular, to whom he was a father rather than a prince, made bonfires on the day of his return, which was kept as a general feast all over the island. The grand master's first care was to examine into the state of the magazines; and finding that the badness of the last harvest had raised the price of corn, he sent ships immediately to several ports of Italy, to fetch corn of all sorts from thence, which brought back plenty into his territories.

THIS great man afterwards opened the general chapter. There had not for a considerable time been held any one so remarkable, either for the number of persons that composed it, or for the importance of the matters there treated of. Here appeared for the first time most of the knights that had been before engaged in the schism, and had insensibly, though with good intentions, transgressed the bounds of their duty. They all returned to it: the priors and bailiffs of Italy, England, the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary and Arragon, made a solemn recognition of the grand master as their head and only superior: the schism was never mentioned but with detestation: the knights, who had been under different obediences in order to celebrate their re-union, embraced one another with joy; and both considering it as the result of the grand master's wisdom, strove to guess at his intentions, and anticipate them by conforming themselves to them.

The

The great and only object they all had in view was the glory of God, and the defence of their fellow Christians; so that before the chapter broke up, he easily got several decrees passed, very necessary for the re-establishment of discipline, and the regulation of the revenues of the order. He sent the records of this chapter to the pope, who ratified them by his authority. 'Twas the seal which that wise pontiff put to the peace and union of the order; and it was likewise the last transaction that passed under the government of this grand master. It looked as if he waited only for the news of it, in order to quit life with greater satisfaction. He fell ill a little while after he had received the pope's brief, and without

1421.  
any preparation but that of an holy Life, ended his days with a tranquility that may be considered as a presage of the felicity which heaven designed for him. His place was filled by brother Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, of the priory ANTHONY of Catalonia, standard-bearer of the or- FLUVIAN. der, and grand prior of Cyprus, or great conservator and lieutenant to his predecessor. The peace which the order had enjoyed in the last years of the mastership of Naillac, was interrupted by several enterprises of the infidels; and the knights saw themselves successively attacked by the Turks of Asia, and by the Saracens of Egypt.

WE have seen in the beginning of this book, in what manner the Ottoman power had like to have been entirely destroyed by the valour and good fortune of Tamerlane, and the captivity and death of Bajazet. This last prince left four sons, Yia or Joshua, Musa or Musulman, Moses and Mahomet. Joshua, after Tamerlane's death, recovered Bursa from the Moguls, and would have made a greater progress, had he not been obliged to turn his arms against Musulman, who, supported by a body of troops, which the emperor of Constantinople furnished him with, advances against his brother, attacks, beats, takes him prisoner, and causes him to be strangled. Moses, who seemed only to wait

the success of this civil war, before he declared himself, appears upon the stage with a strong army, seizes on Adrianople, and offers battle to his brother, but was betrayed by the Bulgarians in his army, who deserted him in the heat of the engagement. Moses knowing very well the fate allotted to the vanquished, flies and gets into Adrianople, reserving himself for another occasion. He gathers together and rallies the remains of his army, bribes Chafan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenetz commander of the Spahi, who come over to his party. With this reinforcement he again marches against his brother, defeats his army, and getting him into his power, causes him to be strangled.

THE Greek emperor, to foment this civil war among the Turks, sets up Mahomet Zelebin, i. e. the young, against Moses: he was the last of Bajazet's sons, and during the misfortunes of his family, had been hid in the house of a lute-string maker. 'Tis said that he learned the trade, and that those who were entrusted with his education did not let him know the greatness of his extraction, the better to conceal him. However it was, this young prince, with the succours of the Greeks, of the prince of Caramania, and of the despot of Servia, levies an army; and though he had never made a campaign before, advances to attack his brother, and offers him battle, which he loses. Notwithstanding his defeat, he, by the assistance of his allies, levies new troops, and again advances towards his brother, holding at the same time a secret correspondence with some persons in his army. Chafan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenetz commander of the spahi, who had betrayed Masulman to serve Moses, now abandon this prince and go over to the army of Mahomet. The aga carried his rebellion and perfidiousness still farther; and before the two armies engaged, he advanced to the first ranks, endeavouring by seditious discourses to corrupt the Janizaries that were left in Moses's party. This prince, provoked at his impudence and treason, rides up to him, and with his scymitar in hand, aims at his head, but was prevented by Chafan's squire, who cut off his sword



sword hand. This unlucky accident decided the victory and his life; his soldiers seeing him return into their ranks with but one hand, and all over bloody, interpreted his wound as a manifestation of his being proscribed by heaven; upon which they deserted him, and went to lay their standards and colours at the feet of Mahomet.

THE victorious prince caused Moses, who was found hid in a marsh, to be first secured, and afterwards strangled, becoming by his death assured of the crown, and of reigning without a competitor. The Turkish historians do not put Ysa or Joshua, Musulman, nor Moses, who reigned one after another, in the list of their emperors, but reckon all that passed from Bajazet's death till Mahomet I. as an interregnum. But all the Greek authors place these princes among the sultans; and as the history of the Ottomans makes part of that of the knights of St. John their perpetual enemies, we could not help giving a summary account of the success of the civil wars which infested that new empire, till the advancement of Mahomet I. upon the throne of his ancestors. This prince enjoyed the sovereign authority peaceably during the eight years which he reigned, and was succeeded by Amurath II. his eldest son, one of the greatest princes of that nation. The conquests of this last blotted out the remembrance of those of Tamerlane, and restored the Ottoman empire to its former splendor. His arms were equally successful in Europe and in Asia. The Carmanian and other infidel princes of the east felt their fury, as well as the Albanians, Hungarians and Transalpine Wallachians. He ravaged those great provinces, making most of the sovereigns tributaries to him, and would have extended his conquests still farther, had not a stop been put to them by Scanderbeg, the son of John Castriot king of Albania, on one side, and by John Huniades Vaivod of Transylvania, and general of the troops of Hungary, on the other, both of them the greatest captains of their age, who with an inconsiderable number of forces, but supported by an intrepid

courage,

courage, and the most exquisite experience in war, checked the rapid progress of his arms.

HE afterwards turned them against several princes that possessed places in the Morea, and in the isles of the Archipelago. All these petty sovereigns had recourse to the order of St. John, and engaged the bailiff of the Morea to go to Rhodes to implore the succour of the grand master. That prince, actuated by the spirit of his order, resolved, in concert with the council, to send some gallies into those seas, in order to discover the design of the infidels. But as they were preparing to put some troops on board, there came advice that the prince of Scanderoon or Alexandretta, in conjunction with other vassals of the grand seignior, was actually at sea, with a fleet composed of vessels of different bulk, and six gallies belonging to the lord of Scanderoon. The grand master readily suspected their design to be against Rhodes, or at least against the neighbouring isles which depended on the order. This news suspended the succours designed for the Morea. They fitted out all the gallies of the order and sailed in quest of the enemies fleet : but as the infidels did not care to come to a decisive battle, they avoided an engagement ; and in order to make themselves amends for the expence of this armament, they took some merchant ships of Rhodes and Venice.

WHILST the knights and the Turks, equally animated against one another, were roving up and down the seas, ravaging the coasts, where they could make any descent, and labouring to surprize one another, there started up a new enemy to the order, who was almost as near Rhodes as the Turks, but more formidable, on account of his maritime forces, his fleets, and particularly from the skilfulness of his subjects in navigation, in which they excelled, especially since he began his reign. I speak of the famous sultan of Egypt Alnazer-al-Daher, a Circassian by birth, whom the Mamelukes had raised to the throne. They admitted none into that body, which was the strongest in Egypt, but foreign slaves ; and these generally were young child-

ren that had either been taken by the Tartars in their incursions, or else sold to them by their unnatural parents. The Egyptians bought all they could, and brought up these young men in exercises suitable to the profession they designed them for; and when they were able to bear arms, they incorporated them into the body of the Mamalukes. 'Twas in this manner, that Daher, whom we are speaking of, was admitted into that body; and after many long years of service, and a great series of glorious actions and distinguished valour, was at last advanced to the sovereign power, which by the laws of that body could never devolve from father to son, or descend to his heirs.

DAHER in order to maintain himself in a dignity subject to frequent revolutions, from the inconstancy and seditious temper of the Mamalukes, and also to find employment for their courage, declared war against Janus of Lusignan king of Cyprus. His fleet landed a considerable army in the island. The king immediately applied to the order for assistance; and tho' the knights were then at peace with the Saracens, the grand master and council could not see their arms so near the isle of Rhodes, without fearing some unhappy consequences to the order from that war. As the territories belonging to it were situated between those of the Turkish emperor and the sultan of Egypt, the council was always so politic as to maintain peace with one of those infidel princes, whilst it was engaged in war with the other. Agreeable to this maxim they could have wished to have had no quarrel with the Saracens, whilst they were at war with the Turks. The grand master, in this view, omitted nothing that might contribute to the bringing about a peace between the sultan of Egypt and the king of Cyprus; but as the Egyptian regulated his pretensions by his forces, he insisted that the king of Cyprus should acknowledge himself his vassal, and as such, pay him and his successors an annual tribute, and should likewise re-imburse him all the expence he had been at in that armament and expedition.

THESE conditions were too hard to be accepted ; so that there was a necessity of deciding the dispute by arms. Acts of hostility were begun on both sides. The order, as an ally of the crown of Cyprus, sent over considerable succours at different times. The war proved long and bloody. At last they came to a battle, the particulars of which we are unacquainted with. We only know in general, that the Christians lost it, and that a great number of Cypriot lords and gentlemen, and several knights of St. John, were slain at the same time. The Saracens had a compleat victory, and the king, to make the misfortune still greater, fell into the hands of the infidels, who carried him to Alexandria.

THE grand master hearing this bad news, and fearing the infidels might seize on the whole island, sent over new succours of men and money, and gave secret assurances to the principal lords of the kingdom, that the order would never abandon them, provided they would not abandon themselves ; and that they should take up a noble resolution to die sword in hand rather than submit to the Mahometans. But those lords, divided among themselves, and effeminated by pleasures, not discovering any great courage and resolution, sent, by the grand master's advice, embassadors to Egypt, to the sultan's court, to treat for the ransom of their sovereign. The negotiation was spun out a great length. The sultan, in hopes that his troops would soon reduce the whole island, was every day starting new difficulties ; but the Egyptian general soon found a stop put to the progress of his arms by the valour of the knights. By way of revenge, he ravaged the great commandry or bailliage which the order possessed in that island, demolishing the houses, cutting down the trees, and rooting up the vines ; so that this great commandry, which was reckoned the richest of the order, was entirely ruined. The sultan too resolved to turn the efforts of his arms against the isle of Rhodes, hoping that if he could make himself master of it, that of Cyprus, being left destitute of the succours of the knights, would of course

course fall into his hands. And as ambitious princes seldom set any bounds to their projects, the sultan flattered himself, that the conquest of the isles of Rhodes and Cyprus would pave the way to that of all the isles of the Archipelago; and that after this, Asia minor could never resist a power so formidable as his would then be. Full of such vast designs, the dangers and difficulties of which his ambition concealed from him, he again set the negotiation on foot with the ambassadors of Cyprus. His ministers set a price upon the king's liberty, and demanded an hundred and twenty thousand florins of gold for his ransom. The prince rejected this proposal, not only because he looked on the sum as too extravagant, but also because he wanted money, his exchequer being quite exhausted by the war. But the grand master, who was afraid lest the Saracens should at last seize on the isle of Cyprus, advised him to get out of the hands of those barbarians at any rate; and the order, to facilitate his liberty, supplied him with the greatest part of his ransom. Peace was made on these conditions.

THE sultan, to amuse the grand master, and under pretence of desiring to maintain a lasting peace with the order, renewed at the same time the treaty which the sultan his predecessor had made during the mastership of Naillac. But the grand master, who paid for good intelligence, and kept spies in Alexandria, and even in that prince's council, was soon informed of his most secret designs. To prevent being surprised by the Barbarian, he immediately sent advice of it to pope Eugenius IV. and to most of the christian princes, transmitting at the same time a general summons into all parts of the christian world, with express injunctions to the priors to send away forthwith 25 knights or commanders out of each priory to Rhodes. But a much greater number of them arrived, whom zeal and courage had drawn thither; part of them were kept at Rhodes, and the rest distributed into the isles belonging to the order. Brother Hugh de Sarcus, grand prior of France, sent to the capital of the order a ship  
laden



laden with cross-bows, arrow-heads, and other arms necessary for the defence of the place. The grand master took care to supply it with corn and all sorts of provisions: in fine, this worthy chief, by his vigilance and activity, put himself in so good a posture to receive the enemy, that the news of his armament soon passed into Egypt; and the sultan flattering himself that the order could not long maintain so great a number of knights, thought fit to suspend his enterprize.

THIS great expence however having emptied the treasury of the order, the grand master, to fill it again, resolved to call a general chapter at Rhodes, as the custom was in those times: the priors generally brought to the chapters the responsions of the commandries that lay within their priories, with a list of those who had not discharged that obligation: and as it was impossible for the order to maintain so many different wars against the infidels without this supply, the chapter decreed severe penalties against such as were negligent and refractory, endeavouring at the same time by new citations, to raise the necessary funds for the armaments of the order.

'TWAS with this design, and with a view of restoring a regularity in discipline, that the grand master called the chapter at Rhodes, to be held there on May 23. 1428. at which, among a great number of priors, bailiffs, and commanders, were also brother John de Vivone, prior of Aquitain, and lieutenant to the grand master in the three languages of France; brother John de Ventadour, great commander; brother Anthony de St. Chamand, marshal of the order; brother John de Lastic, prior of Auvergne; brother Gratian de la Tour, bailiffs of the commerce of Rhodes, and several other old knights of different nations.

THE grand master opened the chapter with a discourse, in which he represented the unavoidable expences the order had been obliged to put themselves to, both in defending the island of Cyprus, as well as in guarding against the sultan's ill designs, the consequences

sequences of which were always to be feared; that Rhodes and the islands which depended on it, if they did not keep up a sufficient body of forces, could never be secured from the attempts of Amurath; and that the order supported itself only by the jealousy that was fomented between the Turks and Saracens, two formidable powers, which it would be hard to resist, if from a zeal for a religion that was common to both, they should join their forces against the order; that in this situation nothing came into the treasury out of the priories of France, the commandries of which had been ruined in the war carried on by the English in that kingdom; that Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, being harassed by the Hussites, did not furnish any quota to the order; that Poland being engaged in a war against the Teutonic knights, scarce kept up any correspondence with Rhodes; and that it was the business of the chapter, by some wise regulations, to re-establish, as near as possible, the responsions on the old footing, which those several nations seemed entirely to have forgot.

THE chapter, out of regard to these just remonstrances, and to make up the fund of the responsions of France, granted leave to alienate several lands belonging to the commandries of the order to secular persons, for whom they lay convenient, provided always that such alienations were made only for life, and at a certain rate. With the same view, they, by the next statute, erected a new dignity in the language of Germany, that of great bailiff, and annexed to it an inspection and authority over all the priories and commandries lying in Germany, particularly in Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, where the Hussites had made cruel ravages ever since the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague at the council of Constance. To the authority and functions of grand bailiff of Germany, they annexed likewise the inspection over the governor and castle of St. Peter, a strong place in Caria, built, as we have observed, near or upon the foundations of the old city of Halicarnassus, and serv-

ing for a bulwark to the isle of Rhodes on the side of Asia minor and the main land. The great bailiff was to visit this place every year, either in person or by his lieutenant. He was empowered by his commission to review the garrison; to break useless soldiers; to fill up their places with others more capable of serving: in a word, every thing that concerned the defence of that castle and its territory was put under his jurisdiction, except only the household and officers of the governor, and some soldiers, who after the taking of Smyrna by the Mogul Tartars, had thrown themselves into the sea, and swimming to the ships of the order that lay at anchor, escaped the fury of those barbarians. The order by way of recompence for their valour, had assigned them this place as a retirement for the rest of their lives, where they were taken care of, and maintained at the public expence. The chapter had afterwards given the island of Nizzaro to brother Fantia Quirini, prior of Rome, by an infeoffment, on condition of paying an annual rent of 600 florins of gold to the public treasury; of maintaining there, at his own expence, a garrison necessary for its defence; and of giving subsistence to two knights and a serving brother. 'Twas then the custom in all the priories of the order, that when they admitted a young knight, they assigned him at the same time a commandry for his residence, the commander whereof was to subsist and maintain him, and bring him up in the spirit of the order, till such time as he was qualified to go to Rhodes.

By this wise regulation, the practice of which it were to be wished might be restored, no young knights were to be seen wandering about in cities and provinces, and often without having any thing religious about them but the cross of the order, which some still wear rather as a badge of distinction that flatters their vanity, than as a mark of the obligations they have entered into before the altar, of leading an holy and regular life.

BE that as it will, at present we find in the annals of the order, that the commander of Cagnac desiring to be excused from receiving into his house a young knight called brother William de Riery, who had been assigned the commandry of Cagnac for his residence; the commander, whether he pretended that his house was too full of pupils, or that it was the turn of the commander of St. Salpice, sent him to him. This latter refused to receive him, and complained to the grand master, who being very justly angry at the commander of Cagnac, threatened to deprive him of his habit and commandry, if he neglected to provide for the young knight whom the order had committed to his care; a circumstance which I should not have taken notice of, had it not served to shew, that in the middle of the fifteenth age, near 400 years after the first institution of the order, all the commandries of it were like so many seminaries and academies, where the knights were alike educated in piety and the exercise of arms, two qualities, which though they happen not to meet together in secular persons, may nevertheless form great men in each particular kind, but which ought to be ever united in a knight of the order of St. John.

'T WAS from the same spirit of regularity, and to keep the knights the more closely to their residence, that the grand master forbade them, by an express bull, to go to Rome, and settle in the pope's court, without his permission, or that of the procurator general of the order. He made this wise regulation in order to check the restless and ambitious humour of some knights, who the sooner to possess themselves of the commandries and principal dignities, instead of meriting them by their services, sought to get them by recommendation from the pope or his cardinals, who had the greatest hand in the government of the church. Thus was it that the grand master, in the interval which the truce made with the sultan of Egypt allowed him, employed his authority to maintain a regularity of discipline among his religious. To make their abode in the isle and

convent of Rhodes more convenient for them, he built a magnificent infirmary upon the foundations of the old one, endowing it at his own expence. According to the spirit and constant practice of the order, such knights as were sick or wounded, were visited and taken care of there, with all the regard and attention due to noble personages, that represented the conquerors of the isle, and were every day defending the possession and sovereignty of it at the expence of their blood.

IN the practice of these peaceful virtues, did the grand master Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, end 1437. his days. He saw the approaches of death without any disturbance, and great piety: and desiring to die as he had always lived, a true religious, he disposed of all his effects, and sent 200,000 ducats into the treasury, the fruit of his thriftiness and retrenchments from that magnificence which luxury and vanity at that time required of such as filled the first dignities in the church.

THE chapter assembled immediately to provide him a successor, and the members of it had recourse to arbitration: they first made choice of 13 knights, to whom the chapter referred the right of election. These 13 electors prepared themselves for it by receiving the sacraments of penance and the holy eucharist: they afterwards shut themselves up in a room distinct from the chapter-house, and after a careful examination of the merit of the several candidates, of their personal qualities, and especially of those which were most proper for government, they unanimously gave their votes

in favour of brother JOHN DE LASTIC, JOHN DE grand prior of Auvergne, who was ac-  
LASTIC knowledged in form by all the chapter as  
1437. grand master of the order. As that lord  
was then at his priory, they immediately

dispatched two grand crosses to carry him the instrument of his election; but before these deputies set out for Rhodes, the convent made them take an oath, that they would not ask any favour of him before he had

taken



taken possession of his dignity, none especially that might be to the prejudice of the senior knights of the order.

THE grand master, upon the news of his election, made the best of his way for Rhodes. As soon as he arrived there, he received advice from the spies which the order kept in Egypt, that secret designs were forming in that kingdom against the isle of Rhodes, and what was still worse, these spies informed him, that they suspected that Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, approved this enterprize, or at least would not oppose it.

THE emulation and jealousy between those two neighbouring powers had served hitherto as a kind of succour to the order: but Amurath being uneasy at the league made against him by the christian princes, was well enough satisfied that the sultan of Egypt should at this juncture find employment for all the forces of the knights. However, as they were not yet fully acquainted with that prince's intentions, the grand master sent brother John Morel, prior of the church, to him, as his ambassador, under pretence of notifying his election to him, and to demand of him a renewing of the truce which the order had made with his predecessor. 'Twas a common practice in the order, and which the popes had authorized, for the knights to make a truce with one party of infidels, at the same time they were opposing another. The prior of Rhodes executed his commission with great skill and address. The grand seignor returned the civilities paid him in the new grand master's name, with other compliments, but expressed in general terms that carried no meaning with them; declining at the same time to enter into any negotiation, under pretence that the old treaties were sufficient for the security of both sides. The prior returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand master, that though war was not declared, yet peace was not the more to be depended on. The grand master, in order to discover, if possible, the designs of the infidels, sent William de Lastic his nephew, senes-

chal of the order, with two vessels, towards the coast of Egypt and Barbary. This knight was not long before he returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand master that he would be immediately attacked by all the forces of Egypt. The certainty of war made the knights arm without loss of time; they fitted out eight galleys, four ships with high decks, and several transport vessels, putting a considerable body of troops on board of them, working at the same time in the isle of Rhodes, and those adjacent to it, in order to put the principal places in a condition of defence.

THE sultan on his side put to sea a considerable fleet, consisting of eighteen galleys, a great number of vessels of different bulk, well provided with arms, and laden with a considerable body of cross-bow-men and land forces. But to give some colour to this armament, the sultan pretended, that the isle of Rhodes, as well as that of Cyprus, depended formerly on the empire of Egypt. The first attempt made by his forces, was upon a little island called Chateau-roux, situated an hundred miles to the east of the isle of Rhodes, and only a mile, or at most a French league, from Lycia. This isle, or rather this rock, belonged to the order, who had fortified it with a castle, over the gate of which the arms of the order of St. John, and those of Arragon, were quartered; a circumstance which might incline us to believe that it was the language of that nation which had fortified this little place.

THE Saracens met with little opposition in making their descent, and in all probability seized on this little castle with the like ease; at least there is no passage in history that takes notice of any considerable combat that happened; they re-embarked after having destroyed this settlement, sailed for Rhodes, and appeared off the island on September 25th, 1440.

THE inhabitants emulating the example and care of the grand master and his knights, had taken arms, and lining the coasts, appeared resolute to oppose the infidels, if they should offer to make a descent. The marshal of the order, who, by virtue of that post, had the

the command of the fleet, sailed out of the port in good order, and though he was much inferior to the enemy in number of ships, yet he advanced boldly and offered them battle. The infidels, who imagined that all the ships of the order were out a cruizing, were surprized to see this armament, and retired into a bay, where turning the poops of their ships towards the land, they contented themselves with making a great fire with their artillery, to keep the Christians at a distance. They were answered in the same manner; the rest of the day passed in cannonading one another, and night coming on, the Christian fleet put into the port of Rhodes, the commander of it designing, after he had taken in some powder and fresh troops, to return immediately in quest of the enemy: but the Saracens seeing that it was impracticable to attack Rhodes in sight of the christian fleet, set sail in the night. Their design was to surprisè the isle of Lango. The marshal, whose experience supplied the place of spies, guessing at their design, put out to sea at the same time, and crowding all the sail he could, and his men plying their oars, he advanced with great expedition under the cannon of the castle of Lango, so that the Saracens, when they came up, were strangely surprisèd to find him in their front, drawn up in the order of battle, and offering to fight them a second time.

THE Egyptian admiral, astonishèd at this, tacked about to avoid an engagement, and got to an island which belonged to the Turks; and entering into the harbour, which seemèd in a manner abandoned, he joined his gallies to one another, with their prows towards the sea, and erected batteries upon them, to repulse the knights if they should offer to attack him; and the Turks, who inhabited the island, knowing Amurath's intentions, and influenced likewise by the religion which they professèd in common with the Saracens, ran to their succour against the Christians.

THE marshal, who had followed the Egyptian fleet without losing sight of it, seeing it so well fortified, callèd a council of war. Most of the officers, in order

to dissuade him from attacking the infidels, represented to him their number and forces, which were much superior to those of the order; and besides, there was a bad bottom in that place, it being filled with a quick sand that was very dangerous. They were all for returning to Rhodes; but the marshal, who did not know what danger was, told them that the knights of St. John were never used to count the number of their enemies, and that he would sooner chuse to meet with a grave in the sea, than ly under the reproach of seeing the barbarians so near him, without daring to attack them. But as his capacity was no ways inferior to his valour, he put his troops on board flat-bottomed vessels, that drew less water, and advancing at their head, being covered at the same time by his artillery, he attacked the Saracens, who received him with a smart fire from their cannon and muskets. If the attack was brisk, the defence was equally as brave, and the Saracens, supported by the Turks, exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to hinder the Christians from approaching their gallies. The night coming on, parted the combatants; the infidels lost above seven hundred men on this occasion, and on the Christians side they did not compute above sixty. The marshal, covered over with the blood of his enemies, and wounded in five several places, made for Rhodes, upon some signs of bad weather, and for fear of a storm, which the pilots were threatened with. The infidels took the advantage of his retreat, to get out of those seas in the night time, and came first off the isle of Cyprus: there they made a descent, and set fire to the great commandry of the order, which was all the advantage the sultan had from an armament and expedition which had put him to a considerable expence.

THIS ill success served only to exasperate him the more: he dissembled however his resentment, and the designs he had in view, in order to have an opportunity of falling upon them with a greater force. But the grand master was not imposed upon: new fortifications were by his orders added to the city of Rhodes,  
and

and he supplied the magazines with ammunition and provisions. These first instances of his care were followed with a general citation, summoning all the knights able to bear arms, to repair to the convent : and the prince granted at the same time a general pardon to all exiles and criminals, excepting such as were guilty of high treason, and incendiaries. He carried his views farther, and sent ambassadors to most of the courts of Europe to solicit succours. These ambassadors did not fail to lay before those sovereigns the power and forces of the sultan of Egypt, and to represent that that infidel prince was ready to lay siege to Rhodes ; and that if they should abandon the order in this juncture, all that the knights could expect, after a long defence, would be to bury themselves under the ruins of the place ; but that the christian princes would ly under an eternal reproach, should they suffer the ruin of an island and a state, that served for a bulwark to Christendom, and which, by its lying so near to the holy land, might facilitate the conquest of it. The several princes, to whom these ambassadors were sent, made no other return to all these just remonstrances, than by employing a few empty expressions of an useless compassion. Most of them, detained at home by wars with their neighbours, did not think it proper to leave their dominions in such a juncture : besides, the first fire of devotion, which had produced so many crusades, was now in a manner spent ; and a great many looked upon those transports of piety, either as a result of a mistaken and irregular zeal, or perhaps as one of those springs which politicians set a-going, in order to send away those princes and great men whom they thought too potent, and too jealous of the privileges of their dignity, at a distance from their country, and keep them there on a pretence of devotion.

BE that as it will, the order obtained no succours from the christian princes in this juncture. John Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, was the only one that made a league offensive and defensive with them against the sultan of Egypt ; but this league produced  
nothing



nothing but a treaty that had no manner of consequence or effect. Of all those vast dominions that had belonged formerly to the empire of the great Constantine, nothing was then left to Paleologus but only the city of Constantinople, with its adjoining territory. The Turks kept that prince blocked up as it were on all sides; so that out of regard to his own preservation, and for fear of seeing himself speedily besieged, he durst not part with the succours which he had stipulated to send to Rhodes. This insignificant treaty was followed by another made with the sultan of Egypt himself, which indeed seemed to be something more advantageous; but that prince, who was an excellent politician, concluded it only with a design of amusing the grand master.

SIR Fantin Quirini, a noble Venetian, bailiff of Lango, and great admiral of the order, held the island of Nizzaro of it by way of fief, and was obliged to take the care of defending those two isles. The sultan apprehending, that if he should make his attack on that side, Quirini's relations, who had a strong interest in the senate, might prevail with the republic to send troops to the assistance of the order, notified to him, that out of regard to his nation, with which he had always lived in good correspondence, he would readily agree to a treaty of neutrality for the islands which were under his government. Quirini communicated these propositions to the grand master and council of the order; some fed themselves with hopes that this private treaty might be improved to a more general one, and perhaps to the re-establishment of peace: but the most skilful were of a different opinion, judging that the sole motive of the sultan's offering this neutrality, was only to prevent a rupture with the Venetians, who alone enjoyed the commerce of Alexandria, and with a supposition, that if he could once make himself master of Rhodes, the neighbouring isles, which depended on it, would follow the fate of the capital, and fall of course into his hands. However, as the order would, by this treaty, be discharged from the care and expence

pence of maintaining troops in those two islands, they told the bailiff that he might conclude it, provided it was drawn up in terms suitable to the sovereignty of the order.

THE sultan, from a motive that was very near of the same nature with that above-mentioned, agreed with the king of Cyprus on a like neutrality, for the vessels of Rhodes and Egypt that should put into the ports of his kingdom. Yet in the midst of these preliminary treaties, which seemed to usher in a peace, or at least a long truce, a considerable fleet of the sultan's was again seen off of the isle of Rhodes, which landed eighteen thousand foot in that place, August. besides a strong body of horse and Mama- 1444. lukes, in which the principal strength of the Egyptians consisted. These barbarians, without sitting down before any other place in the island, marched directly to the capital, which they besieged at the same time that their fleet lay off at sea, in order to block up the port, and prevent the throwing in of succours.

THE reader may justly expect to meet in this place with an exact relation of this siege, with the particulars of the sallies made by the knights, the stormings which they opposed, and the killed and wounded on both sides; but these knights knew much better how to handle their swords than their pens. The little learning at that time in the order, and indeed in that age, has deprived us of so curious and so important a relation: all that is to be found in the registers of the chancery, is, that the siege lasted forty days; that the infidels battered down the place with a great train of artillery; that there were several assaults given, in which they were always repulsed; and that their general, having lost the best part of his troops, re-embarked with the remainder, and was the first that carried to his master the news of the ill success of his arms.

THE grand master wisely judging that it would not be long before the infidels would make him another visit under the walls of Rhodes, dispatched William de

de Lassic his nephew into the west, to give the pope and most of the christian princes an account of the advantages lately gained by the order over the Saracens. He took this step in hopes of obtaining some succour: and that sovereigns, like other men, would declare themselves more freely for the victorious party. In fact, as soon as they heard in Europe that the knights had drove the insidels out of their isle, abundance of the young nobility of Europe, particularly the gentlemen of the kingdoms of France and Spain, fond of sharing in the glory of the order, were very eager to be admitted into it. This was a very seasonable recruit, and helped to fill up the forces of the order, which had been much diminished by losses which are inseparable from war. But this, at the same time, was an additional expence to the convent; and in order to make a provision for it, the grand master called a general chapter at Rhodes, which was to assemble July 25th.

WHILST this assembly was sitting, the grand master received an account from the seneschal his nephew, that he had gone through most of the courts of Europe, but found the princes so exasperated against one another, and so univerially engaged in war, that there were no hopes of any great succour. The grand master and the chapter saw plainly by these letters, that they must rely upon their own strength entirely; whereupon, by common consent, they encreased the responsions for five years. By the same statute, the priors were forbid to receive a greater number of knights than the order could maintain; and they agreed that the grand master should be empowered to put an end to this destructive war, by a peace, if they made him any overtures of it. The treaty was carried on the year following by the agency of James Cœar, a French merchant, who was afterwards treasurer to Charles VII. king of France. He was a citizen of the town of Bourges, a man of *petite generation*<sup>a</sup>, as an histo-

<sup>a</sup> Histoire de Charles VII. Roy de France, par Mat. de Coucy, p. 691. edit. de Louvre.

historian of the time expresses it, to shew that he was born of parents who were not noble. But the defect of birth, if it really be a defect, was abundantly repaired by the greatness of his genius, by his industry and his application. France never gave birth to a merchant who extended its commerce so far, and made such prodigious profits: he had whole fleets at his command, and above three hundred factors dispersed in several countries of Europe and Asia, and even as far as *Sarrasiname*, as the author abovementioned expresses it. 'Twas one of these factors, who, in virtue of the safe-conducts which he had for his commerce, conducted the agent of the order to Alexandria on board his master's galleys. A peace was made, but all that we know of the conditions of the treaty is, that the envoy of Rhodes, after it was concluded, brought back with him into the island a great number of christian slaves and prisoners that had been taken during the war. A bull of the grand master's, bearing date Feb. 8. 1446. is still preserved in the treasury of the order, in which he orders brother Raimond d'Arpajon grand prior of St. Giles, and the receiver of the language of Provence, to pay James Cœur what was due to him for this voyage.

THE grand master's joy in having procured so many poor Christians their liberty, was a little damped by the concern that some letters sent 1448. from pope Nicholas V. gave him. There were some commanders at Rome, and at the pontiff's court, who were uneasy at the responsions of their commanderies being encreased; they complained to the pope of it, as if it had been a tyrannical imposition, and as if the grand master and the chapter had exceeded the bounds set to their authority by the statutes. Nicholas V. being prejudiced against the grand master, and without examining whether there were any misrepresentation in these complaints, wrote about them in harsh terms to Lastic, sending him at the same time a collection of the statutes made in the last chapter, which he supposed had been transgressed, and which

he ordered him to observe for the future as the rule of his conduct.

THE grand master laid the pope's letters before the council, and made an answer in terms which indeed were very respectful ; but at the same time full of that resolution which truth and justice always inspire. He represented to that pontiff, that pope Eugenius IV. his predecessor, after having examined the accounts of the expence the order had been at in sustaining the siege of Rhodes, had approved the augmentation of the contributions, in order to pay off the debts it had been obliged to contract during the war ; that such as made their complaints on this article were unworthy to wear the habit, fellows, says he, that never saw Rhodes, or else made no stay there, and with a design only of getting rid of the regular discipline, or probably to keep out of the way of dangers that are usual in war, especially in a bloody siege ; that most of those religious, instead of residing so much as upon their commandries, which they were obliged to do, and exercising the duties of hospitality, had entirely devoted themselves to the court of Rome, where they passed away their lives in luxury and pleasure ; that he besought his holiness to send them back immediately to the convent, to live in the chief house of their order, and to learn from the example of their brother companions, the life a true knight of St. John ought to lead. As to the statutes which his holiness had sent to him, they agreed in council, after having exactly compared them with the originals, that it could be the work only of some forger of writings, who had inserted several articles that were never heard of before in the order, and which were invented only to encourage the spirit of appropriation and libertinism of those profligate knights.

THE indignation which the grand master discovered against those mutineers was the better founded, in that they lived under his government at Rhodes, in an exact observance of their rule and statutes ; that in the very heat of the armaments which were frequently making, the knights never neglected to keep a strict fast during



during Advent and Lent ; that they abstained from meat every Wednesday in the year ; and that in the refectory, and all other regular places, no body durst interrupt a silence, which in that place was observed as regularly as in a community of monks and hermits. The grand master's letter, drawn up in form of an apology, was signed by the whole council, and the pope seemed satisfied with it.

BUT several of the European commanders, who were supported by the protection of some cardinals, and had also powerful friends in the order, and in the very council, were not a jot more exact in paying their responsions : so that one would have thought that they would pretend to free themselves from their vow of obedience. The order, by their rebellion, fell insensibly into a kind of anarchy : several chapters, and various assemblies were held on this account, in which very wholesome regulations were made, but disobedience, power, credit and cabal, rendered them entirely ineffectual.

THE council seeing the authority of the government slighted, could not think of a more proper remedy, in order to put a stop to so great a disorder, than by putting the sovereign authority, and the entire disposition of the revenue into the hands of the grand master only. This was a sort of dictatorship, which is always dangerous in a republican state ; but they were so persuaded of the zeal of Lastic, of his sincere piety, and withal of his moderation, that they made no difficulty of entrusting him with an absolute authority. He excused himself at first from accepting it on account of his great age ; and for fear of breaking in upon the ancient constitution of the order, of which he was a zealous observer ; he could not be brought to comply with the pressing solicitations of his religious, but upon condition that this alteration in the government should last only for three years, after the expiration of which term, the supreme council should resume its ancient authority.

THE wisdom and resolution of his conduct soon justified the choice the order had made: By virtue of the regulations made in the last chapter, he threatned openly to deprive all those of their commandries, and even to degrade them from the order, who did not by a certain stated time pay in their responsions. These menaces, from a sovereign and a superior, whom they knew incapable of being moved by any recommendation, intimidated the most rebellious. They all gave security for their obedience, till such time as they should meet with an opportunity of remitting money to Rhodes, all bowed and submitted before the authority of so worthy an head, armed with so just an authority.

BUT as funds in the beginning were wanting, in order to pay the debts, and provide for the indispensable necessities of the order, he took them up on the revenues appropriated to the mastership. The first use that he made of his new authority was to strip himself; and like a true father, sacrificed with pleasure the great revenues annexed to his dignity, for the maintenance of his children, and the subsistence of the troops which the order kept in the several islands which then composed its dominions. However, that they might not abuse his easiness, he commanded all such commanders as resided at Rhodes, and received the value of an hundred crowns of gold revenue from their commandries, not to receive any thing more out of the treasury of the order for their subsistence.

THIS regulation of domestic discipline was succeeded by more important concerns. As in the disorder that the revenue was in, they had reason to fear a rupture with the Turks, who were never very scrupulous in observing treaties, the grand master sent embassadors to Amurath II. who was then upon the throne, to discover how that prince was disposed with respect to the order. We have seen, during the war which the sultan of Egypt was making in the isle of Rhodes, how Amurath, that he might take his measures according as events should happen, put off the grand master's proposal of renewing the antient treaties of peace. The new embas-

embassadors of the order found him more compliant at this juncture : that prince had enough to do to defend himself against a formidable league of christian princes, into which the king of Hungary, the famous John Huniades, vaivod of Transilvania, the Wallachians, Scander-beg king of Albania, and even Usum-Cassan king of Persia, had entered. But of all his enemies, none was so terrible to him as the king or prince of Albania.

ALBANIA, a province of Europe, is situated eastward of us along the gulph of Venice ; it has on the east Macedonia, of which it was formerly a part, Epirus on the south, and on the north Servia, and a corner of Dalmatia. Some high mountains divide it from Epirus, and other mountains, marshes, craggy rocks, and narrow passes make the country impassable to troops that are unacquainted with the ground. This advantageous situation, with the courage and ferocity of those mountaineers, made them terrible to their neighbours, especially to the Turks : Amurath undertook to subdue them. John Castriot, who reigned then in this country, defended himself for a long time with great courage ; but he was forced at last to yield to forces superior to those of his little state. Castriot, to save the poor remains of his fortune, entered into a treaty with the Turkish prince, and as a pledge of his subjection, was obliged to give him his three sons, Constantine, George and John, in hostage. Amurath, without any regard to the faith of this treaty, ordered them to be circumcised, and instructed in the Mahometan law ; and the father of these three unfortunate princes, hearing of their misfortune, died of grief. Amurath, under pretence of securing the principality to the children of the abovementioned Albanian prince, seized upon it, and put strong garrisons into all the places.

'Tis not known what became of the two eldest sons of John Castriot. Most historians accuse Amurath of poisoning them ; others say that he only put out their eyes, and incapacitated them from ever having any heirs. The like fate was designed for the third ; but

they say Amurath was so charmed with his agreeable mien, and a certain air of grandeur that discovered itself already in that young prince, that he exempted him from those punishments, and ordered him to be carefully brought up in the religion of Mahomet, and in all the exercises proper for a soldier.

As soon as he was able to bear arms, Amurath took him with him into the field ; and in his very first campaign, he performed actions of such surprising valour, that the grand seignior, by way of allusion to the name of a great king of Macedonia, would have him called Scander-beg, i. e. lord Alexander. All the succeeding part of his life corresponded with this favourable beginning : whether he was engaged in duels and single combats, which he undertook against adventurers who challenged him at the head of armies, or else in general battles, he always gained the honour of the day. He soon became the favourite of Amurath, and afterwards one of his generals ; but the remembrance of Albania, which the young prince considered as his inheritance, and a secret uneasiness to see himself engaged in a religion different from that of his father's, affected him more than all the sultan's favour, so that he was resolutely bent to recover his dominions at any rate, and return to his mother the church.

SCANDER-BEG being fixed in this design, took his time when Amurath's secretary was in the country. He came to him, drew him aside, and having forced him to draw up letters patent directed to the governour of Croia, the capital of Albania, by which he was ordered to deliver up the government of that place to Scander-beg, he immediately stabbed that minister, and slew all his train to a man, and advanced with all possible diligence to the gates of Croia. He was received into that capital of Albania with all the respect that was due to the orders he brought ; but in the night, letting in three hundred men, which he had caused to advance and post themselves privately near the gates of the city, he put the Turkish governor and all the garrison to the sword, and without losing time, hastened into all parts

parts of Albania, which he reduced into his power. Most of the christian princes his neighbours sent to congratulate him on his good success; and the Venetians, who looked upon his dominions as a barrier to cover those of the republic, supplied him with considerable sums to levy troops.

There was no want of soldiers: the Albanians, a warlike people, offered themselves in crouds to take the field; but out of this great number, which would have formed a considerable army, he chose only eight thousand foot and seven thousand horse. With this small body of troops, and the advantage of the mountains and narrow passes with which the country abounded, he beat four great armies of the Turks. The first commanded by Ali, the second by Feris-beg, and the two others by Mustapha Basha, Bassa or Pacha, as different authors write him. Amurath ascribing these great losses to a want of courage or capacity in his generals, fancied the war would go on more successfully under his own direction, and therefore resolved to command his troops in person: he marched at the head of a formidable army to attack Scander-beg, and indeed carried some places, but the taking of them cost him more soldiers than the loss of a battle would have done. He was attended in this expedition by young Mahomet his son, whose valour, courage and resolution, as much as his birth, had engaged him to take him in for his partner in the empire; having a mind to shew his troops at one and the same time the capacity of an old captain, and the ardor and fire of a young conqueror.

In the second campaign, the two sultans prepared to form the siege of Croia, the capital of Albania; but before they undertook it, that they might not be disturbed in the execution of their designs, they made a treaty of peace with the Venetians, in which it was expressly stipulated, that the republic should hold no correspondence with the prince of Albania. 'Twas from the same motive, and in order to secure himself against all apprehensions from the fleets of the order,  
that



that Amurath renewed with the grand master the treaties of peace which he had made with his predecessor.

THE siege of Croia proved unhappy to the Turks : Amurath, after seeing part of his army destroyed by the sudden attacks of Scander-beg, who kept the field, was at last obliged to raise it. The prince of Albania pursued him in his retreat, and cut to pieces the best part of his rear. Amurath fretting at the ill success of the campaign, and worn out with the infirmities of old age, fell sick. He was carried to Adrianople, where he ended his days, after a lingering illness of five or six months. This sultan was regretted by his subjects, and even by the Christians, especially when they came to compare his reign and his conduct with that of his successor ; a young prince, and one of the greatest conquerors indeed that Europe and Asia ever saw, but at the same time of a cruel, perfidious, and bloody nature, and whose actions revived the hateful remembrance of the most inhuman tyrants.

THE necessary connection of his history with that which I write, and the bloody wars that he made upon the order of St. John, oblige me to give a more particular account of one of its greatest enemies. He was a young prince, hardly 21 years old, whom nature and fortune conspired, in conjunction with an extraordinary valour, to make the terror of the whole world. His ambition was still greater than his birth, and the empire to which he was born. He had very superior talents, immense views, an admirable genius for distributing on proper occasions the execution of his projects ; was always attentive, always present to events, and never lost sight of the dispositions and forces of his enemies : his thirst after glory and pleasures was insatiable, and he abandoned himself to those abominable sensualities which nature cannot think of without horror : he had no honour, no humanity, no religion ; and esteemed the alcoran as little as he did the gospel ; and according to his principles, there were  
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but two divinities that deserved to be worshipped by men, fortune and valour.

SUCH was Mahomet II. who affected the title of Al-Biuch, or Mahomet the Great, betimes; a title which posterity has continued to him. He was worthy of it, if we judge of him only by his conquests; but in monarchs there are virtues which ought to take place of valour, and a prince cannot be truly great without piety and justice; virtues which Mahomet had no notion of, or at least thought the practice of them fit only for private men.

YET no sooner was the death of Amurath, and the advancement of Mahomet II. upon the Ottoman throne made public, but the ambassadors of the emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, and most of the Grecian and eastern princes, crowded to the porte. The grand master sent brother Peter Zinot thither in the name of the order. All these ministers, after making the usual compliments upon these occasions, pressed for a confirmation of the old alliances made between the princes their masters and the Ottoman house. Mahomet, whether dazzled with the charms of absolute power, or that he had a mind to lull the ambassadors into a security, received them all with an affected satisfaction, and readily renewed the treaties which they desired to have confirmed. But as the conquest of Constantinople was the first aim of his ambition, he employed all the next year in making secretly the necessary preparations for so great an enterprize, and in securing all the avenues that led to that capital of the east, to prevent the throwing in of any succours that the Greek emperor might obtain, either on the land side, or by the way of Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea.

IN this view he caused a fort to be erected on the European side of the Bosphorus. The emperor Constantine, alarmed at this step, dispatched ambassadors to him, to complain of it as an infraction of the treaties of peace so lately renewed between them. Mahomet answered them at first with a seeming moderation, that  
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he had only raised that fort to oppose the incursions of the knights of Rhodes, who were as much enemies to the Greeks as to the Turks ; and to secure, as he said, the subjects of both empires against the inroads of the Latins. But the ambassadors offering to insist on the fidelity with which the order observed its treaties, Mahomet transported by the violence of his temper, ordered them to hold their tongue, and swore, “ That “ the first that should dare to speak a word to him “ more on that subject, he would cause him to be “ flay’d alive.”

AFTER this declaration, and without keeping measures, he ordered his troops to advance and invest the capital of the Greek empire ; and they began to form one of the most remarkable sieges mentioned in all the history of the lower empire.

THE sultan arrived in the camp on the second of April : they say, that there were at least 300,000 men in his army, without reckoning a large fleet consisting of 250 vessels of different bulk, which had 24,000 men on board. All the force that they could muster up in Constantinople to oppose such formidable forces, hardly amounted to 6000 Greeks under arms, and about 3000 men, consisting of foreign troops and volunteers, which may well appear surprizing, considering the greatness of the city, and the prodigious number of its inhabitants. But these were none of the old Greeks, so renowned in antiquity for their valour, and the love of their country ; all their genius was now turned entirely to commerce : Constantinople was scarce filled with any thing but merchants, without reckoning a large number of calogers and monks, most of them covetous wretches, who, rather than assist their sovereign, buried their money in private places. So that it is no great wonder, if Constantine, destitute of troops and succours, could not hold out long against the efforts of the infidels. Notwithstanding all the resistance of the besieged, the city was taken by storm the forty second day of the siege.

THE emperor chose rather to be killed in defending his religion and his crown, than to fall alive into the

the hands of the infidels. Perhaps there never was seen a more melancholy and moving spectacle than what passed at the taking of this city. Above forty thousand men were put to the sword ; and sixty thousand sold for slaves : nothing escaped the fury and avarice of the soldiery.

THE women detested the fruitfulness which had made them mothers, and lamented bitterly the fate of the young children which they carried in their arms. Here was a numberless multitude of young maidens to be seen, fearful, and faltering in their pace, who not knowing where to go, wandered about like poor strangers, in the very bosom of their country, and whilst they were in quest of their parents, fell into an abyss of misfortunes, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they suffered a treatment more shocking than the most cruel executions. Their tears and cries, which reached the heavens, could not move the heart of the insolent vanquisher ; and the meanest of the Turks had an accomplished beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either stronger than himself, or of greater authority in the army. Most of these Barbarians set their prisoners to sale, but the men of quality, the princes and officers who were taken under arms, were executed by the sultan's orders ; nothing escaped his cruelty but the handsomest young persons of both sexes, whom he reserved for the abominations of his seraglio.

'T WAS thus that a young Greek lady of noble birth, called Irene, hardly seventeen years old, fell into his hands. A basha had just made her his slave, but being struck with her exquisite beauty, thought her a present worthy of the sultan. The east had never before given birth to so enchanting a creature ; her charms were irresistible, and triumphed over the savage heart of Mahomet ; rough as he was, he was forced to yield ; he abandoned himself entirely to this new passion ; and in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous affiduities, he passed several days without permitting his ministers and the principal officers of his army to see him.

him. Irene followed him afterwards to Adrianople : 'twas here he fixed the residence of the young Greek. As for himself, on whatever side war might oblige him to go, he would often, in the midst of the most important expeditions, leave the conduct of them to his generals, and hurry away to return to Irene. It was not long before it was visible that war was no longer his reigning passion ; the soldiers who were enured to plunder, and used to find booty in following him, murmured at this change. These murmurs spread and became epidemical ; the officers as well as the soldiers complained of his effeminate life ; yet his wrath was so terrible, that no body durst undertake to speak to him on that subject. At last, as the discontents of the soldiery were just going to break out, Mustapha basha, having regard only to the fidelity which he owed his master, was the first that gave him notice of the discourages which the janizaries held publicly to the prejudice of his glory.

THE sultan continued for some time in a sullen and deep silence, as if he was considering in himself what resolution he should take ; the only answer he gave him, and under pretence of a review, he ordered Mustapha to summon the basha's to assemble the next day, with all his guards, and the troops that were posted about the city ; after which he went into the apartment of Irene, and stayed with her till the next day.

NEVER did that young princess appear so charming in his eyes ; never too had the prince given her such tender marks of his love before : and in order, if possible, to bestow a new lustre on her beauty, he desired her women to exert all their art and skill in dressing her. When she was thus set out and adjusted to appear in public, he took her by the hand, and led her into the middle of the assembly, when throwing aside the veil which covered her face, he demanded haughtily of the basha's that stood round him, if they had ever seen a more finished beauty ? All the officers like good courtiers, were lavish of their praises, and



and congratulated him on his happiness. Upon which, Mahomet taking the fair Greek by the hair with one hand, and drawing his scymitar with the other, he cut off her head at one stroke, and turning himself about to the grandees of the court, "This sword, says he to them, with a wild and furious air, can, when I please, cut asunder the bonds of love."

THE whole assembly was seized with horror, and shuddered at the sight : the dread they were all seized with, of being treated in the like manner, made the most mutinous of them tremble : every one thought he saw the fatal scymetar lifted over his own head ; but if they escaped his blood-thirsty temper at that moment, it was only to execute his vengeance the better. Mustapha, as a reward of his faithful advice, was first sacrificed, and that on a slight pretence ; he caused him to be strangled in the seraglio ; and in the long wars in which he was afterwards engaged, and which lasted as long as his reign, he had the cruel pleasure of dispatching most of the janizaries one after another, who, by their seditious cries, had interrupted his pleasures, and awaked his fury.

THIS prince had scarce been above six months in possession of Constantinople, when, imagining that all the princes of Asia ought to submit to his power, he began with the knights of Rhodes ; his demands upon them sufficiently declaring his pretensions. He sent an ambassador, or rather an herald, to the grand master, summoning him to own him for his sovereign, and send into his treasury an yearly tribute of 2000 ducats. Upon his refusal, the ambassador had orders to denounce war against him, and declare that the sultan his master was resolved in person to fall upon all the isles of the order with his invincible forces.

THE grand master, after advising with the council, answered him, that his order was composed of a body of military religious, who, as such, depended by their profession on the sovereign pontiff of the Christians ; that their ancestors had, by their valour, and at the expence of their blood, since made a conquest of Rhodes

and the neighbouring islands, the sovereignty of which no prince as yet had disputed with them ; that at the time of his election to the grand mastership, this sovereignty was put as it were in trust into his hands ; that he was accountable for it to his brothers and their successors, and that he would sacrifice his life with pleasure rather than do the least thing to prejudice the independency and liberty of the order.

THIS wise grand master and his council not doubting but so resolute an answer would soon be attended by the sultan's invasion of their territories, applied to the princes of Christendom, though they took this step rather with a view of having nothing wherewith they might reproach themselves, than out of any hopes of a speedy and effectual succour. The commander d'Aubusson, of the language of Auvergne, and descended from one of the most noble and ancient houses of la Marche, was appointed embassador to Charles VII. who was then upon the throne of France. The grand master knowing his zeal for the order, made choice of him for that commission, and it proved the last action of his mastership. He died in a very old age, after having governed Rhodes in difficult and tempestuous times with equal prudence and resolution.

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DISCOURSE

UPON THE

ALCORAN,

DELIVERED IN THE

ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS,

At the opening of it, on *Tuesday* the 14th of *November*  
1724, by M. DE VERTOT.

**O**F all the sciences in which mankind employ their time, there is not any one more agreeable, or more useful than the knowledge of history. What satisfaction must it be to a reader to behold the succession of all ages; the revolutions of the greatest empires, legislators and conquerors; the authors of different religions, another kind of conquerors; in a word, all those famous men, who, by their valour, or learning and talents, seemed to have undertaken to change the whole face of the universe, passing along before his eyes, and as it were on a great theatre?

But time, in spite of all their manifestos, of all the colours which those vain and ambitious men, or their partisans have employed to disguise their projects, has nevertheless taken off the varnish, and discovered truth in all its native simplicity: History, free from the prejudices of party, penetrates into the most secret motives: we there see, that an unjust desire of usurpation in some; an excessive thirst after riches or pleasures in others; sometimes a passion rooted in vanity in the

learned, and the hopes of making their names famous in the world, have, generally speaking, been the secret springs that have given motion to all their undertakings; and 'tis from the generality of these great examples, which serve instead of an anticipated experience, that we may learn, that all unjust enterprizes, though never so successful, and that all upstart and erroneous opinions, become at last the contempt of all succeeding ages, and that truth alone deserves to be celebrated in all countries, and by all historians.

HOWEVER, before we pin our faith entirely on the credit of these writers, it is very fit that we examine their works by the rules of sound criticism, a kind of torch, which, like a faithful guide, conducts us through all the obscure and gloomy paths of antiquity, and helps us to distinguish truth from falshood, the noble simplicity of history from the marvellous which we meet with in fiction, and all those vain ornaments with which illusion and error are deck'd.

IN order, therefore, to be assured of the truth of facts related by historians, especially in the most ancient, we must carefully examine the text of their works, to see if it has not suffered by interpolations, the different readings of manuscripts, the uniformity or difference of the style, the country in which an author was born, the age in which he lived, and the order which he has observed in chronology. 'Tis well known, that the changing of a date, and placing it either earlier or later, is enough to alter the very nature of facts, or at least the consequences that may be drawn from them: In a word, we ought to inform ourselves of the name, the religion, and morals of a writer. And though he should be anonymous, or appear under a fictitious name, yet the generality of these authors discover themselves in their works, and some strokes always drop from their pen, that lay them open, and represent their characters more faithfully than all the criticisms and apologies that have been written either for or against their works, could have done.

'Tis

'Tis by the assistance of these various rules of criticism, that I propose to examine who is the real author of the Alcoran; the motives which might probably have determined him to publish it; whether it were the effect of inspiration, or the work of a single person assisted by several learned men; in short, the different fate this book has met with, and whether it has not in the succession of ages undergone several variations, and changed its principles and maxims more than once.

THERE are three different opinions, with regard to the author of the Alcoran: Mahomet and his followers ascribe it to God alone; some christian writers are for fathering it upon the prince of darkness, transformed into an angel of light, and assuming the name of Gabriel; others pretend, that this book, which is made up of different passages of the Old and New testament, was compiled by Mahomet, with the assistance of a Rabbin, and several Christians of different sects: This is the opinion which I am to examine.

THE first syllable of the word Alcoran is only an article<sup>a</sup>, and we may as well say, The Coran, an Arabic word, which signifies Reading or Writing<sup>b</sup>. There is no one but knows, that it is a book which contains the religion of the Musulmen, and that it is held in the same veneration with them as the Holy Scriptures with Christians. The Turks likewise give this book the title of El Forcan, i. e. which distinguishes good from evil; 'tis a feigned conference which Mahomet had with God and the angels, from whom he pretends to have received his law. Ali, Mahomet's cousin-german, and son-in-law, in order to enhance the merit of this divine book, gave out, that the faithful found therein the history of former ages, laws for the conduct of this life, and infallible predictions with regard to futurity. Their preachers take it into the pulpits with them; they hold it open, and read every now and then out of it some versè by way of text. Their positive and school divinity is founded only on some passa-

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<sup>a</sup> See Maracci, page 33.

<sup>b</sup> The book to be read, or the legend. Prideaux.



ges of the Alcoran, which supplies them likewise with prayers, and their priests read a chapter out of it every day in their mosques.

THIS wonderful book did not appear in the world till about the beginning of the seventh century. But such as believe in it, maintain, from the ninety-seventh chapter of that work, that it is as old as the creation of the world; that the original of this book was once a part of the great book of the eternal decrees; that it was deposited in the heaven of the moon, and that it was brought from thence at the time appointed by providence, by the angel Gabriel to Mahomet, who could neither write nor read<sup>a</sup>.

ONE would readily believe, that it would have been scarce possible to have carried fiction to a greater length. Nevertheless, some divines, called Sonnites, whom the infidels look upon as the only orthodox, have improved this fabulous original with new idle fancies, and maintained publickly, that the Alcoran was increated, eternal, and made part of the divine essence, *Si quis dixerit Alcoranum esse creatum, est infidelis*<sup>b</sup>, as the Latin translator of the Arabick Algazel has rendered it. But this opinion was afterwards attacked under the reigns of the Abassidian Caliphs, by other Musulmen divines, called Mortazales, who, in answer to this anathema, pronounced another drawn up almost in the same terms, *infidelis est qui dicit Alcoranum esse æternum seu increatum*. This dispute gave rise to a great schism, and was the occasion of civil wars, in which great numbers of both parties lost their lives.

THE only point in which they agreed, was, that this book, whether created or eternal, as it descended from the throne of God, and was filled with his spirit, it merited the respect and veneration of all men. And we actually see to this day an advertisement prefixed to most of the copies of it, in these words, Let none but the

<sup>a</sup> Laus Deo, ait Mahmud, filius Omar, qui demisit è cælo Alcoranum. Maracci, p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Algazel in professione fidei Mahumeticæ profitetur Alcoranum esse æternum, subsistentem essentiâ Dei. Vide Maracci p. 44.

the pure presume to touch this book, for it is a present come down from heaven, and sent from the king of ages: *ne attingant eum nisi purificati.*

'TIS plain from hence, that men, in the opinion of the Mahometans, are expressly excluded from having been the authors of this new law. Mahomet, depending upon the excellency of the work, gave out, that neither devils nor men, though they should unite all their talents, would be able to compose any thing that could come near the perfection of the Alcoran: *Si simul congregarentur homines et dæmones, ut facerent aliquid simile huic Alcorano, nunquam id efficere possint, etiamsi mutuò sese ad hoc adjuverent. Sura 17.*

THE generality of christian writers, on the contrary, pretend, that the devil is the real author of Mahometanism, and that he only made use of Mahomet, as an instrument, to found a false religion upon the ruins of Christianity. 'Twas the devil, if they are to be believed, who appeared to Mahomet under the name and shape of the angel Gabriel, or, if you please, under the shape of a pigeon, which Mahomet had taught to peck in his ear; a proof that this false prophet was an impostor, who only made use of religion as a means to aggrandize himself. His design was to unite all the various religions of Arabia into one body, and to make so many subjects of his proselytes. There were in his time three religions in Arabia, viz. Idolaters, Jews and Christians; and the last were divided into Catholics and Schismatics. Christianity had been established in Arabia Felix ever since the emperor Justinus, and this church was subordinate to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, as well as that of the Abyssines.

ARABIA Petræa, from Palestine to the gulph of Ayalá, and all the rest of the coast, as far as the borders of Egypt, was subject to the Roman empire, as was also Arabia Deserta, or at least that part of it which is adjoining to Syria and Palestine, whereof Bosra was at that time the metropolis. 'Tis pretended, that the emperor Philip was born in that city, which anciently

was no more than a castle built by some Arabian prince. The emperor Severus made it a city, and settled a colony there : A council was held at Bosra, on occasion of Bercellus its bishop's being infected with the heresy of those who denied the incarnation of the Word. This was about A. D. 249.

MOST of the inhabitants of the three Arabias were idolaters, and pretended to be all descended from Kedar, son of Ishmael. The learned Levinus Warnerus, in his treatise of the manners of the Arabians, before Mahometanism prevailed in their country, asserts, that the Korishians or Korashites, the most noble tribe of that great peninsula, had preserved themselves from idolatry ; that they had constantly used circumcision ever since Ishmael's time ; that they were frequent in prayer, were very bountiful in their alms, and that the most devout among them never drank wine. The city of Mecca, with regard to religion, was considered as the metropolis of the pagan Arabians. Shoals of pilgrims came thither from all the provinces, to visit an old temple called the Caaba, which, according to a received tradition, they believed to be built by Abraham. They undertook these pious pilgrimages in commemoration of that patriarch's journeys, and sacrificed the first-born of a camel upon the neighbouring mountains of Mecca. This perhaps might have been the most essential part of their worship, and they had at best but a very confused notion of the God of Abraham. There is in the wall of Caaba a black stone, which the Mahometans tell us, was brought milk white from heaven by the angel Gabriel at the beginning of the world, but that it has been since blackened by the sins of men. The Turks in their pilgrimages pay a very superstitious veneration to this mysterious stone. But we must not fancy that Mahomet invented these ceremonies ; they had been used so long before his time among the Arabians, that it would have been impossible for that impostor ever to have rooted out this piece of superstition from among them, though he should have formed a design of doing it.

THE idolatrous Arabians acknowledged indeed a first being, the only and sovereign creator of all things; but then they made him, as it were, a supine deity without providence; and in their necessities they addressed themselves to some subaltern genii, and to a kind of goddesses: Such were Allath, Menach and Aluzza, whom these modern Ishmaelites adored as the daughters of the great God.

SOME Arabians<sup>a</sup>, who were subjects of Persia, followed the religion of that country, and worshipped the fire. There were likewise other kinds of idolaters called Sabians, (which we must take care not to confound with the ancient Sabéans) and these adored certain genii, which they placed in the planets and stars. The worship of some went no farther than the stars which they adored; and others, who were still more stupid, directed all their devotion to certain images which represented the several attributes of those stars: and the Caaba, or great temple, was by degrees crowded with a multitude of idols, of which Mahomet afterwards cleared it.

As for the Jews, after the emperors Titus and Adrian had drove them out of Jerusalem, a great number of that miserable people had taken refuge in Arabia, a country that is contiguous to Palestine, where they multiplied considerably; but the generality of them paid greater deference to the ridiculous fancies of their rabbins and talmudists, than to the law of Moses, and the sacred text of the bible.

THE christian Arabs followed the Greek rite, of whom very few were Catholics, the greatest part of them having turned Eutychians or Jacobites; nor were there wanting among them some ancient sectaries of the doctrine of Ebion and Cerinthus, two arch-heretics who lived in the first century of the church, and were cotemporaries with the apostle St. John.

THERE were likewise some Arians, some Nestorians and Cophti, a sort of Eutychians: but exclusive of the exterior worship of those different religions, a corruption

<sup>a</sup> Pocokii Specim. Arabic. p. 53.

ruption that was almost universal, and an ignorance equal to it, prevailed among the Arabians of all denominations, and the Jew was scarcely to be distinguished from the Christian by any other mark but circumcision and baptism.

IF we enquire into the civil government of Arabia, we shall find, that besides certain countries, which held either under the Greek empire, or that of Persia, Arabia had formerly enjoyed its particular sovereigns. Pocock, in his notes upon Abul-Faragius, an Arabian author, and of the sect of the Jacobites, has given us the names of these princes, but neither tells us the seat of their dominion, nor how long they reigned. And in the seventh century, in Mahomet's time, we meet with no other sovereigns in Arabia Petræa, either in Mecca, or Medina, the two principal cities of that province, but the chiefs of each tribe, who were at the same time the generals and magistrates of those little republicks.

THIS multitude of chiefs, all independent on one another, and the great diversity in worship and religion, made Mahomet think it a favourable juncture for putting his designs in execution. The character that Elmacin hath drawn of him, may be seen in the beginning of this work<sup>a</sup>, but his conduct will paint it still better. He was a man who thirsted after empire, and was greedy of pleasures; of a superior genius; and who, either by his education or reflexion, saw through all the ridiculous foppery of that multitude of deities which the people had set up. Had he not been vain enough to pretend his holding an intimate correspondence with God, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel, the magistrates had never driven him out of Mecca: but as he was for acting an extraordinary part, and had neither a mission nor miracles to authorize it, he was at last obliged to supply the force he wanted in argument by that of arms, to establish his system sword in hand, and to found it on a revelation, of which he himself was the minister and the herald.

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IN order therefore to succeed in his scheme<sup>a</sup>, he associated with himself a learned Jew, born in Persia, a rabbin in his sect, whom Elmacin calls by the name of Salman. But the greatest assistance he received was from a Nestorian monk, called by the western historians Sergius, and by the eastern Bahira, an apostate, who had been expelled his monastery for his disorderly life. Such were the architects whom Mahomet employed for erecting the new system he projected. The Jew furnished him with various histories from the Old Testament, blended with the chimeras and dreams of the Talmud; which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, pieced out with some fabulous circumstances of his own invention, which are still to be seen in the Alcoran. The Nestorian monk, at the same time, brought him acquainted with the new testament, and the discipline of the church: All this he changed and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from pseudo-gospels and apocryphal books; and 'tis manifest from the Alcoran, that he was not unacquainted with the history of the infancy of Jesus, and the family of the virgin Mary.

BUT whatever were the names of those Jews and Christians who assisted Mahomet in the forging of his Alcoran, 'tis certain, that as this book contains so many particularities of the Old and New Testament, Mahomet, who was born and bred a Pagan, and had lived in idolatry till he was forty years old, and who, moreover, was so illiterate, that he could neither write nor read, must necessarily have been directed in the composition of the Alcoran, by some Jew and by some Christian, both of them learned in their religion, and who, upon the plan which he had formed, supplied him with that infinite number of historical facts and passages which are scattered up and down that work.

BEING soon after supported by some disciples, he no longer makes a secret of his doctrine, but sets up publicly for a preacher; he tenders the ~~Alcoran~~ to the  
people

<sup>a</sup> Abdias Benfalon. Cantat. Orat. 1. contra Mahometam, tract. Fr. Ric. c. 6 & 13. Theoph. Zonaras fortalitium fidei. l. 4.

people as a divine book, which had been brought him from heaven ; and though he was wholly illiterate, as was before observed, he yet recommends himself, and is followed for the purity of his language, for the turn and loftiness of his expressions, and for the care he took to imitate in the Alcoran, sometimes the sublime style of the beginning of Genesis, and sometimes the *pathos* of the prophets of the Old Testament.

IF Moses relates that God said, Let there be light, and there was light ; let the earth be made, and the earth was made ; Expressions which a heathen philosopher, Longinus by name, had proposed as a model of the sublime, and which give so fine a description of the power of the creator, and the obedience of the creature ; Mahomet, in imitation of the Jewish legislator, speaking, in the chapter Houd, of the asswaging of the waters, makes God say, Earth, swallow up the waters ; heaven, take back those which thou hast showered down. The waters immediately drew back, continues the false prophet ; the command of God was fulfilled, the ark rested upon the mountain, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, Wo to the wicked. Such as understand Arabick, agree, that Mahomet, as to expression, does not fall very short of the beauty of the original which he endeavoured to imitate, and that his phrases in particular are well chosen, and happily disposed. Prideaux owns, that the Alcoran, with respect to the style and purity of the language, is the most perfect model of any we have of the elegance of the Arabick tongue. That false prophet was particularly conspicuous for brightness of thought, and particularly for drawing lively representations and descriptions of the rewards and punishments of the next life. Of all the various motives that have an influence on the mind of man, he scarce made use of any but hope and fear.

WHEN he treated of paradise<sup>a</sup>, as he had to do with people who were scorched with the burning rays of the sun, and dwelt under the torrid zone, he represented that place of felicity, as a garden watered with foun-

tains

<sup>a</sup> Alc. c. 3, 4, 36, 37, 43, 47, 78.

tains and cooling liquors, and planted with trees that were ever green, and which bore delicious fruits in every season. And for the satisfaction of sensual and voluptuous men, in a country, where, as Ammianus Marcellinus relates, 'tis incredible to think with what greediness both men and women abandon themselves to lust<sup>a</sup>, *Incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus*: Mahomet, to draw them in, promises the men, that the kernels of the fruit, they were to eat in paradise should be metamorphosed into so many young girls divinely beautiful, and created on purpose for their felicity; and withal so gentle, so complaisant, and so sweet, that if but a drop of their spittle was to fall into the sea, that alone would be sufficient to take away all its bitterness; and notwithstanding that they were to repeat frequently the duties of the marriage bed, they yet should remain ever virgins, without being ever mothers.

If this doctrine flattered sensual men<sup>b</sup>, some old women, on the contrary, fancying their age excluded them from this place of pleasure, were very much alarmed at it. One of them, as Lamay tells us, in his Lathaif, complained to the prophet about it, who told her for her comfort, that they would all rise again at the blooming age of fifteen, and in all the perfection of beauty; this was calculated for the satisfaction of the old and ugly, and accordingly did not fail to please.

MAHOMET, as a contrast to paradise, represents hell as a burning furnace, eternally covered and surrounded with thick clouds, and an hot saltish smoke<sup>c</sup>. As for coolness, he makes the damned swallow a blackish ever-burning liquor, like melted pitch, which was to circulate in their veins; and he allows these unhappy wretches no shade but from a certain tree which he calls Zacoum, the fruits of which, he told them, resemble the heads of devils. We may easily perceive, notwithstanding their being so clouded with fictions, that the fountains and streams of Mahomet's paradise

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<sup>a</sup> Alc. l. 14. c. 4.<sup>b</sup> Hotting. hist. orient. l. 2. c. 4.<sup>c</sup> Alc. c. 7, 37, 43, 44, 47, 50, 74, 77, 78, 90.

are borrowed from these words of scripture, "The elect shall drink of pleasures as out of a river," *de torrente voluptatis potabis eos* : and as to the young people who were to administer to their pleasures, all those circumstances were formed upon the plan of the terrestrial paradise which Cerinthus had drawn ; who maintained, that after the general resurrection, Jesus Christ should reign on earth at Jerusalem in Palestine ; that men should then have a full enjoyment of all the pleasures of which they should have deprived themselves during their lifetime, and that their wedding day should last a thousand years.

If we consult the bare text of the Alcoran, and take it in a literal sense, nothing can possibly be more gross than these promises, which tend only to the gratification of the senses. And indeed Mahomet perceiving, that this kind of felicity would not satisfy men of understanding, he, in order to please them, as well as the rest, adds, in the chapter entituled Jonas, that in these delightful gardens, the blessed should be incessantly repeating these words, "Thou art holy, O Lord our God, and eternal ; praise be to the Lord of all creatures." And the Scheic Alalem cries out, "Paradise, O Lord, is desirable only because it gives us a sight of thee ; for without the splendor of thy beauty, it would be irksome to us : " which affords room to imagine, that these different descriptions of the sensual pleasures and corporeal pains of another life, were but so many allegories with which Mahomet heightened his discourses ; a figure very frequently used by the easterns, and which upon that account, is not always to be taken in a literal sense, according to some doctors of that sect, who made a witty and devout Musulman say, "O thou who invitest me to enjoy the delights of paradise, 'tis not paradise that I seek, but only the face of him who created paradise."

WHATEVER care Mahomet might take to adapt the plan of his paradise to the different tastes of mankind, an undertaking of no little difficulty : and, moreover, as he was sensible, that every thing relating to religion, which

which bears the character of novelty, is justly suspected, he declares in the Alcoran, that he does not so much pretend to preach a new law, as to revive that which God had given to Adam and the first men, and which was afterwards transmitted to Noah and his descendants, down to Abraham and Ishmael their ancestors: a law, says he, more ancient than either that of the Jews, or of the Christians. He adds, that this law, notwithstanding its being drawn up by a divine hand, had been changed and corrupted by the successors of patriarchs, who had banished the worship of the true God, and introduced in its stead that of images and idols, which they made the object of their religion; that God, in order to bring mankind back into the paths of truth, had at first sent them a great prophet called Moses, who had given them a new law in his name, and authorised his mission by the most illustrious miracles; but that the people of Israel, to whom he was sent, had, in process of time, preferred human traditions before this holy law, and that that nation had relapsed several times into idolatry.

THAT the sovereign creator of mankind had, at the time fixed by his eternal decrees, raised up a second prophet greater than Moses, called JESUS, the son of Mary, conceived, as he said, by the breath of God, without a father, in the same manner as Adam, and born of a mother who had always been a virgin: But notwithstanding this new prophet published a law that breathed nothing but goodness and charity, and had wrought surprising miracles in the face of all Judea, in order to make it be received; nevertheless, his mission, in spite of all his miracles, had had no better success than that of Moses: that the priests and pharisees had determined to put him to death, but that God, in the moment of his passion and execution, had snatched him from the fury of his enemies, and taken him up into heaven; another fable, which he had borrowed partly from the notions of Cerinthus, Mahomet adds, that the Christians, after his ascension, had adulterated his law to such a degree, that it was destroyed in a



manner by false interpretations, and was no longer genuine. That, in fine, God had sent him as his last prophet, and greater than either Moses or Jesus, to purge religion of all the fables which men had introduced into it under the notion of traditions and mysteries, and to unite them all in the same belief, and in the observance of the same law ; of which, he said, he was no more than a minister, and the bearer of the orders of heaven.

'T WAS from these different principles that this artificial impostor framed his system. The Jew had furnished him with that of the existence of one only God<sup>a</sup>, but without a multiplication of persons : he forbids expressly in the Alcoran, the ascribing either son or daughters to God ; and by this prohibition, he excludes the three pretended goddesses of the idolatrous Arabs, and destroys at the same time the mystery of the trinity, and the merit of the passion of our Saviour Christ.

ONE would think he had taken the first principle of this unity of God from the words of Deuteronomy, where it is said, " Hear, O Israel, our God is one," the sense of which he has altered by these Arabick words, *la illach, illalach*, there is no other God but God ; and in order to recommend his own mission at the same time, he adds, in the same language, *ou Mahammed rescâl*, and Mahomet is the messenger of God : Other words which are manifestly copied from those we read in St. John's gospel, " This is life eternal, to know thee " the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast " sent," *et quem misisti filium*. Mahomet, in order to draw in both Jews as well as Christians, borrowed facts and passages indifferently from the Old and New Testament.

'T WAS out of complaisance for his countrymen in general, and for the Arabian Jews in particular, that he retained

<sup>a</sup> Do you never consider that God is one, and has no posterity? --Blessed be God who has no other sons or daughters than those good souls who worship him, and keep his commandments. Alc. c. 37. towards the end.

retained the use of circumcision, tho' there is not any mention made of it in the Alcoran; but that rite had been established for several ages among the greatest part of the Arabians without distinction.

ORIGEN, who was at no great distance from Arabia, relates, that all the Ishmaelites who inhabit that country, get themselves circumcised when they come to be thirteen years old. St. Jerom<sup>a</sup> confirms the same circumstance in his commentary upon Jeremiah. The greatest part, says he, of those people who inhabit round about Palestine, observe circumcision, but chiefly the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and all the country of the Saracens, who dwell in the deserts i. e. in the deserts of Arabia: Whence we may presume, that religion was not the only motive for the establishing of this custom.

NEVERTHELESS, it is probable enough, that Mahomet recommended circumcision and abstinence from swines flesh, and things strangled, merely out of complaisance to the Jews, whom he had a mind to bring over to his sect; but some doctors of his religion have since asserted, that the only reason of his taking in circumcision was in order to ensure a better observance of the precept of cleanliness, which forbids the letting any urine fall on that part of the skin, which for that reason they cut off.

As for the use of wine, Mahomet, in all probability forbid it only to heighten the perfection of his new law: perhaps too he was willing that his disciples should agree in that point with the Rechabites<sup>b</sup> and Nazarites of the old law, who never drank any intoxicating liquors. Others pretend, that the sole motive of his prohibiting the use of wine, was in order to prevent those quarrels which frequently arise in the midst of good fellowship; not to mention, that in so hot a country as Arabia, water and cooling liquors were perhaps more agreeable than wine. But I very much question whether this article of Mahomet's law would have

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done

<sup>a</sup> Philocalia, c. 23. Hist. Eccles. p. 103. chap. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Jerem. c. 35.

done him any service, had he begun his mission with the people of the north. “ Abstain, says this lawgiver to his disciples, from wine, from playing at games of chance and chess: these are inventions of the devil, to sow hatred and division among them, to estrange them from prayer, and hinder them from calling upon the name of God.”

FROM the Christians Mahomet borrowed the frequent use of prayer, which he fixed at five times every day, the practice of a Lent-fast, and the payment of the tithe of one’s possessions; this, however, he ordered to be applied for the relief of the poor.

THOUGH he had severely condemned all manner of worship that was not immediately directed to the one only God, nevertheless, that he might not wholly alienate the affections of the people of Mecca, and in order to engage them by motives of self-interest, he made a particular precept, enjoining all such persons as had substance and strength sufficient for the journey, to go on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mecca, after it should be cleared of idols: and he made this injunction, because the great resort of pilgrims brought great sums of money into a country whose soil was barren. He next allowed, in favour of the Heathens, of a mistaken kind of predestination, not unlike what the ancients called fate, and taught, that if the fatal moment of a man’s death was not come, he would be as safe in the midst of a thousand naked swords pointed against him, as if he was alone in his own house and in bed: A principle which was afterwards of great advantage to his successors in their wars; and in spite of the fear which danger naturally inspires, we have frequently seen Mahometan soldiers rush cheerfully upon the swords of their enemies, from a notion that they had nothing to dread on such an occasion, if they were not predestinated to die in it. “ ’Tis impossible, says Mahomet in the chapter Amram, for a person to die at any other time than that which is fixed and determined by the immutable decrees of God.”

THIS

THIS artful mixture of various religions, and in which every one fancied he discovered some traces of his first belief, imposed upon a great many people; and the insidious impostor, in order to establish his errors, borrowed from both Jews and Christians some great truths, and in some instances the practice of great virtues.

As our divine Saviour has expressly recommended to us the doing good to those that persecute us, Mahomet, to imitate him, at the end of the chapter Aaraf expresses himself thus, "Do good to all;" and the author of Keschef, one of his commentators, relates, that Mahomet, upon receiving this precept from the angel Gabriel, ask'd him the meaning of it, upon which the angel made him this comment: "Court him who drives you from him; give to him who has taken from you; pardon him who offends you; for God will have you sow the seeds of the greatest virtues in your souls."

THE article wherein he chiefly differed from the purity of the Christian religion, was that of polygamy, and the plurality of wives; but it was already established among the Jews and idolatrous Arabs; so that he allowed his disciples to marry four lawful wives at the same time<sup>a</sup>; and as the legislator did not think himself obliged to submit to a law of his own making, he married at least fifteen, and, as other say, one and twenty wives. 'Twas his favourite passion, and he himself does not scruple to own it; he declares<sup>b</sup>, that he was not affected by any kind of pleasure, but that which arose from grateful odours, and the commerce of beautiful women. *Deus posuit delectationem meam in saviis odoribus et in mulieribus*; as is related by the learned Maracci, confessor to pope Innocent II. the last and most exact translator of the Alcoran.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding all the complaisance Mahomet had for his own inclinations, and for those of his fellow citizens, he yet met with a strong opposition from the magistrates of Mecca, and the chief men of his tribe. 'Tis plain from the twenty-fifth chapter

of

<sup>a</sup> Alc. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Page 31.

of the Alcoran<sup>a</sup>, that they treated him publickly as an impostor, and that the generality of the Korashites declared aloud, that his book was no more than a texture of fables of his own invention, or forged by the help of other impostors; and in the sixteenth chapter he points out particularly the person who was suspected to be the author of it: "I know, says he, speaking  
 " of himself, 'twill be said, that a certain person has  
 " taught me the Alcoran; but he whom they pretend  
 " to be the secret author of it, is a Persian by birth,  
 " and speaks the language of Persia, whereas the Al-  
 " coran is written in Arabic, and is full of instruction  
 " and eloquence." The cunning impostor, that his performance might not be ascribed to another, employed only two foreigners to assist him in compiling it, the one a Greek, and the other a Persian, neither of whom scarce understood Arabic: moreover, 'tis pretended, that he, in order to get rid of a troublesome witness, afterwards got the first, who had had the greatest hand in it, to be privately dispatched.

WHAT troubled him most, was, that the most sensible part of the inhabitants of Mecca required him to shew some warrant for his new doctrine<sup>b</sup>, and to authorise it by miracles, the most authentic credentials a prophet can have. Moses, said they, Jesus Christ, and other prophets, worked, by your own confession, the most glorious miracles to prove their mission; why then do not you, if you are a prophet, and greater than they, work the like?

MAHOMET, in order to get clear of so home an objection, turned and winded on all sides<sup>c</sup>. One while he told them, that as miracles came from the almighty hand of God, men could not know the time when he had determined to work them; another while he reproached them, that though they should see miracles, they yet would not be converted; and at other times he

<sup>a</sup> Alc. c. 15, 37, 81.

<sup>b</sup> Theophanes Zonaras. Ricardi confutatio Mahom. c. 13. Cantacuzen. orat. 1. contra Mahomet.

<sup>c</sup> Alc. c. 6.



he said that his mission extended no farther than to preach to them the word of God, such as he had received it from the angel Gabriel<sup>a</sup>, and added, that there could not be a greater miracle than the Alcoran itself, which was so perfect in all its parts, that it could not possibly be the work of the most learned men, nor even of the devils themselves, much less could it have been composed by an illiterate man like himself, who could neither write nor read.

BUT the magistrates of Mecca would not take up with such idle reasons<sup>b</sup>, in which the impostor was for having the point in question taken for granted, and moreover, suspecting that he had more ambitious designs in view, and that he had a mind to usurp the government of his country, they banished him as a seditious person, and forced him to leave Mecca.

MAHOMET now saw plainly, that he should never be able to execute his ambitious projects by persuasion only, and therefore resolved to have recourse to arms; and to authorise this step, he did not fail, as usual, to call in heaven to his assistance. Immediately he gave out among his disciples<sup>c</sup>, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a sword from almighty God, with orders to subdue by the force of arms all such as should refuse to embrace his doctrine.

HE began this religious war by plundering the caravans; when booty, so grateful to the Arabs, soon brought great numbers of them under his standard: Being thus reinforced, he ravages the open country, surprizes castles, takes towns, and after having for some time practised the trade of robbery, he learned insensibly the art of conquering.

We need not search for any other reason to account for the surprising progress this sect made in so little time in Arabia; which if Mahomet could but have foreseen, he would in all probability have spared himself the trouble of forging so many revelations, and sitting

<sup>a</sup> Pocock. spec. hist. Arab. p. 191, 192. Alc. c. 9, 10, and 17. Alc. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Elmacin, l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Alc. c. 4.

ting together the various pieces he borrowed from the Jewish and Christian religions. 'Tis well known, that he, in less than eleven years time, made himself master of the greatest part of the three Arabias. The success of his arms exceeded his first projects, and fortune carried him to greater lengths than he had even dared to hope. But as his wars, his conquests, and those of his successors, are foreign to my subject, I shall only observe, that he united the priesthood to the empire; that his disciples were his first subjects; that he forced the rest by violence to submit to him; that his arms were the foundation of his new religion, and that he in all probability might have taken them up only in order to establish it with greater dispatch. His successors made use of the same pretext to seize on Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe; and whither would they not have extended their conquests, had not God raised up the intrepid courage of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, to make head against them? those knights, I say, who for several ages have served as a bulwark to all Christendom. The Arabians were the first people of Asia that embraced the religion of Mahomet; some of these, out of fear of his power, others carried away and infected by example, many seduced by the lure of pleasures; nor were there wanting others who were charmed with his eloquence, and certain pathetic expressions which dropped from him in his sermons, or in various places of the Alcoran.

WE there indeed meet with noble and lofty expressions upon the majesty, the power, and the goodness of God, as well as on the ingratitude of men; but all his discourses on these subjects are without proofs, without coherence, order, or connection; and one may easily perceive, that what they call the Alcoran, or the book by way of eminence, to speak after the Arabians, is no more than the work of a mere sophister and declaimer.

ONE cannot even say that this work is one continued discourse, and made at the same time; for we there meet with several variations and alterations, according

as its author was actuated by new passions, or engaged by new interests. In the fourth chapter, any man is expressly forbid to marry the wife of another, during the lifetime of the latter; but unluckily Mahomet casts his eyes upon Zainab, the wife of Zaib, his freed man; he liked her, and in order to have her for himself, he bestowed extraordinary favours upon his late slave, that so he might engage him to divorce her, which being done, he immediately marries her. This scandalous compact between the master and his servant, highly offended the greatest part of his followers; but to silence their complaints, notwithstanding it contradicts the law which he himself had preached, he publishes an addition to the thirty-third chapter of the Alcoran, wherein God declares, that he had married Zainab to Mahomet; a declaration which put that woman, who was not a little proud of the revelation, upon insulting the rest of the prophet's wives, and upon claiming a precedency, by virtue of her having been married by an express order from heaven, whereas none but men had been concerned in the marriages of her rivals.

THIS false prophet, besides all those wives, who composed his seraglio, had likewise in his family a young female slave of exquisite beauty, of about fifteen years of age, called Mary, an Egyptian by birth, and a Christian. We are told, that the governor of Egypt had made a present of her to Mahomet. Immediately our prophet falls in love with her, and is caught by two of his wives in a criminal commerce with her. These do not fail to make a great stir about it, but as it might prejudice his reputation, heaven comes in immediately to his assistance, and by a new revelation, which we find in the sixty-sixth chapter, God allows Mahomet, and all Musulmen whatever, to cohabite with their slaves, in spite of their wives<sup>a</sup>. "O prophet, for thus Mahomet makes God say, why dost thou, for fear of disobliging thy wives, deny thyself the pleasure which God has granted thee?" The impious wretch begins with committing the crime, and then

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<sup>a</sup> Alc. c. 66. of Prohibition.

warrants it by a pretended dispensation from heaven. The only reason of my selecting these two examples from a great number of others, was to shew, that there are in the Alcoran, in that very book which the Mahometans tell us came down from the throne of God, several opposite and contradictory articles, and which are computed to amount to near one hundred and fifty. The Mahometans endeavour to evade this objection, by saying, that God having thought proper to abrogate certain articles, was afterwards pleased to substitute others in their stead ; but we may observe, that both these passages are not only preserved in the text, but that that article which is substituted is often placed before the other which was to be disannulled ; which occasions a strange confusion, unless they, in order to account for this transposition, should tell us, that that was owing to the Alcoran's having been written upon loose leaves, which antiently were never stitched together in order, but rolled upon one another, which for that reason, might occasion the transposition of several chapters.

AFTER Mahomet's death, Abu-Beker his father-in-law and successor, collected these loose leaves together, put them into what he thought a proper order ; and after consulting such of Mahomet's disciples as had attended with greatest assiduity upon his discourses, he made a collection of them, which he afterwards left in the custody of Haphsa, daughter to Omar, and one of the surviving wives of that prophet.

YET notwithstanding this precaution, several copies of this book were spread up and down the provinces, very different from one another. The people of Hyerak-Arasy, which is the antient Chaldæa, together with the Syrians, maintained, that their copies, though contradictory to one another in several passages, were nevertheless the only authentic ones. These disputes obliged the caliph Othman, the third successor to Mahomet, to consult the original of Abu-Beker, if we may give that name to a book which he himself had composed, and in which he had added and razed  
what-

whatever he thought proper, and this upon the information of persons, who boasted their having retained, by strength of memory, most of the passages of the Alcoran from Mahomet's discourses. Othman, however, caused several copies to be made of it, and distributed them up and down the Mahometan provinces, and ordered all the other copies which fell into his hands to be burnt as spurious.

AND yet, notwithstanding that the Alcoran was revised in this manner, and though it has passed through so many hands, in order to its being corrected, there were nevertheless whole nations who could not be prevailed with to receive some surats or chapters in it as canonical, which they suspected were no more than so many interpolations of the revisers. The Persians, the Indians, the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, and the other followers of Ali, reject several verses as apocryphal, which the Turks receive as canonical; for which reason they have given them the name of Schittes; whereas the Turks, the inhabitants of Mogul, the Arabians, and the Africans, who follow the doctrine or comment of Abu-Beker, and look upon themselves as the only orthodox, take upon themselves the name of Sonnites. But abating this, all of these have so profound a veneration for this book, that it falls very short of idolatry. Some of them ever carry several verses, and sometimes whole chapters of it about them, as an infallible preservative against all the accidents of life; and their princes and great men enrich the cover of their Alcoran with pearls and diamonds.

TAVERNIER relates in his voyages\*, that the great Mogul sent in his time a copy of it to Mecca, the cover of which was valued at twelve hundred thousand livres, and that there was in the middle of it a diamond, which alone weighed a hundred and three carats. Such is the veneration the infidels have for this book, though stuffed with fictions; so true is it, that falsehood, when dressed with an air of something marvellous, is very apt to allure the minds of men; at the



same time that we neglect the reading of our holy books, the sacred depository of revealed truths, and wherein we meet, and that with much more certainty than in the Alcoran, an undoubted history of the first ages of the world, wise maxims for the conduct of this life, and infallible promises, and the most undoubted assurances with regard to eternity.

The End of the Discourse on the Alcoran, and Vol. II.

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THE *John Harris*  
HISTORY

OF THE  
Knights Hospitallers

OF  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Knights Hospitallers  
O F  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,  
Called afterwards  
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,  
And at present  
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K VII.

**B**ROTHER James de Milly, grand prior of Auvergne, succeeded the grand master De Lastic. He was then at his priory. They dispatched the chevalier de Boisfrond his nephew to him, to carry him the act of his election. In this dispatch the council represented to the new grand master, how important it was for the good of the order, that he should repair immediately to Rhodes. In the same letter they insinuated to him, that in order to get rid of the recommendations of princes in favour of some young knights, and not prejudice the rights of seniority, it would be proper for

JAMES DE MILLY.  
1454.  
1. June.

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VOL. III.

him

him to make an early declaration, that he would grant no favour before he had taken possession of his dignity in Rhodes, and taken likewise the oaths usually tendered to the grand masters at such solemnities.

THE prince paid a just deference to this advice, set out immediately for Rhodes, and arrived there on Aug. 20. 1454. His presence was indeed very necessary. Mahomet, the haughtiest and proudest man breathing, enraged at the resolute answer that the knights made his ambassador, swore their ruin, and the destruction of Rhodes; and, out of his eagerness to be revenged, had just sent thirty gallies, as the harbingers of his fury, who had by his command ravaged the coasts of the isles of the order.

OF all the neighbouring princes, whom his vast ambition made him look upon as his enemies, there was none more odious to him, or whom he suffered more impatiently in the midst of his territories, than the grand masters of Rhodes. He intended the year following to fall upon that isle, and extirpate the whole order of St. John: but he was obliged to defer that enterprize upon news of a powerful league that was formed against him for the defence of Hungary. Pope Calixtus III. was the head of it; and besides the king of Hungary, he had engaged in it successively one after another, Alphonfus king of Arragon, Philip duke of Burgundy, the republicks of Venice and Genoa, the new grand master of Rhodes, and several princes of Italy.

CHARLES VII. king of France was strongly solicited by a legate, whom the pope had sent him on purpose, to join his forces with those of the allies. The pontiff too, upon that prince's appearing averse to leave his dominions, had wrote to him in imperious terms. But those times were now no more, when popes, either out of a true zeal for religion, or political views, could easily carry their point, under the specious pretext of crusades and holy wars, of banishing, as we may say, emperors and other sovereigns into the farthest parts of the east. The king of France slighted me-  
naces

naces that came disguised under the mask of pious exhortations. However, as he was a truly religious prince, though he was still on his guard against the English, whom he had driven out of France, and that the ambition of the dauphin his son gave great uneasiness, he nevertheless presented the commander d'Aubusson, whom the grand master had sent to desire succours from him, with considerable sums, which were employed either in buying up arms, or finishing the new fortifications of the town of Rhodes.

WHILST all these allies were arming slowly, and bringing their forces but heavily to the rendezvous, Mahomet, after several feints, purposely to conceal his real design, fell at once on the town of Belgrade, that Amurath his father had formerly besieged to no purpose, which made this prince the more fond, out of an emulation of glory, of surprising or carrying it by force. This important place is situated upon a point of land, in a sort of peninsula, formed by two rivers, by the Danube to the north, and the Save to the west. Huniades, one of the greatest captains of Christendom, and the only man of his time to be compared with Scander-Beg, lay, during all the time of the siege, intrenched with a body of Hungarians on the north bank of the Danube. Mahomet, to make himself master of the river before Belgrade, and to cut off the communication of the Christian camp with the place, had formed a sort of semicircle of saicks and brigantines fastened together, which took up all the space both above and below the city. Huniades, to break through this inclosure, and throw succours into the place, fitted out a great number of vessels of different bulks, and putting his bravest and most resolute soldiers on board, goes himself at their head, falls down the stream, attacks the infidels fleet, leaps first into the admiral's galliot, takes it, and, followed by the Hungarian officers, who commanded the land forces, breaks the inclosure, disperses the little vessels that formed it, sinks part of them, seizes on others, puts the troops on board them to the sword, and enters into the port, dragging after

him the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet. This lord by his presence raises the courage of the garrison and inhabitants, and making them a speech : “ I am come, says he, in company with these brave soldiers, resolved either to live or die with you, and I will either save the place, or bury myself in its ruins.”

THIS great man, during the whole siege, performed all the functions of a wise captain and a resolute soldier. He was general, governor, commander of the fleet and artillery at one and the same time ; the turks met with him at all the posts they attacked ; they saw him in like manner at the head of all the sallies that were made. They say, that in one of these sallies he killed no less than twelve enemies with his own hand : but as these little advantages were not after all any ways decisive, and that Mahomet was still advancing his works, he saw plainly, that nothing but an engagement and a battle could save the place. He therefore caused the garrison, the troops that he brought with him, and the bravest of the inhabitants, to put themselves under arms ; then made choice of the bravest of them, and out of all these troops formed a considerable body, put himself at their head, and fell into the enemies trenches sword in hand. He at first cut all those

to pieces that stood in his way ; but at the noise of the attack, the Turks soon rally and stand their ground. Never had the Christians and infidels fought with greater courage and obstinacy. Huniades, resolved either to vanquish or die, provoked at so long a resistance, throws himself into the thickest battalions of the enemies, forces his way, pushes and kills all before him, and obliges the infidels to retire in disorder. Mahomet himself runs to their succour, and at the head of those invincible legions of janizaries, which made all the force of his army and empire, charges the Christians, and kills one of the principal officers of the Hungarians with his own hand, but at the same time he himself receives a deep wound in the thigh which disables him : they carry him immediately to his tent, where he faints away with loss of blood,



THE combat however still lasted with the same fury. Huniades makes new efforts, drives them from their batteries, and turns the cannon against the tents of the sultan. But the Christian general, seeing a body of spahi advancing scymetar in hand to cut off his retreat, did not think it advisable to drive the Turks by too obstinate an engagement to a despair that is frequently more formidable than their ordinary valour; but contenting himself with the advantages he had already gained, re-entered triumphantly into Belgrade, amidst the acclamations of his soldiers, who dragged after them a great number of prisoners.

THE sultan recovering from his swoon, was immediately informed of the issue of the combat. They could not conceal from him that the first bashas of his court, the vizir, the aga of the janizaries, and the principal officers of that body of troops were killed: that the cannon was nailed up, and the baggage taken. 'Tis said, that at this ill news, so contrary to his expectation, he called for poison to put an end to his life and vexation.

'Tis certain however that he lost above twenty thousand men of his best troops, and that he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Constantinople with precipitation. To increase his pain, he received advice, that the knights of Rhodes, in order to make a diversion during the campaign, had ravaged the coasts of his dominions, blocked up his ports, done infinite damage to the commerce of his subjects, and secured that of the Christians.

THE sultan, to be revenged on the knights, put to sea a strong fleet, having 18000 land forces on board, ordering them to destroy all the isles of the order with fire and sword. The admiral landed first in the island of Coos or Lango. He there besieged a fortified castle called Landimachio. The Turks battered the place with a great train of cannon and mortars, and having made a breach, advanced in crowds to the assault. They flattered themselves that they should carry the castle

without much opposition, but they met with a good number of knights on the breach, who drove them back ; and by rolling down great stones, and throwing boiling oil and melted lead upon the besiegers, laid the bravest of them dead at the foot of the walls. A seasonable sally following this defence, put an end to the dispute, and caused so much trouble and disorder in the infidel troops, that they re-embarked with more precipitation and eagerness than they had run to the assault.

THE general, not daunted with this ill success, fancied he should be more lucky against the inhabitants of the island Simia or of Apes. He invested the castle, and to save his men carried on the siege by way of sap, running his mines as far as the middle of the place. But his design being timely discovered, was prevented by the knights, who, making countermines, defeated his attempt, and advancing sword in hand, cut the miners and the troops that supported them to pieces, and forced the infidels to re-embark. From thence they stood for the isle of Rhodes, and landing some soldiers, the admiral ordered them to march up with all possible secrecy into the country, to see what guard they kept in the island, and whether there were any troops along the coast.

THESE spies went a good way up into the country without being discovered ; every thing appeared buried in a profound calm, and without the least distrust ; and likeways found, that a town at no great distance, called Archangel, very well peopled, and the richest of the island, was in a sorry condition for defence ; thereupon they made the signals which the admiral had directed. The general, as soon as he saw them, put all his infantry into flat-bottomed vessels, and landing them, the infidels marched straight to the town, surprised the inhabitants, slew all that made head against them, and made slaves of the rest ; but fearing to be attacked by all the forces of the order, the Turkish admiral, after ravaging the open country, re-imbarked in great haste. He did the like execution in the isles of Lerro, Calamo, Nissaro, Lango and Simia, which  
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he visited again in his return from Rhodes. As those isles were most of them defenceless, he ravaged the country, rooted up the vines, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off all the inhabitants that he could surprisè, and after having left marks of his cruelty wherever he went, returned back to Constantinople. He presented Mahomet with a great number of slaves which he had made in his expedition: the sultan viewed them with a barbarous pleasure, as what gratified his rage against the knights: he left them only the choice of dying or abjuring their religion. Several were weak enough to do the latter, and these wretches turning Mahometans, served afterwards for guides to the corsairs that infested the several isles of the order.

BROTHER John de Chateneuf, of the language of Provence, commander of Ufèz in the priory of St. Giles, and bailiff of the isles of Lango, Lerro and Calamo, finding them desolate and in a miserable condition, surrendered the government of them to the order, who, in a general chapter, desired the grand master to undertake the re-peopling of them. And to prevent the like surprisès, the same chapter ordered, that 50 knights should reside constantly in the castle of St. Peter; that five and twenty should be kept in the isle of Lango, that forty other knights should be put on board the guard galley which was always kept in the port of Rhodes; and the grand master himself took care to have a fort built in the town of Archangel for the security of the inhabitants.

THESE precautions were the more necessary, inasmuch as besides the war which the order was engaged in against the Turks, they were on the point of coming to a rupture with the foldan of Egypt, a neighbouring potentate, no less formidable than Mahomet. The grand master had just received a pressing letter from Louis of Savoy, king of the isle of Cyprús, in right of queen Charlotte of Lusignan his wife, in which he begged the order's succour and protection against the enterprisès of a bastard of the house of Lusignan, who  
by

by help of the credit that he had at the sultan's court, pretended to make himself master of the kingdom.

'TIS well known, that the order possessed great estates, and even some towns and considerable fortresses in that place; so that nothing could pass in a civil war between the queen and the bastard, but the grand master must be obliged to concern himself in it.

IN order to have a right notion of these reciprocal pretensions, we must observe, that John de Lusignan, the last king of Cyprus, left no heir to his dominions but a young princess called Charlotte, which he had by Helena Paleologus his second wife. He was an effeminate prince, of a weak constitution, almost an idiot, incapable of governing, and the meanest man in the nation was better versed in the affairs of his kingdom than himself. The whole authority remained in the person of the queen, who herself was governed by her nurse's son, an absolute minister, that disposed of the government as he pleased, and made the most he could of all the posts, dignities and revenues of the crown.

A PERIOD was put to this unjust administration by the princess's marriage with John of Portugal duke of Coimbra. This prince being, in right of his wife, presumptive heir of the crown, was for entering upon the exercise of the rights which the king his father-in-law had neglected. The imperious minister opposed it, but the prince's party got the better; and the minister, fearing his resentment, took refuge at Famagusta, which had been long in the possession of the Genoese. His mother, to revenge the banishment of her son, got the Portuguese prince poisoned; and by his death the minister returned to court, and resumed his former authority in that place.

HE resumed at the same time all his pride; and whether a thirst of revenge, or the haughtiness of his temper, was the motive, or else, as it generally happens to men of his stamp, his head was turned with the too exalted height of his fortune, he kept no measures with the widow of the duke of Coimbra. He even sought industriously all occasions of doing her ill offices with the  
queen

queen her mother. The princess, enraged at his haughty and insolent conduct, complained of it to James de Lusignan, her bastard brother, who was nominated to the archbishoprick of Nicosia, the capital of the island, though not yet in holy orders. He was a man that had abandoned himself to ambition, one who never boggled at any crime to gain his ends, naturally close, cruel in cold blood, and, wherever his interest was concerned, capable of a premeditated assassination.

THIS bastard, during the life of the duke of Coimbra, whose courage and capacity he feared, never intermeddled in public affairs, confining himself entirely to the business of his character; but the death of the Portuguese prince gave new life to his ambition, and he fancied it not impossible for him to make his way to the throne, or at least to get into the ministry: in order to this it was necessary to remove the nurse's son from the direction of affairs.

JAMES, under pretence of revenging the insults offered to the princess, stabb'd him with his own hand. He was in hopes of succeeding him in his employment, but the queen's wrath would not allow him to appear at court. He fled privately to the house of a noble Venetian, his particular friend, called Mark Cornaro, a rich and powerful man, who had considerable possessions in the island; but not thinking himself safe enough in that place against the resentment of an offended queen, he went to Rhodes, and wrote from thence to the pope to desire a confirmation of his dignity of archbishop.

The queen, who was afraid of his subtle and crafty genius, traversed his designs at Rome. The bastard, incensed at her opposition, carried things to the utmost lengths, and laying aside all thoughts of the archbishoprick, got together a parcel of banditti, returned into the isle of Cyprus, arrived at Nicosia, formed a strong party, destroyed his enemies, and all that could pretend to the ministry and government, and seized, in spite of the queen, upon the forces and revenue of the kingdom. That princess prudently dissembled an u-  
surpa-



surpation which she was not at that time able to oppose: she had no remedy left but in a second marriage of her daughter: she contracted her to Lewis son to the duke of Savoy, who arrived soon after in the isle of Cyprus with a fleet and a body of land forces on board: all the bastard had now to do was to make the best of his way out of the island, and he fled for refuge to Grand Cairo and the court of the foldan.

IN the mean time the king and queen dying within a few days of one another, the prince of Savoy and the princess his wife were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus, and as such were crowned with great solemnity. The bastard of Lusignan, as soon as he received the news, dispatched away one of his creatures to Constantinople, to desire Mahomet's interest with the foldan: and as usurpers stick at nothing, his agent offered in his name to pay the grand seignior the same tribute that was paid the Egyptian prince out of Cyprus. The bastard found means at the same time by great presents to engage the foldan's son and three of his principal ministers in his interest, who did not fail representing to him, that if he would grant the investiture of the kingdom to the bastard, he would double the tribute which his father used to pay in his life-time.

THIS intrigue, of which king Lewis had notice from his ambassador at Grand Cairo, was the occasion of his writing immediately to the grand master, to desire his advice and assistance in such an important juncture. The order had for a long time before been as a protector to all the princes of the house of Lusignan. The grand master, as soon as he received the king's letters, sent brother John Delphin, commander of Nissara, to Grand Cairo, to traverse the bastard's pretensions and intrigues.

THIS ambassador having an audience of the sultan represented to him, that the isle of Cyprus being a feudatory of his crown, he was obliged in justice to support the lawful rights of the late king's heirs, against an ambitious man that was offering to invade them; that these heirs, as being his vassals, would be exact

in paying the tribute laid upon the island, and observe an inviolable fidelity to him, for which the whole order would freely be responsible. The embassador's dexterity, and some presents properly distributed among those barbarians, began to incline them to the juster side, when an embassador arrived from Mahomet, who represented to the soldan, that it was the interest of all true Musulmen to hinder the prince of Savoy, and any Latin prince whatever, from settling in the Levant. He urged further, that he should look upon all that favoured them as his enemies; that in case he granted the investiture of Cyprus to a Latin prince, he ought to be afraid of raising an insurrection in his own dominions; and if he was not strong enough to drive the duke of Savoy's son out of the island, he offered him the assistance of his own forces, and would even allow him with pleasure to make use of them to clear the isle of Rhodes of the knights, who were all Latins by extraction, and irreconcilable enemies to their prophet.

THE Egyptian yielded to remonstrances, which had all the air of a threat, and came from a prince, whose arms and resentment no body at that time cared to draw upon himself. The investiture was granted to the bastard of Lusignan, and the sultan, to settle him on the throne, sent him back with a strong army. With this succour he made himself in a little time master of the whole kingdom. The king and queen had now nothing left but the fortress of Cyrene, into which they threw themselves for refuge: the bastard immediately invested and formed the siege of the place. The Genoese in this revolution still kept the town of Famagusta, and the knights maintained themselves in the castle of Colos, a strong place which belonged to the order, and made part of the great commandry of Cyprus.

QUEEN Charlotte de Lusignan, not finding her self safe in Cyrene, quitted the isle of Cyprus, and retired to that of Rhodes, under the protection of the grand master. The illustrious family from whence that young princess was descended, her royal dignity, her misfortunes, and above all, that natural empire which beauty gives,

gives, made most of the knights become her zealous partisans; and it was likewise observed, that, either out of pure generosity, or secret inclination, the commander d'Aubuffon was particularly devoted to her interests. The usurper on his side, in order to gain the support of the republic of Venice, married afterwards Catharine Cornaro, under the specious title of a daughter of St. Mark. Pursuant to this title, those subtle republicans, in order to create themselves a sort of right over the island, gave young Cornaro a portion of an hundred thousand ducats; and the republick engaged, by a solemn treaty, to protect the new king against his enemies, meaning thereby the knights of Rhodes, who had taken queen Charlotte under their protection. But the usurper was not long before he found by experience, that it is rare to find fidelity and honour in treaties that are founded on injustice. The uncles of the Venetian lady were suspected of having poisoned the new king, in order to get a share in the government of the kingdom. 'Tis at least certain, as we shall see in the sequel, that the republic alone reap'd all the benefit of these several usurpations.

THE grand master in the mean time found himself in a very difficult situation between Mahomet and the sultan of Egypt, who alike threatened Rhodes with a siege. The sultan too, to have his revenge for the protection which the order gave the queen of Cyprus, had, contrary to the law of nations, seized on the ambassador Delphin, and all the merchant ships of Rhodes that were trading in Egypt. The wise grand master, in order to find how the Turks stood affected, sent a Greek prelate, Demetrius Nomphylacus by name, to the porte, to desire a safe conduct of Mahomet for the commander de Saconnay, who was impowered to make him proposals of peace: but he was not heard at that time. The knights were the more alarmed at it, inasmuch as at the same time that they were drained both of money and ammunition, they were yet to defend themselves not only against the Saracens and Turks, but also the Venetians, who on some trifling pretence re-

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lating to trade, made a descent in the isle of Rhodes, and committed greater ravages and cruelties there than those barbarians had ever done. They returned thither again a little time afterwards with a fleet of 42 gallies, which blocked up the port of Rhodes, and threatened the town with a siege.

THE occasion of this enterprize arose from the grand master's having by way of reprisal, and in order to procure the liberty of his embassador and subjects detained by the foldan, caused too Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize for the accompt of some Sarazen merchants, to be stopp'd, and had seized at the same time a good number of the foldan's subjects that were on board the gallies. The infidels were made galley slaves, their merchandize was confiscated; and as for the gallies and the Venetian crew they were dismissed, and allowed to pursue their course: all this was done agreeable to the ordinary rules of war, which authorize the confiscating of a friend's moveables that are found in the same bottom with those of an enemy. But the republick, which was in strict alliance with the Sarazens for the sake of its commerce, demanded in high terms the restitution of the effects that had been seized; most of the young knights, especially the Spanish, were for giving no other answer to such unreasonable and imperious propositions, but that of cannon shot. The grand master however was of a different opinion. He had received advice, that if the order did not readily release the Sarazen prisoners and their merchandize, the commander of the fleet had private orders to ravage all the isles belonging to the order, to carry off the peasants and inhabitants of the open country, and then deliver them up to the sultan as hostages for the Sarazens that had been seized at Rhodes. " I don't doubt, with  
 " the assistance of your valour, says the grand master  
 " in full council, but that I shall be able to defend  
 " this place against all the forces of the republick, but  
 " I cannot prevent their gallies from surprizing our sub-  
 " jects in the open country; and I believe it is more  
 " adviseable to give up a few Sarazens, rather than  
 VOL. III. B " expose

“ expose whole families to the danger of being made  
 “ slaves to the infidels, and perhaps of being forced  
 “ by torments to change their religion.” The whole council acquiesced to so prudent an opinion, the Saracens were delivered up to the Venetian admiral, and charity prevailed over the just resentment of so crying an injustice.

THE order, in the midst of so many enemies with which it was beset, to make its difficulties still greater, was unhappily distracted with divisions flowing from ambition and vanity. The procurators of the languages of Spain, Italy, England and Germany complained in a general chapter, that the principal dignities of the order, and particularly the post of captain general of the island, was annexed to the languages of France, to the prejudice of the other nations; and they maintained, that in a well regulated republick, and in a state composed of the nobility and gentry of all Europe, no distinction ought to be made but that of seniority and merit. The French in answer alledged, that the order owed its foundation entirely to their ancestors; that if in the series of time other nations had been admitted into it, still it was the French alone that adopted them; that the other languages ought always to consider them as their first parents, and that it would be a great injustice now to deprive their successors of those marks of honour which they had acquired or preserved at the expence of their blood, and as a just recompence of the services which they had done the order.

As to the post of captain general, the commander d'Aubuffon, who acted in that quality in the absence of the marshal of the order, replied, that that post belonged solely to the language of Auvergne, of which the marshal was the chief; that after all there was no language in the order but had some particular dignity annexed to it; and as the French did not intrude into the functions of the admiral, the great conservator, the turcopilier and the grand bailiff, dignities which had a seat in the council annexed to them, and were appropriated to the languages of Italy, Arragon, England  
 and



and Germany, it was very surprising that the knights of those languages should envy those of Provence, Auvergne and France the posts of great commander, great marshal, and great hospitaller, which had been exercised by French knights ever since the foundation of the order. Notwithstanding this judicious and modest answer, the malecontents persisted in their pretensions: but as they were sensible that their party was not strong enough to carry their point, the procurator of the language of Arragon threw an appeal drawn up in form to the holy see before the grand master, and withdrew with the other procurators out of the chapter in a seditious manner, and also went out of the city. The council was of opinion that they should be prosecuted; but the grand master being of a mild temper let this first fire spend itself. Some of the old knights interposed for an accommodation, when the warmest of the discontented party came back to the city, without making the least innovation on this head at that time, and returned to their duty. But the grand master dying soon after of the gout in his stomach, they renewed their pretensions under the mastership of brother PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA, castellan of Emposta, a Castilian by birth, and successor to Milly.

PETER RAIMOND  
ZACOSTA.

1461.

'Twas impossible for them to terminate this great affair, but by creating a new language in favour of the Castilians and Portuguese, who were severed from the Arragonese, Navarrese and Catalans. They annexed the dignity of great chancellor to this new language, so that by this augmentation there were afterwards eight languages in the order.

WE have seen a little before, that Mahomet, impatient to fall upon the isle of Rhodes, had refused to grant a safe conduct to the commander de Saconny, who had a commission from the grand master de Milly to treat of a peace between the order and the port. We must observe further, that the cause of such a harsh refusal arose from the order's resolution not to hear the least mention of a tribute; other designs, and of a much

greater importance, made Mahomet dissemble so resolute a refusal, so that they were not a little astonished to see the safe conduct brought to Rhodes at a time when they least expected it. The surprise of the knights was the greater, because that prince was then making extraordinary preparations by sea and land, which made them suspect that he talked to them of peace only to lull them asleep and amuse them by means of a treaty which he was going to break.

THE grand master, without discovering his just diffidence, and in order to pierce into the designs of the infidels, sent brother William Marechal, commander of Villefranche, to Constantinople, accompanied by two Greeks of the isle of Rhodes, the one Arrogentille, and the other Constance Collace. The negotiation was not spun out to any length; there was no mention made at all of tribute, or at least the ministers of the port did not much insist on that article. Mahomet, who did not care to be interrupted in his projects by the diversions usually made by the knights, signed a truce for two years, and the ambassador returned to Rhodes without being able to discover on what side the sultan would turn his arms. They were as ignorant of it at the porte, even the very favourites of that prince; and the cadilescher, or lord chief justice of Constantinople, seeing the campaign ready to open, and having had the boldness to ask him where the storm would fall, "If one hair of my beard, says Mahomet to him in a passion, knew my secret, I would tear it out this moment and throw it in the fire:" an answer which that minister could not apply without putting himself into a terrible fright. At last the secret of this campaign, which kept Europe and Asia in suspense, declared itself; the Turks entered Penderacia, called antiently Paphlagonia, and seized on Sinople and Castamone, two of the most considerable towns in the province, and which, though subject to a Mahometan prince, served for a barrier to the imperial city of Trebisond, subject to a christian prince. 'Twas this capital that Mahomet aimed at. That prince, who ever weighed his affairs, always extended his conquests gradually,

dually, advancing from one territory to the next adjoining: and having secured himself on the side of the Persians by a treaty of peace with Usun Cassan, he marched straight to Trebisond, and invested it at the same time both by sea and land.

THIS city is situated upon the Black sea, and was formerly part of the ancient Colchis. In the revolution which happened at Constantinople, when the pseudo-emperor Alexis Comnenus lost his life, prince Isaac of the same house fled for refuge to Trebisond: he made it the capital of a new empire, or rather, according to the genius of the Greeks, who after gave pompous names to trifling places, he gave the shining title of empire to a state that consisted only of two or three little provinces. His successors maintained themselves with tranquillity enough in that place, till the reign of another Alexis, who lived in the time of Amurath II. The sons of that Greek prince, impatient of succeeding him, rebelled, took up arms against the emperor their father, and at last against one another; and the old emperor lost his life in these civil wars. John, one of these unnatural princes, was at last left sole master of the empire, reaped the fruit of his numberless crimes, and was proclaimed emperor. But he did not long enjoy this dignity, for death bereaved him of the crown, the object of his ambition. David Comnenus the youngest of his brothers, was appointed regent and tutor to a young prince whom he left an infant, scarce entered into the fourth year of his age. The tutor, who was as perfidious as his brothers, deprived his nephew and his pupil of his life and crown. He afterwards married a princess of the house of the Cantacuzeni, called Helena, by whom he had eight sons and two daughters. He beheld these children with pleasure, as the support of the throne he had usurped; but the divine justice, which often in this life makes usurpers feel the weight of its avenging hand, raised up Mahomet, who, at the head of two formidable armies, came to besiege him in his capital both by sea and land. The siege lasted thirty days. The Greek prince, fear-

ing the place would be taken by storm, entered into a negotiation, and consented to deliver up the empire and his capital to Mahomet, on condition of receiving another province in exchange. The sultan agreed to it; the gates of Trebisond were opened to him, he put a garrison in it, and in the other places that belonged to Comnenus. This prince followed him to Constantinople; but instead of executing the treaty, he left him only the choice of either dying or  
 1461. renouncing his religion. The Greek emperor, summoning up his old religious sentiments, which ambition had stifled in him, preferred death to apostacy: seven of his male children, in imitation of their father, chose rather to lose their lives than embrace the Mahometan religion. The infancy of the last, who was not three years old, exempted him from martyrdom. Happy if the bloody sultan had not made him afterwards a renegado!

NOT that this prince was any way affected with the merit of making profelytes; his shameful indifference for all religions is well enough known; but having taken up the barbarous resolution to let no Christian prince live, whose dominions he had conquered, he made use of that pretext to get rid of them; and if he found any of them weak enough to be overcome by his threats, he soon found another pretence to make them away: and besides, this change of religion made them so odious and contemptible to the Christians their old subjects, that they had much rather be subject to a natural Musulman, than to a deserter and an apostate.

WHILST the sultan was employed in these wars, the grand master, considering the great use that a new fort would be of for the defence of the city and port of Rhodes, caused one to be built during the truce, upon some rocks that ran out a good way into the sea, sparing for nothing to make the work substantial. Philip duke of Burgundy, whom he acquainted with his design, furnished him with 12000 crowns of gold towards it. The knights, by way of acknowledgment, put his coat of arms on the sides of this fortress, which  
 was

was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that Saint, which was enclosed within the circuit of the fort.

THOUGH there was at that time a sort of truce between the sultan and the knights, yet that prince's vessels and some Turkish corsairs, whenever they found a favourable opportunity, made descents upon the isles of the order, and carried off all the inhabitants of them that they could surprize. The grand master sent complaints of it to the grand seignior, but his ambassador not being heard, the knights, by way of reprisal, fell upon the coasts of Turkey. Mahomet, the haughtiest prince on earth, could not bear that the knights should dare to treat with him on a foot of equality. He fell into a rage at the bare name of reprisals. To be revenged, he resolved to drive the knights out of Rhodes and out of all Asia; but before he engaged in that war, he thought proper to begin with the conquest of Lesbos, and some other islands of the archipelago, from whence the order might draw any succour.

LESBOS is an island situated in the eastern part of the Ægean sea; a Greek prince of the house of Gattilusio was then in possession, and claimed the sovereignty of it. Mahomet passed into the isle with the troops he had appointed for this conquest, and immediately besieged Mitylene, the capital of the island. The pretext that he made use of for this war was, that the prince of Lesbos allowed the liberty of his ports to the knights of Rhodes, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers that disturbed the navigation, and destroyed the commerce of the Turks.

THE grand master, who was in a strict alliance with the prince of Lesbos, immediately sent him a considerable body of knights, who threw themselves into the place. He left the defence of it to them, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers that were in the port. Lucio Gattilusio his cousin shared the government and defence of the place with the archbishop of Mitylene, whilst that petty sovereign, a prince of no very warlike constitution, and greatly averse to dangers, shut up, or  
rather



rather hid himself in the castle, as in the strongest place, and that which was least exposed. The besiegers, as well as the besieged, in the attack and defence of the place, gave the most signal proofs of their courage. The Turks, who had been used to pass from one conquest to another, could not bear to have a petty prince presuming to stop the progress of the arms of their invincible emperor. They marched desperately on to all the attacks, and great numbers of them lost their lives. Mahomet here found by experience the difference there was between a knight of Rhodes and a Turkish soldier. The knights did not give him a moment's rest; and by the torrents of blood which they made stream down in all their sallies, they made the visier, who commanded at the siege under Mahomet, afraid, lest that prince, who was exceeding brave, and who often exposed his person, should lose his own life before the place. As nothing was dearer to the general than his master's preservation, the prudent minister engaged him, under colour of giving his orders for new succours, to pass back again to the continent, whither he sent him every day an exact relation of what passed at the siege.

THE vigorous resistance of the knights and the Christian privateers not giving him room to flatter himself with a speedy success, he had recourse to bribery, in which he succeeded better than by his arms. He applied himself to the governor of the town, who was of the same name and family as the prince, and promised him, in Mahomet's name, to leave him the sovereignty of the island, if he would facilitate the taking of Mitylene, and engage never to suffer any knights or Christian privateers in the ports of the island.

LUCIO GATTILUSIO could not possibly be ignorant that Mahomet owed most of his conquests entirely to the pledging of his faith, and that he scarce ever kept it; but the weak Greek, dazzled with the lustre of a crown, let himself be seduced by the visier's specious promises. In consequence of which, the traitor opened to him a gate which he was appointed to defend;

send ; the Turks entered in at it in crouds, and massacred the knights, who, though deserted by the Greeks, died all with their weapons in their hands : several privateers met with a like fate ; others, in hopes of life which was promised them, surrendered themselves prisoners. The traitor, in the midst of the tumult, ran to the castle, and with an affected terror, represented to the prince that he was going to be taken by storm, if he did not prevent it by a capitulation ; and the weak prince of Lesbos committed the whole management of that affair into his hands. Mahomet, who was not far off, hastened upon the advice he received from the visier to reap the glory and benefit of his negotiation : the treaty was agreed on ; he promised the prince other lands in Greece in exchange for his island ; and it was stipulated, that he should come to Constantinople to treat about this exchange. The prince of Lesbos repaired thither with his kinsman, whose treachery he was not aware of.

MAHOMET treated them exactly as he had done the emperor of Trebisonde. As a preliminary to the negotiation, he left them only the choice of changing their religion, or of suffering immediate death. The two Gattilufios were base and cowardly enough to abjure the faith. They flattered themselves at least with the hopes of having preserved their lives by their apostacy ; but Mahomet looked out for some other pretext to get rid of them. That prince, whose barbarous politicks made him put every body to death that had any just claim to the countries he had conquered, took advantage of the two Gattilufio's walking abroad, charged it upon them as done with a design to make their escape, and get out of his dominions without his leave, and thereupon ordered them both to be beheaded. He was still more cruel in his treatment of the Christian privateers that had defended Mitylene, and surrendered to the infidels upon the visier's assuring them that their lives should be saved. The sultan, notwithstanding his visier's promise, and to intimidate their companions, caused them to be seized, and afterwards

wards sawed in two, and ordered their limbs to be exposed to dogs and other voracious animals.

THE grand master looked upon these cruel executions as forerunners of a war which Mahomet would carry on the next campaign in the isle of Rhodes. And in order to prepare himself for it, he sent a general summons into Europe, directed to all the knights, with particular orders to the receivers to repair to Rhodes to assist at a chapter which he had called, and to bring thither the annates and responsions, for which they were accountable to the common treasury.

THOSE officers, pursuant to these orders of their superior, pressed several commanders to satisfy and discharge what they owed; but the greatest part of them, especially those of Italy and Arragon, endeavoured by various pretences to elude the payment of what was so justly required of them. Some pretended that they were taxed at an excessive rate; others complained of the grand master as an old man that was continually terrified at the least motions of Mahomet, and under the notion of an imaginary war, was always harassing them with long and tedious voyages, and inventing one pretence or other to drain them by exorbitant taxes which he laid upon them. These complaints were laid before pope Paul II. and seconded by the king of Naples and Arragon, and by the doge of Venice.

THE king of Arragon in particular pressed the sovereign pontiff to summon him to Rome to answer for his conduct. Here follows the motive of that prince's animosity: the grand master still keeping in his hands the castellany of Emposta, which he enjoyed when he came to the mastership, had demanded of that prince to give back several manors which had belonged formerly to that great commandry, and which the king had seized on by a right of convenience. All these princes, actuated by different motives, prevailed with the pope to order the general chapter which was summoned to Rhodes to be held at Rome. This was a kind of surrendering up the grand master to his enemies; and what was worse, by this new citation and change

in affairs, they exposed the isle of Rhodes to the enterprises of Mahomet. The grand master might have made use of so just a reason to excuse himself from the voyage, and could have alledged the necessity he was under of defending in person the dominions, the sovereignty of which the order had intrusted him with: but the venerable old man, eager to prove his innocence on so public a theatre as the court of Rome, repaired thither immediately, and the chapter was opened soon after. The grand master, who had the oldest commanders and best good men of the order appearing in his favour, soon convinced the pope, that the complaints brought him had no manner of foundation, but were owing only to the libertinism of some profligate knights, who, though they had great estates, did not yet find them sufficient to support their excessive luxury: and to shew his disinterestedness, and take away from the king of Arragon all subject of complaint, he at the same time made a resignation of the castellany of Emposta to the order and chapter, having kept it in his hands after his election to the grand master-ship, with the view only of enabling him to go on with building the fortress of St. Nicholas.

SUCH testimonies of his disinterestedness covered his enemies with confusion. The pope himself was ashamed of having listened to them, and suffering himself to be imposed upon by them; and in order to repair the injury he had done the grand master, gave him the highest testimonies of his esteem in private, and affected to distinguish him in publick by all the marks of respect that were so justly due to his merit, and the rank he held among Christian princes. The chapter made also several severe regulations against the disobedient, which were approved by the holy see. The grand master was preparing to carry them himself to Rhodes, when a pleurisy, that seized him at Rome, put an end to his life; the common opinion being, that the uneasiness and fatigues which the wicked religious occasioned him, had hastened his end. The pope caused him to be buried in the church of St. Peter, and omitted no kind of

of pious magnificence that was proper to adorn his funeral obsequies; and by a decree of the chapter they observed in the epitaph of this grand master, that he was equally distinguished by his piety, his charity and his capacity for the arts of government.

THE general chapter then proceeded to a new election: the votes were divided between brother Raimond

Ricard of the language of Provence,  
JOHN BAPT. grand prior of St. Giles, and brother

URSINI. JOHN BAPTISTA URSINI prior of

1467.

Rome, and of so illustrious a family, that his very name, abstracted from his personal merit and qualities, might alone serve for a title, and procure him a preference to any competitor. Yet he carried it by one voice only: a circumstance which may make one presume, that the plurality of votes would hardly have been on his side in any other place but Rome.

THE new grand master, taking leave of the pope, made all the haste he could to Rhodes, where Mahomet's ambition and forces made them always apprehensive of some surprise. He sent a particular summons to the bravest and most experienced knights of each language to repair thither. Nor was it long before there arrived brother Bertrand de Cluys grand prior of France; brother John de Bourbon commander of Boncourt; brother John de Saily commander of Fieffes; brother John Wulner commander of Oison; and brother Peter d'Aubuffon, one of the greatest captains of the order, and particularly versed in that branch of military skill that relates to fortifications, on which account the grand master made him surveyor of those of the island. 'Twas by his advice and direction that they made the town ditches deeper and wider, and raised a wall six hundred foot long, thirty six broad, and six thick, on that side that lay towards the sea.

THIS precaution was the more necessary, inasmuch as they were afterwards informed the sultan would have opened the campaign with the siege of Rhodes, if he had not been detained at Constantinople by a dangerous illness.



ness. And the plague breaking out at the same time in that capital of the Turkish empire, he was obliged to put off that enterprize for sometime. However, not to allow the knights any respite, he put to sea thirty gallees with a body of foot on board, giving the commander orders to make descents in the weakest places of the island, to carry off the inhabitants, and destroy all before him with fire and sword. The grand master having advice of this armament, defeated the design of it by his prudent conduct and the valour of the knights. There were then several castles in the island, situated at certain distances from one another, which in time of war served for a retreat to the inhabitants of the country. Among these strong places were the castles of Lindo, Feracle, Villeneuve, Catauda, Archangel and Tiranda. The peasants had orders to retire thither with their cattle; and the knights dividing themselves into different bodies of cavalry, and suffering the Turks to land, fell upon such as advanced into the country, killed a great number of them, took several prisoners, and forced the rest to fly for their lives and get on board their fleet.

MAHOMET, whose whole life was a kind of continual campaign, provoked at this defeat, gave out strict orders immediately for the making a new armament by sea and land. They made no question but these extraordinary preparations were designed either against the isle of Rhodes or that of Negrepont, which was then subject to the Venetians. In this uncertainty, those politick republicans, in order to make their advantage of the assistance of the order, sent ambassadors to the grand master and council, to propose a league with them, both offensive and defensive, against their common enemy. Nothing in outward appearance could be more convenient for both; but when they came to examine into the conditions of the treaty, the knights were strangely surpris'd to find the Venetians demanded as a preliminary, that the order should put itself under the protection of their republick, and submit to a dependence on it, and should for the future undertake no-

thing without their orders. The grand master rejected the project of a league with a just indignation, which, under the name of an alliance, would have reduced the order into a state of downright vassalage : and if this particular had not been expressly mentioned by some celebrated historians, one could hardly imagine, that so wise a body as the senate of Venice could have been capable of making so odious a proposal, to an order composed of the most illustrious and valiant nobility and gentry of Christendom, which by its single forces had so long made head against those of the Sarazens and Turks. But tho' this particular league proved ineffectual, yet as soon as they had heard at Rhodes, that Mahomet's troops had invested the isle and town of Negrepoint, the grand master, in a sense of what his profession obliged him to, viz. to defend all the dominions of Christian princes, sent immediately a squadron of gallies well provided to the succour of the Venetians. The chevalier de Cardonne commanded this squadron, and the commander d'Aubuffon, greatly skilled in the attack and defence of any strong hold, was put at the head of a body of brave knights, who had orders to try to land in the island, and throw themselves into the town which was besieged.

THE isle of Negrepoint was antiently called Eubæa. It is about three hundred and sixty miles in circumference; its greatest breadth is forty, and its least twenty miles: and it has a communication with the main land of Bœotia by a bridge over the Euripus. The capital of it was called Calchis by the Athenians; but it has since taken the general name of the island. John Bondumicro and Lewis Calbo his lieutenant, both noble Venetians, commanded in it for the republic; and Paul Erizzo, another noble Venetian, who had just before exercised the office of proveditor there, seeing the enemy draw near to besiege it, generously resolved to stay in the place, though the time of his service was expired. Mahomet, before he attacked the isle of Rhodes, resolved to reduce that of Negrepoint from whence the knights might otherwise obtain succours.

THIS warlike prince, followed by an army 1470. of an hundred and twenty thousand men, arrived on the bank of the Euripus, which he crossed on a bridge of boats that he caused to be built; at the same time that his fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, and commanded by the Visier Machmut, was advancing forwards. There were three principal attacks in the siege, in which the Turks at first lost a great number of men: but a traitor discovering a place of the walls which they had overlooked, the fortifications of which were old and ruinous, they played upon it with their artillery, and beat down a great pannel of the wall. The besieged sent advice of the danger they were in to general Canalé who commanded the fleet of the republick. The gallies of the order had joined it. The Christian fleet came up immediately in sight of the enemy. They had the wind and current on their side, and had resolved in a council of war to attack the bridge over the Euripus, in order to cut off the communication which the Turks had with the main land, and thereby deprive them of the convoys which they received from thence. All the fleet was eager for an engagement, and demanded it with great shouts; and particularly the knights de Cardone and d'Aubuffon pressed Canalé to advance. But that admiral casting his eyes by chance on his only son, who looked frightened at the danger, after reflecting for some time whether he should engage the enemy or retreat, at last shamefully tacked about, sailed away from the infidels, and abandoned the besieged, who were then left without any hopes of succour.

THE sultan took advantage of their consternation; his troops mounted the next day to the assault, and stormed that part of the wall that his artillery had beaten down. They did not enter however, till after a gallant defence had been made over the bodies of Bon-dumiero, Calbo, and the principal officers of the garrison, who died bravely on the breach.

THE proveditor Erizzo disputed every inch of ground, making a stand at every intrenchment thrown up in the

streets; but seeing himself forced on all sides, he made his way to the castle, where he held out for some time with great bravery: but at last wanting provisions and ammunition, and most of his soldiers being wounded, he was forced to capitulate. He would not however deliver up the castle till he had the Sultan's express word for the security of his life. That prince swore by his own head, that Erizzo's should not be touched; but when he had him in his power, he ordered him to be sawed in two; and mixing raillery with cruelty, and meanly playing with a deceitful and ambiguous oath, he said, that he had indeed given Erizzo assurance for his head, but that he had never meant to spare his sides.

THAT gallant Venetian had with him Anne-Erizzo his daughter, a young lady of surprizing beauty. Her father, fearing she would be afterwards exposed to the brutish lust of the soldiers, begged of the executioners to put her to death before they dispatched him; but they replied, that she was reserved for the sultan's pleasures. They led her to that prince, who was charmed with her beauty, and offered her both his heart and his empire. The discreet lady answered, with a modest intrepidity, that she was a Christian and a virgin, and that she did not so much fear death as she abhorred the debauchery of his seraglio, and the poisonous flattery of his promises. Mahomet tried all ways to seduce her, but in vain. They presented her with fine cloaths and jewels in his name, but she refused them with a noble disdain. Mahomet, naturally more proud than sensual, enraged at her refusal, changed his love into hatred, and in one of his furious fits cut off her head with his scymetar at one blow; thus fulfilling the wishes of that heroine, who by the sacrifice of a short transitory life, and a frail beauty, acquired immortal glory and felicity.

'TWOULD be a difficult task to describe the cruelties exercised at the taking of Negrepoint. The island was soon covered over with slaughter and horror; the Turkish soldiers, following the example, and acting under

under the eyes of their sovereign, valued themselves for their fury and extravagance. They were particularly careful not to give any quarter to the Latin Christians; and the sultan, enraged that he had found the gallies of the order in the Venetian fleet, sent to Rhodes to denounce mortal war against them, swearing that he would kill the grand master with his own hand, and destroy all the knights that came within his power.

THESE menaces did not deter the order from continuing their generous succours to the Venetians, The fleet of that republick was at that time commanded by the famous Mocenigo, who was placed in the room of the cowardly Canalé. The gallies of the order having joined him, they sailed by concert to besiege Attalia, a famous town on the coast of Pamphilia, called at present Satalia. The provveditor Sorano was immediately ordered to break the chain that shut up the port, which he executed with great courage and success. The Christian fleet entered the harbour, and afterwards sacked the suburbs of the two enclosures with which the town was fortified. They carried the first; but the walls of the second being too high for the ladders which they had prepared to scale them, and the general of the gallies of the order with several brave knights being killed in the attack, the Venetian general gave it over, notwithstanding the cries of an old Christian woman, a slave in Satalia, who called out to the Christians from the wall, and told them the small number and weakness of the besieged. They say that she was seized with so much grief at hearing the retreat sounded, that she threw herself head-long from the top of the rampart into the ditch, whence the Venetians took her, bruised to pieces with her fall, and gave her decent interment.

THE Christians after this repulse went to wreck their anger upon the open country; and after the usual waste and havock made in an enemy's territories, came to an anchor at Rhodes. There they found an ambassador of Usun-Cassan, king of Persia, called Azimamet,



who, besides his servants, was accompanied with above an hundred Persian gentlemen.

IN order to have a just notion of the negotiation on which he was sent to the grand master and other Christian princes, who were enemies to Mahomet, we must observe, that after the loss of Negrepoint, the Venetians had formed a strong league against the Turk, into which pope Paul II. had entered, together with the king of Arragon, Ferdinand King of Naples, the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the republick of Florence. Besides these succours, the Venetians, in the view of raising up enemies against the sultan on every side, had sent an embassador, Catherini Zeno by name, into Persia, to sollicite Usam-Cassan to make a diversion that might be strong enough to stop the arms of an ambitious prince, who threatned to enslave all the east. There was no need of making that prince sensible of his own interests, and he had for a long time been uneasy at the conquests of Mahomet. We have said that he had already made a league with several christian princes against the Turk; but the fatal discords of the confederates, and the impetuosity of Mahomet, had till then always defeated the benefit of those pompous alliances, which were more shewy than solid. However, he readily hearkened to the proposals made him by the Venetian embassador.

ASSUN CASSAN, or Uzun-Hassan, i. e. Uzun the long, so called from his great stature, was the sixth prince of the Turcomans, of the dynasty of Akconjonlu, or of the white sheep. He began his conquests with usurping the dominions of his brother Gehanghir whom he dispatched, and the same year seized upon those of Gehanschah, a prince of the dynasty of the black sheep, whom he put to death with all his family: nor did he give better quarter to Aboufaid, grandson to Tamerlane, from whom he took all Persia.

THOUGH this prince was a professed Musulman, yet whether he had discovered the imposture of that, or that the interest of his kingdom was his first principle

of religion, he made no scruple to enter into an alliance with the princes of Christendom. He sent his minister only to view the forces of his allies. The ambassador was received by the grand master with all the honours and magnificence due to his character. They loaded him with civilities and presents. The Persian gentry that attended him, were every day entertained by the principal knights of the order; and to give him a good opinion of the forces of the league, they shewed him their naval and land forces one after another, drawn up in order of battle, and their manner of fighting in a real engagement.

AZIMAMET, in an audience which he had of the grand master and the principal captains of the league, told them, that the king his master had taken from Mahomet the strong place of Torata in the lesser Armenia; that he was preparing to carry on his conquests; that the Persians were indeed invincible by their cavalry, which were the best in the world; that he did not want either men, or horses, or lances, or sabres; but that the use of fire arms was altogether unknown in his country, and that the king his master had sent him with orders to desire the Christian princes to send him some skilful founders and able gunners to serve him against the Turks. This was promised him; and the grand master sending a squadron of gallies to escort him, he was conducted to Venice, where the treaty was concluded; and at his return, the senate sent an hundred officers of artillery, as also several excellent founders and gunsmiths along with him, who afterwards supplied the Persian armies with a compleat train of artillery, and an infinite number of harquebuses or hand-guns.

'T WAS scarce possible for so pompous an embassy to be concealed from Mahomet. This prince soon guessed at the motives of it; and in order to make the negotiation miscarry, he dispatched an ambassador to the king of Persia, who was ordered to represent to him what a blemish it would be to his honour, to make an alliance with infidels against a prince of his own religion.

on. But the Persian, who was not to be caught with such scruples, paid but little regard to Mahomet's reproaches; but finding his interest in the league, persisted in it with vigour, nor could even ill success disengage him from it. Mahomet, exasperated at the fixed resolution of that prince, declared war against him, and went in person at the head of an army of 100000 men to attack him in the heart of his dominions.

BEFORE he set out from Constantinople he left prince Zizim, the youngest of his sons, in that city, with a good council, to take care of the government, but as he passed through Amasia, took Bajazet, a brother of that young prince, along with him; and Mustapha, the eldest of them all, who commanded on the frontiers of Caramania, came to join him with the troops of his government. This young prince had the year before routed an army of Ussun-Cassan in a pitched battle. Mahomet, to improve this victory, and take advantage of the consternation of the Persians, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates. His design was to pass that river, and advance forward into Persia; but he saw Ussun-Cassan on the other side, who, attended by the three princes his sons, and at the head of a great body of cavalry, consisting of 40000 horse, was ready to dispute the passage of it. Never was a more glorious strife seen between two royal houses. The Euphrates, opposite to the place where the two armies were posted, divided itself into several branches; some of them were fordable. The Turks throw themselves into the river to get to them, but the continual march of horses putting the sand in motion, the ford is turned into a whirlpool that swallows up every thing. To make the misfortune still greater, such as can get near the banks of the river find them cut steep and shelving by the precaution of the king of Persia; so that spent with fatigue, and finding no sure footing on the quicksands to fight on, they lie exposed as a mark to the Persian arrows, without being able to revenge their deaths. A great many are drowned, and others are carried away with the streams. Above 12000 men  
perished

perished in this enterprize ; and the furious Mahomet, raging at his ill success, is at last forced to sound a retreat.

As the Persians had carried off all the provisions and forage of those quarters, the Turks were obliged to make the best of their way to their own frontiers. The Persian had done enough for glory, and could he have been content with this advantage, nothing had been wanting to compleat it. But persuaded by the daring counsels of the young princes his sons, he passed the Euphrates, and pursued his enemy, whom he found strongly entrenched. They soon came to an engagement, both armies close together, and the prince has as much his share in the battle as the soldier. Victory changed sides more than once ; but Mustapha, Mahomet's eldest son, at last fixed it on that of the sultan. He routed a great body of Persians commanded by prince Zeinel, Uffun-Cassan's son, who was killed at the same time. Whilst Mustapha was pursuing the run-aways, he sent the Persian prince's head to Mahomet, as an earnest of the victory, which after the death of Zeinel, declared itself absolutely against the Persians : their whole army was dispersed, and fled for life to the neighbouring mountains. In the midst of Mahomet's joy for his glorious success, news was brought him that they did not know what was become of prince Mustapha. The sultan on this occasion felt all the tender emotions of a father, and was cursing the fatal victory, when the shouts of the soldiers gave him notice a little after of the young prince's return. In the first transports of his joy he runs with eagerness to meet him, and embraces him tenderly, covered over as he was with blood and dust. He would even present him with a cup of sorbec with his own hand ; but Mustapha found by agreeable experience on this occasion, that of all refreshments, none is more proper to wipe off the sweat and fatigues of a battle than a victory just gained.

YET this young prince, the partner of the fatigues and glory of his father, the support of the throne,  
and

and the hopes of his subjects, in the midst of all his triumphs, was within a year afterwards struck as it were with a clap of thunder. Achmet Geduc, one of the principal bashas of the portc, had a wife of extraordinary beauty. The young sultan had the misfortune to meet her as she was going to the bath; and notwithstanding the severe injunction laid on the women of that nation of never appearing in public but in veils, she yet could not resist the secret pleasure of letting him have a glimpse of her face, in order to discover how amiable she was. She let fall a corner of her veil, but took it up again immediately; and shewed herself with that reserved air, only to make herself be viewed with more curiosity. The courtiers, a servile set of men, did not fail to applaud the criminal desires of the young prince, who fancied himself above all laws, after having performed so many great actions in war. He follows her to the bath, makes his way in spite of the guards into a place forbidden to men; surprizes her in a circumstance not over decent; and hurried away by his passion, obtains favours, in which perhaps he did not meet with much resistance. Achmet is soon informed of it, and enraged at the insult, runs to the seraglio, throws himself at Mahomet's feet, tears his beard, his vest and turbant, and by his cries and tears gives the sultan to understand his wife's, or rather his own misfortune. Mahomet began already to be uneasy at the proud and haughty temper of his son; however, not to degrade himself so much as to blame this outrage before one of his subjects, he dissembles his resentment, and looking upon the basha with an air of contempt, "Are not, says he to him, thy wife and thee, both my slaves, and too much honoured with contributing to the satisfaction of my children?" He dismissed him with this rough answer, but sent at the same time for Mustapha, and with that air, at which the greatest of his court would tremble, made him the most cruel reproaches, bid him be gone from his presence; and hearing that the young prince express the utmost indignation at his going out of the seraglio, and murmured



mured at so harsh a treatment, he sent orders three days after to have him strangled. Notwithstanding there was an interval of two years between these several incidents, I have nevertheless related them together, by reason of the connexion there is between them, and for the convenience of the reader.

THE order of time should make us resume the narration in that part which relates to the league between the Persian monarch and the grand master, and the other Christian princes; but as that affair does not come directly within the subject of our history, we shall only observe, that the war between the two mighty princes, who disputed for the empire of Asia, lasted for several years, and suspended the enterprize that Mahomet had formed against Rhodes. The grand master, during this interval, renewed his precautions for the preservation of the place and the whole island. By his orders, with the concurrence of the council, some ancient knights were sent to visit all the places and isles that belonged to the order. 'Twas at this time that he held a general chapter at Rhodes, which is the surest resource for the maintenance or re-establishment of the regular discipline. 'Twas in these numerous assemblies that proper measures were taken, and that without distinction of persons, or deference to any body, for the reformation of manners; and we may affirm, that had it not been for the frequent meetings of their chapters, the order could never, in the midst of the confusion and hurry of war, have so long preserved itself in the first spirit of piety and disinterestedness which distinguished it as much as its courage and extraordinary valour.

THOUGH the power of so many sovereigns as had entered into the league, kept Mahomet in some awe, yet that prince had such numerous armies on foot, that the knights were continually on their guard for fear of being surpris'd. They added more new fortifications to the old ones, and built two towers close by the sea on that side that lies towards Limonia, and a third facing the village of St. Martha. The commander d'Au-  
 usson,

busson, made grand prior of Auvergne after the death of the chevalier Cottet, carried on those works with an attention worthy of his zeal and capacity ; nothing escaped his diligence. The grand master and the order were as attentive to his advices as if they had been so many laws. He was as it were, the soul and primum mobile of the council, and was generally the only person made use of to execute the projects he himself had formed. All affairs, whether relating to war, to the revenue, or to the fortifications, passed through his hands. He was continually surrounded with warriors, artificers and workmen, without being embarrassed either with the number or diversity of affairs. His zeal for the service of the order, and the extent and quickness of his genius, made him equal to all these different employments.

THE grand master being very old, and alwas infirm, had great need of such an assistant : he had been in a languishing condition for near a year together, when a dropsy at last carried him off. He died June 8. 1476, when they proceeded to the choice of a successor. Brother Raimond de Ricard, grand prior of St. Giles, who was in the precedent election a competitor with the last grand master, was chosen to preside at that of his successor ; and it was he who, after the usual ceremonies, notified to the assembly, that all the votes

of the electors center'd unanimously  
 PETER D'AUBUS- in the person of brother PETER  
 SON. D'AUBUSSON, grand prior of Au-  
 vergne, descended from the antient  
 viscounts of la Marche, and of one of the most illustrious  
 houses in France. It may be said, that even before his  
 election to the grand mastership, he was already their  
 chief in the good wishes of all the knights, as well  
 as those of the people, who, upon the first news of it,  
 made bonfires, and gave public testimonies of that un-  
 feigned and sincere joy which flows from the heart, and  
 which politicks and slavery can never counterfeit. So  
 happy a choice inspired the most timorous with brave-  
 ry, and they were no longer afraid of Mahomet, when  
 they

they saw d'Aubuffon at the head of affairs, with the reins of government in his hands.

HIS conduct fully answered the favourable opinion they had conceived of him, and he employed his authority for the execution of all those projects which he had before proposed only as a simple member of the council. By his orders they made a great iron chain that served to bar up the entrance of the port; and to prevent the descents and ravages of pyrates in other places of the island, he encreased the number of the towers and forts that had been built along the coast, and at certain distances from one another. He did not confine his views and cares to the preservation of the isle of Rhodes alone: he sent strong re-inforcements into the other isles belonging to the order; and from the same zeal and attention, he sent engineers to the castle of St. Peter, who, pursuant to the memoirs and plan that he delivered to them, hollowed the ditch to such a depth, that the sea-water flowed into it, and the feluccas and brigantines of the order entered there without difficulty, and lay secured from the Turks and Corsairs. Whilst this worthy sovereign of the isle of Rhodes was thus taken up entirely with its defence, Michael Salomon, envoy of Loredan, general of the Venetians, arrived in the island, with orders to reclaim a Cypriot, called Riccio Marini, one of the most zealous servants of Charlotte de Lusignan.

WE have already taken notice, that the crown of Cyprus, after continuing near three hundred years in the house of Lusignan, was usurped from Charlotte de Lusignan by her bastard brother; that the usurper, to make sure of the protection of the Venetians, had used solicitations to get a daughter of the family of Cornaro in marriage, and that the senate, to create themselves a right, or rather some pretensions to the kingdom, had granted her to him, and had given her a portion as a daughter of St. Mark. 'Tis said, that to come at this succession the sooner, the bastard was made away by poison: and a little child that he left sucking at the breast did not survive him long. The Venetians, under pre-

tence of protectorship, sent powerful succours into the island, which they soon conquered in the name of the bastard's widow, to whom they left nothing of queen but the bare name, and some insignificant ornaments only.

NEVERTHELESS, Charlotte de Lusignan, the only and rightful heiress of the crown, had always some secret adherents within the kingdom. Several schemes were formed to drive out the Venetians, but they miscarried by reason of the experience and forces of the captains of that republic. The chiefs of queen Charlotte's party were obliged to quit the isle. Every body fled for refuge where he thought he could find protection, and live in the greatest security. Riccio Marini, one of those chiefs, had retired to Rhodes. This was the occasion of Salomon's embassy; he came to demand him back of the grand master, as a seditious person and a rebel; presenting him at the same time, in the doge's name, a letter full of menaces: and Lore-dan's envoy, added with no little arrogance, that as the most serene republic had adopted Catherine Cornaro, it would consider all those as her enemies as should favour the partisans of Charlotte de Lusignan.

THEY were not used at Rhodes to hear ambassadors speak with so much arrogance. Besides the continual services which the order was doing to the republic, the knights of Rhodes did not think themselves inferior either in dignity or in forces to the gentlemen of Venice; and some of the most high spirited of this noble body of knights were for sending back Lore-dan's agent without an answer.

IF the grand master had given way to those first emotions of a secret inclination, which had attached him formerly to the person and interests of Charlotte de Lusignan, he would have answered the Venetian general's envoy with the same haughtiness, and with a courage which were both so natural to him. But what might in a private knight be considered as generosity, was not at all proper for a sovereign, who ought to shape his conduct entirely to the interest of his state:

f that the grand master, in order not to bring new enemies upon his back, when he was expecting to have all the forces of Mahomet fall upon the isle of Rhodes, qualified his answer in such a manner, that without either granting any thing to the envoy of the Venetians, or incensing them by high words, he took care to maintain equally the rights of his dignity, and the liberty of his territories. He told him, that the order, pursuant to its statutes, never intermeddled in the differences and wars that arose between Christian princes; that he required him to tell his general, that at Rhodes they neither received seditious persons or rebels; but, as was practised in every free and independent country, they likewise did not drive away such whose private misfortunes obliged them to take refuge there, and who behaved like men of honour and good Christians. With this answer he dismissed the minister.

SCARCE was this envoy gone from Rhodes when another arrived, sent by the soubachi or lieutenant to the governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood, as we have said, of the isle of Rhodes. That infidel commander, whose cruelty had no restraint but what arose from his natural avarice, had actually a great many Christians and subjects of the order in his prisons: and as he lost some or other of them every day by the severity and miseries of the slavery they endured, he resolved, contrary to the custom of his nation, to treat for their liberty. There were however suspicions, that this envoy's voyage was only a pretext invented by Mahomet to get an opportunity for a person to view the fortifications of Rhodes. Nevertheless, as the grand master had nothing more at heart than the liberty of his brother knights, he readily entered into a negotiation: this was the occasion of several voyages that the envoy made to Rhodes.

THE grand master, eager to recover those knights, and desirous at the same time to put an end to such voyages, smoothed every difficulty. Besides the sums necessary for the ransom of the slaves, which he fur-



nished out of his own purse, he also sent noble presents to the soubachi; and when the negotiator brought the knights back, his recompence was not forgot. The grand master embraced them one after another. Never did a tender mother, who after a long absence sees her only son in her arms again, discover more sensible demonstrations of joy. The knights on their side kissed his hands, bathed them with their tears, embraced his feet, and by those mute transports, which nevertheless affect the heart in the most sensible manner, endeavoured to express their acknowledgments. They called him their father and their saviour. The grand master declined these titles with great modesty. " 'Tis to the order, my children, said he to them, that you owe these expressions of your acknowledgment; and I hope you will make it an ample return, by exerting your ordinary valour against the enterprises of Mahomet, who daily threatens us with a siege."

HE had received advices to this purpose from several quarters. The order never had before a grand master who laid out such considerable sums, or employed them out so usefully in spies. He kept some even within the very walls of the seraglio. By advices from them he learned, that the Venetians were, without the knowledge of their allies, negotiating secretly a separate peace with the porte. He knew likewise from public accounts, that the king of Persia, Uffan-Cassan, the most potent of Mahomet's enemies, being worn out with years and the fatigues of war, stood now only on the defensive, without enterprising any thing against the Turks. He saw that the Christian princes, according to their constant custom, were tearing one another to pieces; and that Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary was making a bloody war against the emperor Frederic: from whence he concluded, that Mahomet would take advantage of these divisions, and infallibly turn his arms the next year against the isle of Rhodes.

THE grand master, in order not to be taken unprepared, stored the magazines with ammunition and pro-

provisions ; and the isle of Rhodes not having a sufficient number of knights for its defence, he called a general chapter, and in the summons directed to the grand priors, he ordered all the knights to repair immediately to Rhodes with their arms, and in an equipage suitable to their profession. We find a copy of this summons in Italian in Bosio's history ; the original is still preserved in the archives of Malta, and we believe the reader will not be displeas'd to see an extract of it in this place.

MY DEAREST BRETHREN,

“ IN the midst of the greatest dangers with which  
 “ Rhodes is threatened, we have thought that no succour  
 “ was more to be depended on than a general  
 “ summons, and a speedy assembly of all our brethren.  
 “ The enemy is at our gates ; the proud Mahomet sets  
 “ no bounds to his ambitious projects ; his power be-  
 “ comes more formidable every day : he has an innu-  
 “ merable multitude of soldiers, excellent captains,  
 “ and immense treasures : all this is designed against  
 “ us ; he is bent upon our destruction ; I have the  
 “ most certain advices of it. His troops are already  
 “ in motion ; the neighbouring provinces are filled  
 “ with them ; they are all filing down towards Caria  
 “ and Lycia : a prodigious number of vessels and gal-  
 “ lies wait only for the spring, and the return of fine  
 “ weather, to pass into our island. What do we wait  
 “ for ? Can you be insensible that foreign succours,  
 “ which are generally very weak, and always uncer-  
 “ tain, are at a distance from us ? We have no resource  
 “ but in our own valour, and we are ruined if we do  
 “ not save ourselves. The solemn vows that ye have  
 “ made, my brethren, oblige you to quit all, to obey  
 “ our orders. 'Tis in virtue of those holy promises,  
 “ made to the God of heaven before his altar, that I  
 “ now summon you. Return without losing a mo-  
 “ ment into our dominions, or rather into your own ;  
 “ hasten with equal zeal and courage to the succour

“ of the order. ’Tis your mother that calls to you ;  
 “ ’tis a tender mother that has nursed and brought you  
 “ up in her bosom that is now in danger. Is it pos-  
 “ sible there should be found one single knight unna-  
 “ tural enough to abandon her to the fury of the bar-  
 “ barians ? No, my brethren, I have no apprehensi-  
 “ ons of that kind. Sentiments so mean and impious  
 “ are not at all agreeable to the nobleness of your ex-  
 “ traction, and are still more inconsistent with the pi-  
 “ ety and valour that you profess.”

THIS summons, dispersed over all Europe, raised the zeal and ardour of the knights. They all set eagerly about preparing their equipages. To raise money with the greater expedition, they sold their household goods ; they let and farm out their commandries at low rates ; every one takes measures for his setting out, and his passage : and the thing they all stand most in fear of is, of their not arriving soon enough at Rhodes. Some sovereigns, edified with their zeal, sent several kinds of succour thither. The most considerable came from France. Lewis XI. who was then on the throne, prevailed with pope Sixtus IV. to grant a jubilee and indulgences to all persons who should assist the knights. This jubilee raised considerable sums in a very short time, which were remitted immediately into the east, and were, by the grand master’s orders, employed in raising some new fortifications which he thought proper to make about the castle and bulwarks of the city of Rhodes.

MAHOMET heard with no little uneasiness, that they had penetrated into his designs ; and to hinder this discovery from putting the Christian princes in motion, and producing at last some formidable league against him, he tried, under colour of a negotiation of peace with the grand master, and by an embassy that should make a noise in the world, to cool the zeal of such as were preparing to take arms. But as he was the proudest of all men living, he would not expose himself to a refusal from the knights, and therefore gave that com-  
 mission

mission to prince Zem or Zizim one of his children, and Cheleby his nephew, whose governments lay near Rhodes, ordering them to employ in this negotiation a renegado Greek, Demetrius Sophian by name, being a person of whose address and capacity he was thoroughly satisfied.

THE two Turkish princes, pursuant to the orders they had received from the grand seignior, sent d'Aubusson a letter, full of expressions of esteem for his person, and for all the knights of his order. It was even stuffed with a set of flattering compliments, a stile very seldom used by those barbarians; and the princes concluded it with inviting him to make a solid peace with his highness, for which they offered their mediation and credit at the porte.

THE renegado Greek was entrusted with this letter and the negotiation, the secret of which, as they pretend, was confided to him only, and that even the two young princes themselves knew nothing of it. He came to Rhodes, presented his credentials to the grand master, and when they were entering upon the negotiation, he represented, that the only thing the grand seignior insisted on, in order to make a solid and lasting peace between them, was a small tribute. To engage him to come into it the more readily, he urged farther, that the senate of Venice, to obtain the like treaty, had made no difficulty to oblige themselves to send eight thousand ducats of gold every year to the porte; but that he should get off at a much cheaper rate, though, says he, there is no paying too dear for the friendship of so potent a prince that makes all others tremble.

THE grand master had already received advice of the renegado's embassy from the spies that he kept in Constantinople, and also that the design of it was only to lull him into a security, and surprise him: so that to make his own advantage of it, and employ against Mahomet the very artifice he made use of to deceive him, he very prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. He even shewed an entire confidence in the ambassador's  
word,

word, and told him, that he should be greatly pleased if he could come to a solid peace with the grand seignior; but added, that his order being under the particular protection of the sovereign pontiff of the Christians, and possessed of great estates in the dominions of most of the princes of Europe, he could conclude nothing without their participation: however, he did not believe that they would oppose a treaty which would establish a solid peace between the two powers; that he was likewise persuaded the council of the order would readily come into it; but in order to obtain the consent of the knights, there must not be any mention made of a tribute, the very name of which was odious to them: that he was nevertheless going to write about it immediately to Rome, and to dispatch ambassadors into all the courts of Christendom, and desired only three months time to receive answers from thence.

THE grand master, who was a person of excellent abilities, was desirous to obtain time enough, and a free passage for the knights, who were at a distance, to repair to Rhodes; and therefore added, with a specious sincerity, that in the favourable disposition in which the grand seignior seemed of treating in good earnest with the order, he fancied it would be for both their interests, and also prevent their exasperating one another by any new enterprises, to make a suspension of arms, and restore a liberty of commerce between their subjects, at least for the three months which he demanded for the obtaining of answers from Europe.

THE grand master, after this conference, and not to keep a renegado, whom he looked upon as a spy, any longer in Rhodes, dismissed him, giving him a letter for the two young Ottoman princes, wherein, after answering their civilities with all the politeness that was proper for him to make use of, he added, agreeably to what he had told their ambassador, that he could not conclude a treaty of that importance without the participation of the pope, and most of the princes of Christendom.

The ambassador, upon his return, gave the two Ottoman princes, an account of his negotiation. He  
told



told them, that he found the grand master would willingly treat of peace, but made them sensible withal, that that prince would never consent to the payment of any tribute, and that he would be disowned by his own order if he should consent to it. The two princes, who thought they should make their court to Mahomet by forwarding the negotiation, and indeed acted in it *bona fide*, sent the embassdor back with orders to alter the name of tribute to that of a present, the worth and value of which should be settled by the knights themselves. They gave him commission at the same time to conclude a suspension of arms for the time the grand master insisted on. D'Aubusson being well informed, that their only design was to amuse him by these different proposals, was very firm in rejecting the condition of a present, and of every thing that had the air of a tribute; and demanded only the necessary time to learn the intentions of the pope and the Christian princes, in hopes of getting succours from Europe. The Greek, not able to get any more, concluded, in order to keep the negotiation still on foot, the suspension of arms and liberty of commerce with him, which was afterwards confirmed by a second embassador sent to Rhodes by Mahomet himself.

THOUGH this prince, presuming upon his forces, usually carried on his enterprises with an air of pomp and haughtiness, he nevertheless thought proper on this occasion to make use of such artifices, and this negotiation, in order that the news of it might pass over into Europe, and that the noise of an approaching peace, which his emissaries took care to spread abroad, might cool the zeal of the Christian princes, and abate the eagerness of the knights: this was the end he proposed by all his insidious conduct. The grand master on his side appeared indeed ready to hear his proposals, but did it only with a view of facilitating the passage of the knights, and to gain time to carry on other treaties that were full as important, and more to be depended on, and which were at that time actually negotiating at Rhodes.

THERE was in this city an envoy of the foldan of Egypt, Douan Diodar by name, and who at the same time was his favourite: he was come to renew the antient treaties of peace with the knights. The reader may have observed in the course of this history, that the order of St. John, from its first foundation, had had two sorts of enemies to oppose, both of them Mahometans, and equally formidable. The first were the Arabians or Sarazens of Egypt, who had taken from the Christians, as has been seen, Palestine, Phœnicia, and part of Syria. The Turks of the Ottoman race, ever since the conquest of Rhodes by the knights, became likewise their professed enemies: and sometimes these two sorts of enemies, though jealous of one another, had joined their forces against a military order, which with its fleets and gallies disturbed the commerce of their merchants, and the enterprises of their corsairs. But the forces of the order not being sufficient to resist both these potentates at the same time, the grand masters and the council had always carefully endeavoured to be at peace with one nation, whenever they were in war with the other; by this wise policy balancing their power and keeping their forces divided.

THE report that Rhodes was threatned with a siege being carried into Egypt, made the foldan fear lest Mahomet should succeed in his enterprize. Were he to have chosen his neighbours, he had rather have the weaker; and therefore to leave the knights under no manner of apprehensions from his quarter, he had sent his favourite to Rhodes, in order to renew the last treaties of peace with them. The grand master received the first overtures thereof with the more pleasure, in that he plainly saw the foldan's own interest would be sufficient to make the new treaty lasting.

THUS they entered upon business with a mutual confidence; and after some conferences, they agreed, that the vessels of the order should not for the future molest those of Egypt in their commerce, and that the knights should not suffer their subjects to serve for soldiers, pilots or guides to the foldan's enemies. The  
foldan

soldan, by a reciprocal stipulation, engaged to undertake nothing contrary to the interests of the grand master, and promised, that the vessels of the order should be well received in his ports; that if they were pursued by their enemies, the Sarazens should be bound to defend them; that when the subjects of the grand master should pass through the soldan's territories in their way to the holy land, they should not exact any duty from them; that they should not detain any Christian slave after he was set at liberty by his master or patron; and that with regard to other Christian slaves, they should be exchanged for Sarazens who were in slavery at Rhodes, by a Sarazen for a Christian.

THE grand master made a treaty with the king of Tunis, another Mahometan prince, almost on the same conditions, with this addition only, that the order might, whenever it had occasion, take up in his dominions thirty thousand <sup>a</sup> hogsheds of corn, without paying any duty of transportation or exportation.

DURING these several negotiations, a great number of knights from all parts of Christendom arrived at Rhodes; but as they were still expecting a greater number, the chapter was prorogued till the 28th of October, when the grand master opened it. "Generous knights, says he to them, an occasion has at last presented it self for you to show your zeal and courage against the enemies of the faith. In this holy war, Jesus Christ himself will be your leader; he will never, my brethren, abandon such as fight in his service. In vain does Mahomet, that impious prince, who acknowledges no deity but his own power, brag that he will extirpate our order. If he hath more numerous troops than we, they are composed only of a vile set of slaves, whom they are forced to drag into dangers, and that expose themselves to death only to avoid a death which they are threatened

<sup>a</sup> The original is thirty thousand muids, each of which is about five quarters, or a comb and a bushel.

“ threatened with by their officers : whereas I see none  
 “ in your illustrious body but gentlemen of noble birth,  
 “ educated in virtue, resolute either to vanquish or die  
 “ and whose piety and valour are certain pledges of  
 “ victory.”

THE knights that composed the assembly, made no other answer to this moving discourse, than by declaring their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the order ; and that the service might not suffer, or be retarded through the diversity of the commanding officers, and the slowness of counsels, the whole chapter begged of the grand master to take upon himself alone the command of the forces, and administration of the revenue, and to exercise both with an absolute authority. This was a sort of dictatorship which they thought fit to invest him with, till such time as the storm which Mahomet threatened the order with was blown over. The grand master would fain have declined so vast and unusual a power out of modesty, and represented to them, that those different employments would be better filled, if divided between several knights : but the whole chapter had so entire a confidence in his capacity, and the zeal he had shewn for the good of the order, and made him such pressing instances to accept it, that he found himself unable to resist them.

THE first use he made of it was to name four general officers, whom they called at that time auxiliary captains, or adjutant generals, who were each of them to command in the quarter assigned them. He chose for these several employments, the hospitaller, the admiral, the chancellor and the treasurer of the order : and the chevalier Rodolph de Wartemberg, grand prior of Brandenburg, was chose general of the horse : the grand master at the head of these prime officers was every day visiting the fortifications and outworks of the place.

BY his orders they pulled down all the country houses that stood too near it : they cut down the trees, and even demolished the churches of St. Anthony and

Notre

Notre Dame of Philermé, which would have been serviceable to the enemy in the siege. The Rhodians could not see their country houses, and the delicious gardens that lay all round the town destroyed, without feeling a sensible concern ; but the publick safety prevailed over all other considerations, so that nothing was spared ; but before they destroyed the church of our lady of Philermé, they removed thence an image of the virgin, which had been kept there from time immemorial, to whom they paid a religious worship, and carried it to the principal church of the city.

THE grand master, to leave no forage or pasture for the enemies cavalry, caused all the corn of the country to be cut down, and assigned the peasants of each quarter particular forts, to which, upon the arrival of the infidels, they might respectively retire. The same genius for providing against every thing that might happen, made him, as he surveyed the sea-shore, examine together with his officers the places from whence they might best oppose the descents of the enemy ; those where it would be most proper for them to entrench themselves, if they should happen to be too hard pressed ; the cuts and intrenchments they might be obliged to make behind the walls, if they should be beaten down by the force of the artillery. His views were too extensive and too just to overlook any thing : the fortifications, artillery, arms, provisions, and revenue, every thing passed under his inspection, and his care extended to the meanest of the inhabitants, to provide for their subsistence as well as for that of the knights and troops which composed the garrison.

HAPPILY for his assistance in dispatching so great a variety of business, that besides a great number of knights of all nations already arrived at Rhodes, there also came thither Bertrand de Gluys grand prior of France, Charles de Montholon, and several other knights of the three languages of that kingdom. They were soon followed by brother John Daw great bailiff of Germany, who arrived at Rhodes with a good number of commanders and knights of his nation, and a



body of troops which was more considerable for the choice and valour of the soldiers of which it was composed, than their number. Some noblemen and gentlemen of France, upon the first news they had of Rhodes being threatened with a siege, hastened hither, out of a pure principle of generosity, with a train of attendants suitable to their quality: In the list of these noble warriors are reckon'd Anthony d'Aubuffon, vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's elder brother. These lords descended by their father's side in the male line from Raimond seignior of Monteil-au-vicomte and la Feuillade, second son of Renaud the seventh of the name, vicomte d'Aubuffon, whose grand-father in the eighth degree of ascent was Renaud d'Aubuffon the first of that name, and elder brother of Turpin d'Aubuffon, who, in consideration of his piety and his noble extraction, was elected bishop of Limoges in the year 898, as Aimar de Chabanois relates in his chronicle. His mother was of the house of Combron, a most illustrious and very powerful family, and allied to several sovereign princes.

THE vicomte d'Aubuffon was accompanied by Lewis de Craon, a nobleman of one of the first families of Anjou, and by Benedict Scaliger or della Scala, whose ancestors had been sovereigns of Verona: and this lord brought several companies of foot with him from Italy at his own expence to the assistance of the order. Among these brave adventurers were likewise Lewis Sanguin of Paris, Claude Colomb of Bourdeaux, Matthew Brangelier of Perigord, and Charles le Roi of Dijon. The grand master, at the request of all the council, gave the general direction of military affairs to the vicomte de Montiel, and assigned particular quarters for the other volunteers to defend. An heroick emulation soon rose up and prevailed between these secular knights, and the knights of the order; and the same emulation broke out between the Greek and Latin inhabitants, and passed afterwards to the very women and children, who vied with one another in working at the in-

trench-

trenchments which the grand master had ordered to be made.

THESE knights and gallant volunteers, inflamed with a desire of meeting with an opportunity to signalize themselves, expected the arrival of the infidels with impatience; but they did not wait for them long. Mahomet grew weary of dissembling and acting a part so contrary to his natural pride. He gave over feigning, and declared openly the design he had formed of attacking the isle of Rhodes, the conquest whereof he looked upon as a foundation for that of all Asia, which his ambition grasped after, as what would give the finishing stroke to his glory.

HE was strongly confirmed in this design by the grand vizier, or first basha, as he was stiled at that time, called Misach Paleologus. This vizier was a Greek prince of the imperial family, born a Christian, but who upon the taking of Constantinople had turned Mahometan to prevent his being put to death, a punishment which Mahomet inflicted on all the heirs of the empire. His valour, his services, his address, and his entire complaisance for all the sultan's inclinations and humours raised him afterwards to the dignity of vizier; and that that prince might not have the least suspicion because of his having changed his religion, he affected to shew himself an implacable enemy to all Christian princes, and especially to the grand master and the knights of Rhodes.

IN order to facilitate his master's conquest of that island, he brought to his court three famous renegades who had drawn the plan of it. The first, Anthony Meligalle by name, was of the city of Rhodes itself, and of a noble family; but having spent his patrimony and the inheritance of his fathers in luxury and debauchery, he flattered himself, as his last shift, with the hopes of getting some advantages by the change of his religion. The second was Demetrius Sophian, the same that Mahomet employed to carry sultan Zizim's letters to Rhodes; a man of parts, and very fit for negotiations, but suspected of dealing in magick, and of applying

himself to the search of those parts of knowledge which some whimsical people call the occult sciences. The third of these renegadoes was a German engineer, called George Frapan by name, but commonly called inalter George; a man of parts, a good geometrician, and particularly distinguished by his talents in the management of the artillery. Mahomet, who spared for nothing to engage such men in his service as might be useful to him, gave him a considerable pension. The German had by his order surveyed most of the Christian strong places, upon which the sultan could have any design; had drawn plans of them; and among other things had brought him a very exact one of the city of Rhodes and the adjacent parts.

THE basha, to flatter the inclinations of the sultan, spake to him of these three renegadoes as of persons very proper to give success to his designs. Mahomet sent for them; when upon their being introduced into his presence, they, in order to make themselves more agreeable, in concert with the minister, told him, that the greatest part of the walls of Rhodes were falling down; that there was a great scarcity of ammunition in the place, and that the pretended succours from Europe, with the hopes of which the knights flattered themselves, were very uncertain, by reason of the continual wars between the Christian princes. Each of the three renegadoes presented him with a plan of the city of Rhodes: that of the German was found to be the most regular; and it was upon this plan that the sultan regulated the order of the attacks, and every thing that was to be executed in order to succeed in so important an enterprize.

THE sultan, hurried away by his impatience, would needs have the basha set out, and without waiting for the great army, go in person to reconnoitre the place. Upon which he commanded him to embark forthwith aboard some light frigates and vessels of low decks, with some companies of janizaries and spahis. He was followed by the three renegadoes to whom that prince promised a noble reward, provided they could but contribute

tribute to make him master of Rhodes. In their passage the Rhodian Meligalle, who had been infirm for a long time, was seized with a loathsome illness: his flesh was covered all over with ulcers, and fell off piece-meal; and before he expired, he was in a manner buried in rottenness and corruption.

IN the mean time the basha Paleologus was sailing on, and soon appeared in sight of the isle of Rhodes, and on the fourth of December came to an anchor off the fortress of Fano. He immediately landed some companies of spahi to reconnoitre, pursuant to his instructions, and see if he could make a descent in that place himself. The bailiff of Brandenburgh who commanded the light horse of the order, suffered these scouts, who were very thirsty of plunder, to advance up into the country, where he fell upon them, killed part of them, drove the rest before him to the sea side, and forced them to re-imbark. The basha, after having taken them on board, put off to sea; and that he might not lie idle with his master's troops, whilst he waited for the coming up of the great fleet, he endeavoured at a descent on the isle of Tilo which belonged to the order. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the fortress, where there was a strong garrison, consisting chiefly of knights.

PALEOLOGUS battered the place with all his artillery for eight days together; the breach appearing practicable, he ordered the spahi to alight, and led them on himself to the assault. He flattered himself that he should carry the castle in a moment; but he had not yet tried the valour of the defendants. The knights that were in it made so vigorous a resistance, that the basha, after seeing the bravest of his men drop at the foot of the walls, was obliged to sound a retreat. He saw plainly, from the courage of the besieged, that if he should persist in his obstinacy of carrying on the siege, he would be obliged to begin it in form with opening trenches, and proceed in the ordinary rules of war. But not having a body of troops sufficient for such an enterprise, and the weather not being favourable, he raised the siege

with greater shame than loss, re-embarked a second time, and arrived at the port of Phisico in Lycia. situated twenty two, others say eighteen miles from Rhodes. This was the rendezvous as well for the main fleet as for the land forces, which were quartered in that and the adjoining provinces till the return of the spring.

'Twas not till the latter end of April that the main fleet of the Infidels set sail from Gallipoli, passed the Hellespont, entered the river of Lycia, and came in sight of the isle of Rhodes. The guard posted on the top of mount St. Stephen made the signal to give notice that it was in sight. The grand master hastened thither immediately with the principal sea officers, who judged by its working that it was going to the port of Phisico, there to take on board the troops that were in the adjacent parts. The event shewed that his conjecture was just and well founded, for 'twas in this port that the embarkation was made. They reckoned in this fleet an hundred and sixty vessels with high decks, besides feluccas, galiots, flat-bottomed vessels and transports: and spake of the land forces as making at least an hundred thousand men. This formidable armado arrived at last before Rhodes, on May 23. 1480.

WE have already taken notice of the situation of this island, on occasion of the conquest which the knights made of it under the mastership of Fulk de Villaret: so that to give a clear notion of what follows, we need only remark, that the capital of the isle, which bears the same name, is situated by the sea side, upon the side of a hill, which at that time was planted with orange-trees, pomegranates, excellent muscadine grapes, and vines of various sorts. The place had a double wall about it, and was fortified with great towers at proper distances. These walls and towers were sustained on the inside of the town by a rampart, and on the outside there was a very broad and deep ditch. There were two ports belonging to it, of which the first that we meet with in coming to land there, served to secure the gallies, and the mouth of it was defended by a platform, upon which there was a tower looking



ing to the east, and called Fort St. Elme. The great ships lay in the other port, which was fortified with two towers; the one called the tower of St. John, and the other St. Michael's tower. They pretend, that the two feet of the famous Colossus of brass, of which we have already spoken, and which passed for one of the seven wonders of the world, were formerly placed on the very spot where these two towers stand, on two rocks that are over against one another. Near this port there are two little bays, one of them looking to the north, and the other to the south: that which looks to the north had its entrance commanded by a mole, which ran out above three hundred paces into the sea; 'twas at the further end of this mole that the grand master Zacoſta built the fortrefs which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that ſaint, and incloſed within the walls of the fort. At the extremity of the other bay, towards the ſouth, there is another tower, but not ſo conſiderable as the firſt: however, it ſerved well enough on its ſide to defend the entrance of the port. This tower hindered any veſſel from either going in or coming out of it. Two miles from the town was the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, and a little further, but on another ſide, was mount Philermé, famous for the devotion of the people of the iſland, and other Chriſtian people in the neighbourhood, who came in pilgrimage to viſit the church that was built there in honour of the holy virgin. Such was the ſituation of the city of Rhodes, and the parts adjacent, when it was beſieged by the baſha Paleologus.

THE ſea near the ſhore was then covered with the fleet of the Turks, who made continual diſcharges of their artillery, in order to favour their deſcent. They were answered by the cannon of the city and the forts; and the knights, pushed on by their valour, advanced ſword in hand in the water up to the middle, to prevent and ſtop the Turks from landing. Much blood was ſpilt on this firſt occaſion; but in ſpite of all the efforts of the Chriſtians, their bravery was forced to yield

yield to the numberless multitudes of the infidels. Those barbarians divided their troops; and whilst a part of them employed all the forces of the knights, the greater number landed in crowds in remote places, where there was less opposition. At length the whole army landed; they advanced to the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, where they immediately intrenched themselves; and after landing their artillery sent to summon the place, using both threats and promises, which were slighted alike.

SEVERAL detachments of infidels appeared soon after in the plain: the principal commanders that were at their head, advanced to reconnoitre the fortifications of the place. There was no approaching them without danger, and the vigorous sallies that were made obliged them to take to their heels, and fly back to their camp. In one of these sallies, wherein the vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's brother, commanded, the renegado Demetrius lost his life. His horse was killed under him; he fell to the ground; and the weight of his armour hindering him from rising, some squadrons that were in pursuit of the enemy, rode over him and crushed him to death. The order also, on this occasion, lost the chevalier de Murat, of the language of Auvergne, and of the illustrious house of la Tour, who pushing the infidels with more eagerness than prudence, was surrounded by a squadron of spahi, who cut off his head.

FROM these light skirmishes which were of no great moment on either side, it was necessary to come to more regular attacks. The German engineer, after having viewed all the out-works of the place, advised the basha to make his first attack on the tower of St. Nicholas, flattering him with the hopes of being soon master of the port and city, provided he could once take that fortress. Paleologus following his advice, planted immediately a battery of three large pieces of cannon near the church of St. Anthony, which began to batter the tower. The grand master on his side, ordered a counter-battery to be raised in the garden of  
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the language of Auvergne, which made full as great a fire : and the gunners on both sides did all they could to dismount the cannon on the opposite batteries. This however was but a slight prelude to the terrible thunder that was heard, when the basha had erected all his batteries, and planted on them that prodigious number of cannon of all sizes, which he had ordered to be brought into his camp.

THE German engineer, to join artifice to open force, and find means to reconnoitre the weak places of the town, concerting the matter first with the Turkish general, presented himself the next day as a deserter on the edge of the ditch, and in a suppliant posture, as if he was afraid of being taken, begged the guard to open him the wicket that moment.<sup>a</sup> The grand master having notice of it, ordered him to be let in, and he was conducted straight to his palace. He was a tall handsome man, had a good air, was subtle in his discourse, and concealed under an ingenuous outside all the address of a cunning and deceitful villain.

THE grand master, who had the council of the order about him, asked him the reason why he had quitted the service of so potent a prince as Mahomet, especially when he exposed himself, if the place was taken, to the cruel tortures and executions with which they punished deserters. The perfidious German, without changing colour, and with that air of sincerity which peculiarly distinguishes his nation, dissembled his change of religion, and answered that he was a Christian; that greediness of gain and hope of reward had engaged him, as they had several other Christians, to follow the grand seignior's standard; but that ever since that prince's army was landed in the isle of Rhodes, he had felt such a terrible remorse of conscience, that he was not able to bear the reproaches of it any longer, and was therefore come cordially to offer him his service, and to sacrifice his life in the defence of Rhodes and the order.

THE

<sup>a</sup> Relation de Merry de Dupuy, auteur contemporain. p. 177

THE grand master, though always on his guard against deserters, did not discover the least sign of diffidence; on the contrary, he extolled the pious motives that had brought him back into the service of Christian princes: and then asked him with all the shew and air of confidence imaginable, what might be the designs, and also the number of the forces of the basha.

“THE basha, replied the German, hath but too plainly declared his own designs, and those of his master, by his attacks. As for his forces, you yourself may have seen how numerous and formidable his fleet is. The land forces consist of above an hundred thousand men, most of them old soldiers, who have followed Amurath and Mahomet his son in all their conquests. But his artillery is what a besieged town ought to dread the most. Never had any general so vast a number of cannon in his army, and at the same time so well managed: and besides his ordinary cannon, he has, since his arrival in the island, caused sixteen great pieces of cannon to be cast, called basilisks or double cannon, eighteen foot long, and carrying ball of two or three feet diameter.” He continued further to say, that his mortars were altogether as dreadful in their effects, and that they threw stones of a prodigious bigness. “You will feel immediately, said he, the fury of those infernal machines, against which you cannot take your precautions too soon.” To gain the grand master’s confidence, and make that confidence a step to the treason he designed, he gave him several advices of great importance for the defence of the place, and which in the event proved very useful.

SEVERAL lords of the council who heard him, thought the villain very sincere in all he said; others, who remembered they had seen him formerly in that very city of Rhodes, told the master privately, that he had ever since that time been looked upon as an adventurer and a vagabond that had no religion, and was capable of doing and attempting any thing for money.

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This made an impression, but what completed to make him suspected, was, that they shot at the same time into the town billets fixed to arrows, which had only these words wrote in them, "Beware of master George." These were immediately carried to the grand master; and in the council, some in their plain way of thinking attributed these advices to the grand seignior's Christian subjects, whom he forced to serve in his armies. Others maintained that it might be an artifice of the basha's own, who affected to discredit his spy in order to recommend him the more to the confidence of the knights. The grand master, that he might run no hazard, and at the same time make, if possible, an advantage of the talents of this engineer, ordered the officers of the artillery to get out of him whatever might be useful for the defence of the place, but at the same time to watch him as a spy. And in order to prevent his getting out of the city, or holding any correspondence with the Turks, he set six soldiers as a guard over him, who never lost sight of him wherever he went. The German, pursuant to his orders, would fain have reconnoitred the weakest places of the town; but as soon as he came near a bulwark or a bastion, he was always accosted by some commander or other, who, with a cold and severe air, asked him what he wanted: so that fearing to make himself at last suspected, and to be treated as a spy, he kept himself retired in the lodging that was assigned him.

THE basha, whilst he was waiting the success of his treason, and their mutual intelligence,<sup>a</sup> continued battering the tower of St. Nicholas with his biggest artillery: they fired above three hundred cannon-shot against it; the side towards the sea, which was strengthened with a rampart, bore the brunt of the artillery very well; but that part of the wall which was over against the town was entirely beaten down. The stones and rubbish by a lucky accident stopped at the foot of the wall, heaped one upon another, but in the form of  
a slope,

<sup>a</sup> Caoursin. p. 3. verso.



a slope, so that it served on the outside as a second wall.

THE grand master however, knowing that the safety of the town depended on the preservation of this fort, sent the flower of his knights into it under the conduct of the commander Carreto, of the language of Italy, a knight of approved valour, and considered as one of the first of the order. These gallant knights worked night and day to intrench themselves, and raised batteries to defend the breach. The grand master, observing that in certain places the sea was sometimes so low, that the Turks might ford it, and get upon the mole, caused tables and planks thick set with nails and iron spikes to be thrown into the water to spoil the bottom. At the same time they fit out some fire ships at the foot of the rocks that lay about the tower, to set fire to the enemy's galleys if they should offer to approach too near. A body of French and Spanish knights post themselves by his order in the town ditch, in order to defend the approaches, or upon the least signal to throw themselves into the fort, and re-inforce the garrison. After all these precautions, the grand master, not caring to leave the defence of so important a place to any body's care but his own, threw himself into it with the viscount de Monteil his brother, and other volunteers, who would needs share with him in the manifest danger to which he was exposing himself.

AND indeed the basha orders the assault to be given the next day, which was the ninth of June ; and two hours before day break his galleys and light vessels, with a body of infantry aboard, advance towards the tower with a favourable wind. They soon reach the mole, their soldiers leap ashore with great shouts, and advanced boldly to the assault in spite of all the fire made from several batteries that played upon them. The difficulty of mounting the breach obliged them to make use of ladders ; they clapped them on with an air of intrepidity to that heap of stones which the cannon had beat down, and which served as a forewall to the place,  
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and mounted to the storm sword in hand, with a resolution great enough to astonish any other men but the knights. The grand master was upon the breach, and performed the office of a captain and a soldier at one and the same time. His armour was pierced through in several places in this engagement, and a shard of stone having carried off his helmet without wounding him, he, without any concern at all, took off the hat of the first soldier that stood next him. The fear of other accidents still more fatal, made the knights, who knew not what it was to tremble for themselves, to be under the greatest apprehensions for the safety of the grand master: and the commander Caretto begging him with great respect, in the name of the whole order, to retire, and leave the care of defending the breach to his knights, "This, says he to him, is the post of honour that belongs to your grand master:" And turning himself towards Caretto, "And if I am killed there, added he, with an obliging simile, you have more to hope than I have to fear:" giving him thereby to understand, that his great valour made him think he merited to be his successor.

THE knights following the example, and fighting in the presence of the grand master, lined the breach; and for want of a wall, made a rampart with their bodies. Some overturn the scaling ladders; others throw down masses of vast weight, that crush the besiegers to pieces in their fall; nor are there wanting some who throw fire-works and boiling oil on the assailants: every one has a share in the attack, and all exert themselves in a resistance that seems to be superior to human strength. The Turks don't appear any way daunted; not one of them draws back from danger. If the knights strike any of them down from the ladders, their places are immediately supplied by others who press on to mount. Such as could not get to the posts of danger at the foot of the wall, fired upon the breach with their muskets, annoyed the knights with their arrows, or else tried to lay hold of them

with cramp-irons fastened to cords, and so pull them down to the ground in order to cut them to pieces.

'TWOULD be impossible to relate all the actions of the most finished valour that were performed by private persons of each party : history has not preserved the particulars of them. At length fire, whose strength is greater and more terrible than that of men, determined the fate of this furious attack. The fireships of the order fastening themselves to several of the Turkish gallies, set them on fire ; the cannon of the city play'd upon the rest ; and the knights, whose force and courage seemed to redouble with the heat of the attack, made such a dreadful fire with their small shot, that the infidels, after the loss of their principal leaders, took to their heels, and in their precipitate retreat, were drowned or killed in great numbers on the sea-shore, as they were crowding to get aboard their vessels.

THIS ill success, instead of daunting the basha, did but exasperate him the more against the knights. But that he might not shew an unreasonable obstinacy in continuing the attack of a place whither the grand master seemed to have drawn all his forces, he turned all his efforts against the body of the place. By his orders two attacks were carried on at the same time, one against the quarter of the Jews, and the other towards the post of the Italian inn. But the latter was only a false attack ; the true one was against the Jews wall : the basha raised several batteries to beat it down ; and though, as historians of that time relate, it was twenty eight foot thick, yet being old, and not strengthened by a rampart, the force of the artillery soon put it in a tottering condition. The grand master, in order to be provided for the Turks if they should attempt a storm, ordered several houses to be pulled down, and dug a very broad and deep ditch on the spot where they stood, behind which they raised a new brick wall, sustained by a thick rampart, a work which seems incredible considering the short time employed in finishing it. But as they all saw the necessity of it, and the danger

danger the town was exposed to, every body worked at it with equal ardor. The grand master himself, and the most antient commanders by his example, performed the office of workmen and pioneers. All the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, worked night and day: and the Greeks and Latins, who had such frequent disputes in time of peace, now laid all aside, except that of a generous emulation, in striving who should first finish the task they had taken upon themselves. The Jewish women, as well as the Christian, being threatened with an odious slavery, and dreading still more the indignities they should be exposed to, if the city should be taken by storm, drudged at the work as well as the men. The very nuns came out of their convents, and assisted the workmen with an incredible zeal. Every body was then a soldier or pioneer. Every one conspired and united in the defence of their common country; and it was owing to this general zeal that the grand master was able in so short a time to finish such great works, which in any other juncture could not have been performed in several months.

IN the mean time the artillery of the Infidels was continually battering the wall; nothing could resist their basilisks and great cannon: and the noise of them was heard from the isle of Lango, which is an hundred miles west of Rhodes to the isle of Chateauroux, which is the same distance from it to the east. Their mortars at the same time threw stones of prodigious size, which flying through the air by the force of powder fell into the city, and lighting upon houses, broke through the roofs, made their way through the several stories, and crush'd to pieces all that they fell upon: no body was safe from them; and it was this kind of attack that gave the greatest terror to the Rhodians.

THE grand master, to lodge the women and children especially in a place of security, ordered them to retire into a quarter of the city that lay farthest distant from the batteries, and was to the west between the houses and ramparts. On this place they laid great beams, by way of roof, and made it so substantial and thick, that there was no manner of danger from the great stones:

and to pay the basha in his own coin, the grand master, with the help of the most skilful engineers, set the carpenters of the town at work to make a wooden engine that would also throw quarries of stone of a prodigious bulk : and these stones not only crush'd all the soldiers to pieces that were within their reach, but their vast weight falling upon hollow ground, they broke through and killed the workmen in the bottom of their mines. The knights out of raillery called this machine *THE TRIBUTE*, alluding to that which Mahomet \* demanded of the order; and giving him withal to understand that he was to expect no other kind of payment.

IN the mean time the general of the Infidels pushed on his approaches with vigour ; and his artillery having made great breaches, he sent to reconnoitre them, in order to an assault. But he was strangely surpris'd to learn, that the knights had made a deep ditch, and rais'd a new wall behind the old one. He was likewise told by some deserters, that by the grand master's care and vigilance, the women and children especially had no occasion to dread the terrible effect of the stones, which now would only fall upon empty houses.

*THE* basha, enraged to find in the grand master's single person continual obstacles to all his enterprizes, resolv'd to get rid of him at any rate, and get him dispatched by dagger or poison. For the execution of this base design, he pitched upon two deserters of the garrison, who since their desertion had renounced the faith ; the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. These two renegadoes, tempted by the alluring promises of the basha, and in concert with him, quitted his army, and got back into the town, as if they had made their escape out of the hands of the Infidels after having been taken in a sally. They received them into the place with joy, and without the least diffidence. The villains were already beginning to rejoice for the success which they expected in their undertaking ; the Dalmatian, as they pretend, had actually bribed an inferior

\* Caoursin, p. 7.



ferior officer of his table, who only waited a favourable opportunity to execute the horrid conspiracy. The Albanian, who was acquainted with the grand master's secretary, finding him discontented with that prince, was imprudent enough to open himself to him; and shewing him letters sealed with the basha's seal, promised him the first dignities of the empire, and immense wealth, if he would execute what the Albanian proposed to him in his name. The secretary, who was a man of great honour, discovered it immediately to the grand master; upon which the Albanian was seized, and being put to the torture discovered his accomplice; but before they could be carried to the place of execution they were both torn to pieces by the people.

THE basha, not discouraged at the ill success of his shameful and abominable design, had again recourse to open force, and without quitting the attack of the Jews quarter, he, by the advice of the principal officers of his army, resumed the first project of the German, and resolved to carry the tower of St. Nicholas.

A CANAL, which indeed was pretty narrow, ran between this tower and the place where the Infidels were encamped; and in order to attack it, it was necessary to cross the canal, or that little arm of the sea which is formed by one of the bays before mentioned. The general of the galleys, the commander of the troops of Anatolia, and Merla-Bey, son-in-law to one of Mahomet's sons, all officers of great experience and valour, undertook to make the attack, and land the troops necessary for the execution of it upon the mole. For this purpose they framed a bridge which was to reach from St. Anthony's church to the tower; and for the guiding and placing one end of it upon the point of the mole of St. Nicholas, a Turkish engineer in the night time carried an anchor to the place, and fixed it to the foot of a rock which was covered with the sea water<sup>a</sup>; putting through the ring of the anchor a great cable which was fixed to the head of the bridge, and was to make it go forwards by means of the capstan. But an

<sup>a</sup> Dupuis, p. 47

English seaman, whose name history has not thought unworthy to be preserved, called Gervase Rogers, being accidentally on the place, and having observed all that the Turkish engineer did without discovering himself, suffered him to go away at a distance, and then plunged into the sea, privately loos'd the cable which he left upon the strand, carried off the anchor, and brought it to the grand master, who gave him a very handsome reward. The Turks, when their bridge was got ready, endeavoured to make it go forwards by means of the cable, but soon found by the ease which they had in pulling it to them, that their stratagem was discovered and disappointed.

THE basha, disappointed in this expedient, got together a great number of boats to sustain this floating bridge, and tow it in the night to the side of the mole where it was to be fastened. The soldiers got upon the mole, and were filing continually one after another over the bridge, whilst the galiots and other light vessels at the same time landed several companies of the bravest troops of the army on the other side. They all fed themselves with hopes of surprizing the Christians; but d'Aubusson, who had foreseen this second attack, after having re-inforced the garrison and lined the wall with a body of intrepid musketeers and a good number of cannon, was expecting them resolutely on the breach. At the noise which the Turks made in getting upon the mole, they, by his orders, made in the dark two such furious discharges on all sides, that abundance of the Infidels were killed.

THE basha, who was in person at the head of this enterprize, not to expose his soldiers longer to the fire of the fortrefs, made them advance to the foot of the fort, on that side where his artillery had made great breaches. They soon came to blows, and without any other light than what came from firepots, grenades and vollies of fire arms, a long and obstinate engagement ensued. The bridge and galiots supplied the Turks continually with fresh troops. Never did those Infidels shew so much valour and so resolute a courage.

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Some of them by the help of their ladders mounted to the top of the breach, and scorning to retire, chose rather to be killed than ask quarter. Merla-Bey stood his ground almost alone upon the ruins of the tower; and making himself a rampart with the corpse of dead soldiers, and covered all over with wounds, he killed several knights with his own hand, but at last striking a soldier who had just wounded him with his sabre and whom he slew with the blow, he fell dead by his side. Nor was the combat upon the sea less furious. The fireships, which the grand master had prepared, grappled with the Turkish gallies that battered the fort, and set them on fire. The cries of those that crowded to get out of the fire that blazed about them; the smoke and roaring of the cannon; the groans of wounded; the horror too of the darkness, all was not able to damp the courage of the combatants: they all seemed resolved either to vanquish or die. The same valour and resolution was conspicuous on both sides. How many heroick actions hath the darkness of the night concealed from our knowledge. In fine, the day appeared, and discovered the loss sustained by the Infidels. The sea was covered with floating carcases, bows, arrows, turbants, and the hulks of their gallies still in a smoke. To make their calamities still greater, the gunners of the fort observing when day-light appeared, the enemies bridge thronged with soldiers that were coming to the succour of their comrades, levelled their cannon against it, and beat the bridge to pieces: others pretend it was broke by the crowd of Infidels that were flying over it. Those barbarians, not able any longer to bear up against the Christians, gave over the attack, notwithstanding the prayers and threats of their officers, and fled for their lives to the vessels in which they first came.

SEVERAL knights at the head of the garrison pursued and cut a good number of them to pieces. Merry or Mederic du Puis, whom I have followed in several places of this relation, tells us, that a Franciscan friar, Anthony Fradin by name, was one of the hottest in  
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this pursuit ; that he ran with a sabre in his hand into the sea as high as his waste to hinder the Infidels from re-embarking ; that he killed several of them, and cut off their heads, and that the Infidels lost in this engagement above two thousand five hundred men : and we may reasonably conclude, especially in a combat that was chiefly fought during the darkness of the night, that this could not have happened without the order's likewise losing several of its knights. 'Tis indeed generally allowed, that they were almost all wounded ; but they do not reckon above twelve killed, and who, with the loss of their lives sealed the profession they made of defending the order to the last drop of their blood.

THIS ill success threw the Turks into a consternation, which was succeeded by a melancholy silence for three days together all over the camp ; they sunk into a kind of indolence ; the general himself was infected with it, and could not tell what resolution to take : but as he dreaded Mahomet's choler and indignation as much as he did the sword of the knights, he at last came out of this lethargy, and raising his spirits, applied himself again to the siege, and renewed his attacks with as much fury as ever. He had no encouragement to go on with that of the tower ; he therefore returned to the posts of Italy and the Jews, which he battered again with all his artillery. But to conceal the place where he really designed his attack, he raised other batteries against different quarters of the walls. The relations of the siege tell us, that there were three thousand five hundred vollies made by these basilisks and great cannon, which quite battered down a great part of the walls, towers and ravelins. These infernal machines had dreadful effects, but they were not his only way of attacking : he had soldiers and pioneers continually at work, some of which carried earth and fascines to fill up the ditch, whilst some were digging underground and others pushing on the galleries, and preparing mines to blow up the fortifications that were left. The town was open on all sides, but above all the place  
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of the low town and the Jews quarter seemed the most ruined and in the greatest danger.

IN this extremity the knights \* that guarded the German engineer took him to the breach, shewed him the ruins of it, the works of the besiegers, the condition of the ditch which was in a manner filled up, and desired the assistance of his art against the danger they were in. At this sight, whatever dissimulation the traitor had practised since his being in the place, he yet could not help discovering an ill-natured satisfaction, when immediately recollecting himself, he returned to the part he acted, and pretended to lament the misfortune of Rhodes and the knights: "What succour," says he to them, can you hope for in a place that is open on all sides, surrounded with a hundred thousand men ready to storm it, and which must infallibly be carried at the first assault?" However, to keep on playing his old game, he declared himself of opinion, that they should change the place of their batteries, and by a new piece of treachery, which he had undoubtedly concerted with the basha before they parted, he got them to raise batteries in the weakest places of the town, to signify to the Turks where they should direct their own; and under pretence of making himself serviceable, he would needs point and fire the cannon himself: but they soon found that he not only shot at random, but occasioned likewise fresh cannonadings to be made against the place that he fired from. These different observations made him to be the more suspected. He was brought before the council of war; and faltering several times in his answers to the questions which the judges put to him, he was, in order to have his contradictions laid open, put to the torture, when he at last owned that he was come into the place by the express order of Mahomet, and that for no other end but to deliver it up, if he could, to the Infidels; that though he was watched by the guards whom the grand master set over him, he had nevertheless found means to convey very useful advices into their camp; that

\* Dupuis p. 60.



that this was not the first place he had betrayed under pretence of a feigned repentance; and that he had himself been the sole occasion of the loss of an infinite number of Christians. His confession was brought to the grand master, who immediately ordered the infamous villain to be executed.

BUT some Italian and Spanish knights did not fail to reflect upon what he had said of the danger the city was in of being carried at the first assault, this was indeed but too visible: they communicated to each other their mutual fright: the cabal grew strong, and secret conferences were held, the result whereof was, that since there was no saving of Rhodes, it was not just to sacrifice what knights were still left to the desperate humour of the grand master, a man who did not care to survive the loss of his principality; but that they, whatever he had resolved to the contrary, ought to save the knights and inhabitants by an honourable composition. These murmurs and scandalous projects soon reached the palace. The grand master had notice of them: he sent for these knights; and as if he considered them no longer among the professed members of the order, "Gentlemen, says he to them, if any of you think yourselves not safe in the place, the port is not yet so closely blocked up, but that you may find means to get out." When assuming an air of majesty, indignation and wrath, he added. "But if you think fit to stay with us, speak not a word more about a composition, for if you do, your lives shall pay for it."

THESE terrible words filled those knights with shame and confusion: and they had a very happy effect, for they immediately called up in their minds all their brave and heroick sentiments. They detested their own weakness, and all promised to make atonement for it by the sacrifice of their own blood, or of that of the Infidels: and they were afterwards always the first to expose themselves to the greatest dangers. Nor would it have been possible for men of less resolution to have resisted the continual attacks of the Turks. The basha battered

battered the city night and day without giving the besieged the least intermission : but as his principal design was to make the assault on the side of the Jews wall, and the ditch was still of a considerable depth, his soldiers, by his orders, and under the fire of his cannon, worked with so much ardor and success, that they at last filled it up, so that a squadron of horse might easily march over it into the town.

EVERY thing was ready for the assault. There were neither ditches, nor walls, nor towers, to hinder the Turks in making it. But the basha, who dreaded the heroick valour of the knights, more than he did the fortifications of art, and was for saving his troops, sent to the grand master to propose a conference, in hopes of prevailing with him to surrender rather than wait the last extremities. The grand master, in order to gain time to make new retrenchments, was not averse to the proposal. The conference was held the next day by the ditch side. The basha was not there in person, but sent one of the principal officers of his army in his stead; and the grand master on his side<sup>a</sup> deputed brother Anthony Gaultier castellan of Rhodes for that purpose. The Turkish officer, laying aside that proud air and haughty way which Mahomet's formidable power generally inspired into his ministers, pressed the knights to prevent the calamities which usually attend a place taken by storm. He told the castellan, that a gallant defence justly deserved the esteem and praises even of the enemy, if they had any prospect of good success; but that valour ought to have its bounds, and that it was not so much courage as a rash madness to throw themselves into perils out of which there was no possibility of escaping; that it was likewise a sort of inhumanity to involve innocent people therein, under pretence of defending them; that the walls of the town were demolished, the towers beaten down, the ditches filled up; that Rhodes in fine was no more, or at least was only a confused mass of rubbish and heap of ashes, which the basha could make himself master of in an assault

<sup>a</sup> Dupuis p. 67.

fault of two hours continuance only. When putting on a soft and insinuating air, he begged of him to prevail with the grand master and the council to come to a prudent composition, and prevent a general massacre of the knights and inhabitants, the dishonour of the women and maidens, and all the horrors that are inseparable always from a place taken by storm, and sword in hand.

THOUGH the grand master <sup>a</sup> did not appear at this conference, he yet was not far off. He heard all the Turk's artful discourse; and by his orders the castellan of Rhodes answered, that the basha was very ill served by his spies, who had not given him a true account of the condition and forces of the place; that if the Turks durst make an assault, they would instead of a wall, sin new ditches, works and intrenchments within, which would put them to the expence of a vast deal of blood before they could force them; but though they had not such obstacles to surmount, yet the city was strong enough as long as it was defended by the knights, who had all but one heart and one mind, and no view in nature but the defence of the faith, and the honour and glory of the order; and that men who were not afraid of death, were a much stronger fortification than walls and bastions. Thus ended the conference; the Tarkish envoy retired, and gave the basha to understand, that there was no depending on a composition, and that nothing but the force of arms could determine the fate of Rhodes.

THE basha, vexed and ashamed that he had made such a step to no purpose, swore in the transports of his passion, that he would put all to the sword. They likewise sharpened a great number of stakes by his order, for impaling the knights and inhabitants; he promised the plunder of the city to his soldiers, and commanded ladders and the necessary machines for an assault to be carried to several places in order to oblige the knights to divide their forces. But the true attack and main effort of his forces was directed against the Jews quarter

<sup>a</sup> Cœurfin, p. 10.

ter, which was the most ruined. There were not the least footsteps of a wall to be seen in that place, as we have observed; the ditch was filled up, and to hinder the knights from making intrenchments, or even from appearing on the breaches, several batteries were kept firing a whole day and night without intermission, and carried off every thing that appeared upon them. In fine, the day following, July 27. a little after sun-rising, the Turks advance in good order, and with great silence, get without making any noise upon the ramparts, and make themselves masters of them, without finding the least resistance. The Christians who were upon their guard, had, to avoid the fury of the cannon that played continually, posted themselves at the bottom of a slope which was made by the rubbish of the wall on their side, and most of them being worn out with watching and fatigues were unluckily asleep. The Turks proud of this beginning of success fix their colours, and fortify themselves in that post. The basha agreeably surpris'd with this happy beginning, orders new troops to advance, so that the rampart was soon covered with them.

RHODES would have been lost without an immediate succour, but the grand master having notice of the danger the place was in, ordered the great standard of the order to be immediately displayed, and turning himself towards the knights that he had kept about him, in order to march to the places which should be most pressed, "Let us go, my brethren, says he to "to them with a noble fortitude, and fight for the "faith and the defence of Rhodes, or bury ourselves in "its ruins." He advances immediately in great haste at the head of those knights, and sees with surprize five and twenty hundred Turks masters of the breach, the rampart and all the platform about it. As the houses and streets were much lower, there was no going to them, or getting upon the rampart, but by two stair cases, which had been made formerly, but which were

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<sup>a</sup> Baptist Fulgosius de dictis factisque memorabilibus collectaneorum, l. 3. c. 2, particula penultima.

then covered with the rubbish of the wall. The grand master takes a ladder, claps it himself to that heap of stones, and without regarding those that the enemies threw upon him, mounts first with an half-pike in his hand; the knights in imitation of his bravery, some with ladders, and others climbing up the rubbish, exert themselves to the utmost in following him, and get to the top of the rampart.

THERE was seen on this occasion, contrary to what is generally practised in sieges, the besieged themselves mounting to the assault, and the besiegers standing on the defensive. The Infidels repulse the Christians with their musket-shot and arrows, or else by rolling down great stones upon them. All the valour of these courageous knights could not force its way through so vigorous an opposition. Several were crushed to death by the weight of the stones rolled down upon them. The grand master himself was twice thrown down; but in spite of impending death, and which presented itself on all sides, and without regarding two wounds he had just received, he gets up and bravely mounts again through a continual fire of muskets, and showers of arrows and stones; and seconded by his gallant knights, leaps at last upon the rampart on which the Turks had posted themselves. The combat was then upon more equal terms; the knights fall sword in hand upon the Infidels; they close on both sides in a moment, with a reciprocal fury; all are engaged, and seem resolved to vanquish. One side to maintain its first advantage, and the other to regain a post on which the safety of the place depended. The grand master distinguished himself more by his surprizing valour than by his dignity: he killed several officers of the Turks with his own hand, and threw others of them down from the walls.

VICTORY began to declare itself in his favour. The Turks give way; their battalions open; the basha, who perceived it, ordered a body of janizaries to advance immediately to their support; he himself advanced also by their side, with his sabre in hand, either to  
encou-



encourage them, or to kill such as should retire back. He soon discovered the grand master, not so much by his gilt arms, as by the deadly blows he gave. As he had not been able to destroy him by poison, as has been already seen, he engaged several janizaries, by the hopes of a great reward, to attack him particularly, and by his death revenge the blood of their companions. Twelve of the most resolute soldiers of that body devoted themselves, as it were to death, in order to dispatch him. They rush headlong into the midst of the engagement, charge the Christians with vigour, pierce their ranks, open a way to the grand master, and in spite of the knights that surrounded his person, attack him, and give him five great wounds at once. The ardor with which he was enflamed in the heat of the combat, hindered him at first from feeling them: he fought on some time longer with his usual valour. The knights seeing the blood that flowed from his wounds, begged of him to retire; but that great man, instead of complying with their affectionate intreaties, cried out, "Let us die in this place, my dear brethren, rather than retire. Can we ever die more gloriously than in the defence of our faith and religion?"

THESE heroick sentiments, the wounds he had received, the blood that was streaming from them, and the desire of revenging him, animated the knights and Christian soldiers in such a manner, that mad with vexation, and like men that were resolved not to survive their leaders, they throw themselves like furies into the thickest of the enemies, and make an horrible slaughter of them. The Turks daunted at their blows which rage inspired with an uncommon force, take them for other men, or for something more than man. Terror seizes their spirits; they lose all sense and judgment with their courage; they all take to their heels, and in this disorder and confusion kill one another to make themselves way. The knights make advantage of this consternation, and not satisfied with having regained the breach, they fall out and pursue the Turks. In vain does the

basia labour to make them take heart; in spite of his promises and threats the flight becomes general; they drag him along with them in the universal rout, and he was glad to get into his camp for refuge; he afterwards made the best of his way to his ships and gallies, and went on board with as much shame as vexation.

THE grand master covered over with his own blood and with that of his enemies, but more with glory, was carried into his palace, where by the care of his knights and the good wishes of all his people, he recovered his health in a little time. As soon as he was able to walk, he went to the church of St. John to return thanks to the God of hosts for the victory he had won: and in order to leave some lasting monuments of his acknowledgements and piety, he built three churches in honour of the blessed virgin and the patron-saints of the order. He made several foundations in these churches, to pray to God for ever for the souls of the knights that were killed in this bloody siege. The surviving knights that had signalized themselves most were distinguished by his favours, in which even the meanest soldiers had their share; and to give some relief to the peasants and inhabitants of the country, whose lands had been ravaged by the infidels, he distributed corn among them for their subsistence till the next harvest, and exempted them for some years from the taxes they used to pay before the siege.

IF the grand master made all the inhabitants of Rhodes happy by his victory and liberality, Mahomet on the contrary, upon the first news he had of the raising of the siege, fell into a rage that made every body tremble; he was for strangling his general and the principal officers of his army; no body durst appear in his presence. Paleologus thought himself happy with the loss only of his dignity: Mahomet banished him to Gallipoli. After the first violence of his passion was over, in order to console himself in some measure, he declared that his troops were never successful but when  
under

under his own conduct, and he resolved the next campaign to put himself at the head of his army.

THE preparations which he made for that purpose were extraordinary : he mustered no less than 300000 men, and the general rendezvous was in Bithynia, a province adjoining to Lycia, where they said he was to embark, in order to pass over to Rhodes. Others suspected that this great armament was designed against the soldan of Egypt, and they founded their conjecture upon prince Zizim, one of his sons, having already fallen into Syria by his orders. Be this as it will, Mahomet had passed the Helleipont, and was marching with great diligence through Anatolia ; when a blow from heaven put a stop to his enterprizes. A violent fit of the cholick carried him off at a little town of Bithynia called Teggjar Tzair. He died on the third of May, A. D. 1481. They carried his body to Constantinople, to inter it in a mosque of his own foundation : and though that prince had conquered two empires, twelve kingdoms, and above three hundred towns, yet the epitaph put over him, which indeed they pretend he drew up himself, makes no mention at all of those great actions ; as if he reckoned them for nothing in comparison of his last projects. All they put over his tomb was nine or ten Turkish words only, the purport of which is as follows ;

I DESIGNED TO CONQUER RHODES,  
AND SUBDUE PROUD ITALY.

Mahomet by his death left the princes Bajazet and Zizim his sons heirs to his vast empire. They found it however too narrow for their vast ambition : neither of them would hear a word of dividing it : both were for reigning alone. Caourlin, a contemporary historian, and vice-chancellor of the order of St. John, pretends that Bajazet was the elder. Jaligni, another historian of the same time, gives the right of eldership to Zizim, a question of no great consequence in a warlike nation, where arms had almost always decided the possession of the crown.

BAJAZET loved study more than war, and he loved wine yet better than study. The Turks ascribe to him a translation into their language of the works of Averroes, the famous Arabian philosopher, the ornament of Cordova where he was born. Zizim, less voluptuous than his brother, had always shewn a great impatience of following the example of his father, and acquiring glory by war. They pretend, that these two brothers had never seen one another but once. Mahomet, who had an insatiable thirst after sovereign power, had always kept them asunder, for fear they should unite against him. At the time of that prince's death, Bajazet resided at Amasia, a city situated upon the Black-sea, in the farthest part of Cappadocia, and Zizim's residence was at Magnesia, a city of Caria.

IN this remote absence of the two brothers, the basha's and great officers of the crown were divided about the choice of an emperor. Every one espoused the side that best suited his interest or inclination. Mahomet, then grand vizier or first basha, who had succeeded Misach Paleologus in that dignity, had most inclination to Zizim. But the basha Cherséc-Ogli, son in law to Bajazet, seizing on the treasures of Mahomet, made use of them to gain the janizaries of the porte. Achmet Geduc, another basha, and the greatest captain then among the Turks, being returned from Italy, where he had taken the town of Otranto, got the army he commanded to declare in favour of Bajazet.

THEY were surpris'd that this general, who was born a soldier and train'd up in war, and who besides in Mahomet's lifetime had had very warm quarrels with Bajazet, should prefer him to Zizim, a prince of extraordinary valour. But he did this probably from a political view with regard to his own private interest, fancying, that he should be more necessary and considerable under an unwarlike prince, given up entirely to libertinism, than under the dominion of a sultan who would command his troops in person. Whatever was his motive, Bajazet's party, by the dexterity and good conduct of those that had the management of it, got  
the

the better, and that prince was proclaimed grand feignior at Constantinople : and in order not to leave the throne empty in his absence, his partisans set up in it, in quality of his lieutenant, one of his sons, named Corcutus, a young prince, who though scarce eight years old shewed a great unwillingness to quit it afterwards, when upon the arrival of the sultan his father he was forced to deliver it up to him.

ZIZIM, who was at a greater distance from Constantinople, was later in receiving advice of Mahomet's death. He set out immediately on his way thither, but being informed that his brother had got the start of him, and that that capital of the empire had declared in his favour, he returned back, put himself at the head of the army that he commanded in Syria, levied new troops, seized on Bursa and all Bithynia, and resolved to wait the coming up of his enemy in that place.

BAJAZET, to hinder him from fortifying himself in Asia, ordered his best troops to march immediately against him. This army was composed chiefly of janizaries and spahi's, i. e. the flower of the Turkish infantry and cavalry, which were reinforced with a good body of European troops, superior in force and courage to the Asiatick, who were most of them effeminated by the pleasures and luxury of the country. What made this army still more formidable was, that the valiant Achmet, the darling of the soldiery, was general of it, and Bajazet, who was indebted to him for the favour of the troops, by committing the general command of them to him, made him again the sovereign disposer of his fortune and empire.

ACHMET having passed the Bosphorus, entered Asia, and advanced towards Bursa. Zizim did not think it proper to shut himself up in that place and stand a siege. He therefore marched out, and advanced forward against his brother's forces. They soon came to an engagement : a great empire was to be the prize of the victorious. Zizim, in order to obtain it, was incredibly valiant : that prince with sabre in hand charged all that stood before him : the combat was bloody and ob-

stinate



stinate on both sides: they took no prisoners, and gave no quarter on either side; and it was sometime before it could be distinguished on what side the victory would fall. But Achmet, after letting the enemy spend all their fire, putting himself at the head of a body of reserve and fresh troops that had not yet fought, made so furious a charge on the Asiatics, that their troops, consisting most of new levies, could no longer sustain the shock of the Europeans. In vain did Zizim exert himself to renew and maintain the battle; rallying his cavalry several times, and returning to the charge. The bravest of them, who never quitted him in the battle, fell almost all by his side. Achmet met with very little opposition from the infantry: most of them were cut to pieces; such as escaped the sword of the victorious fled for their lives, and the fear of falling into Bajazet's power, forced Zizim at last to do the same.

THE night coming on was favourable to his escape. He threw himself into the midst of a forest. As the night concealed the greatness of his loss from him, he fed himself with the hopes of rallying his troops the next day, and trying again the fortune of war. But not being able to get above forty horsemen together, and all the rest being either killed or dispersed, he had no other course to take, but to get away as fast as possible from a place which had proved so unfortunate, and might very well be more fatal to him: he was however under a difficulty about resolving on a place to take refuge in. Among those that still continued about him, some of them proposed Egypt to him, where Cait-Bei reigned as soldan, whilst others were for his applying either to the prince of Caramania, or the grand master of Rhodes, all of them either open enemies of the Turks, or jealous of their power. Zizim determined in favour of the soldan, the strongest potentate of the three. Passing always through by-roads, he got safe with his little troop into Syria, went on into Palestine, came to Jerusalem, visited the mosque, which they called the temple of Salomon, where he

paid

paid his devotions, and crossing the desarts of Arabia, arrived at Grand Cairo. He was received as a sovereign prince, with all the honours and ceremonies due to his birth, but in reality with an indifference, such as princes usually discover for the unfortunate. Cait-Bei did not think proper to associate himself with his ill fortune ; and all his good offices ended in offering Zizim his mediation with his brother. That prince accepted it, rather out of complaisance, and not to express a contempt of it, than out of any hopes of good success from it. The soldan immediately dispatched an emir to Constantinople. During his voyage Zizim out of devotion made that of Meccha, and at his return brought his wife and children to Cairo. The soldan received them with great civility, and promised them his constant protection.

THE emir that Cait-Bei had sent to Constantinople, began his negotiation as soon as he arrived. Bajazet, by the advice of Achmet his first minister, and in order to amuse Zizim, proposed to the soldan to give his brother a province in Asia. Cait-Bei, to weaken the Turkish empire, could have wished there had been a little more proportion in the share allowed him ; but as after all Bajazet was master of the whole empire, and pretended to prescribe the terms of the treaty, the soldan being, as most mediators are, indifferent with respect to the interest of Zizim, was of opinion that he ought to accept his brother's proposal, and represented to him, that a great province, in which he was to reign as absolute sovereign, was preferable to a war, the success whereof was doubtful. Zizim, who aspired to the empire, and whose courage and ambition made him think himself more worthy of it than his brother, rejected his offers with disdain. He moreover saw plainly, that they only sought to involve him in a labyrinth of artifice, and an endless negotiation ; so that he answered the soldan, that such great pretensions on both sides, and a dispute of such importance, were only to be determined by force of arms and sword in hand.

BUT

BUT not finding that prince disposed to take up arms in his favour, he only recommended his wife and children to him, and then retired to the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, in whom he fancied he should find more generosity and resolution, and who had indeed sent to him in Egypt to offer him the assistance of his arms, and proposè the joining their forces against Bajazet. Mahomet had taken from that prince all Cappadocia, and that part of Cilicia which borders upon mount Taurus. Zizim coming to his court, promised him by the most solemn oaths to restore him those provinces, in case he should ever, by the assistance of his troops, recover his throne. The two princes in an interview, swore an inviolable fidelity to one another; the Caramanian immediately made preparations for war, and sent to his allies and neighbours to demand succours. The grand master of Rhodes, who was one of that number, sent him five gallies well equipped with soldiers and artillery, to keep the sea, and defend the coasts of his country; and the Caramanian at the same time had several re-inforcements sent him from some petty Mahometan princes, who entered into the league against a power that seemed ready to swallow up all the rest.

THESE princes having joined their troops before Achmet had drawn his out of their winter quarters, advanced as far as the plains of Laranda in the furthest parts of Cappadocia. Bajazet was surprisèd to hear that his brother was returned out of Egypt to dispute the empire with him again. His crown, and even his life were at stake, and depended upon opposing their measures. Achmet indeed was at the head of a great body of troops, able to fight the enemy; but a distrust, natural enough to weak men, made him apprehensive that that general might possibly be bribed to go over to his brother: besides, his ministers, who were jealous of the glory which the vizier had in this war, represented to that prince, that in a quarrel which was personal in respect to him, and of such mighty importance, his soldiers would have an ill opinion of his valour,

Tour, was he not to shew himself at the head of his army. These considerations determined him to pass the Bosphorus: he entered into Asia: his army consisted of an hundred thousand men: that of Achmet was near as numerous. After his having joined the sultan, that prince would needs make a review of all his troops; Achmet appeared at their head, but Bajazet observing, instead of wearing his sword or scymitar by his side, that it was only tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle, cried out, "My protector, you have a great memory, forget the faults of my youth, put your sword again by your side, and employ it with your accustomed valour against our enemies."

IN order to the right understanding of this passage, it is necessary to call to mind what has been already observed relating to Mahomet the second's war against Persia. Bajazet, who was then young, followed him in that expedition, and had likewise a particular command over a body of troops. The sultan his father, who had no great opinion either of his capacity or valour, some hours before the engagement began, ordered Achmet to visit the line where Bajazet commanded, and see if his troops were drawn up in order of battle. But that officer, finding them all in confusion, could not help reproaching him in pretty harsh terms, "Is it in this manner, Sir, says the old warrior to him, that a prince who has a mind to vanquish, should draw up his soldiers?" Bajazet, vexed at this reproach, told him, the time would come when he would make him repent his insolence. "And what will you do?" replied the haughty Achmet, I swear by my father's soul, that if you ever come to the empire, I will never gird sword to my side for your service.

Such was the occasion of Achmet's appearing at the review with his sword tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle. But Bajazet stood in too much need of his valour and experience, not to endeavour to make him forget that little quarrel. Peace was soon made between that prince and his general: they had now  
nothing

nothing more to think of but to go in quest of the enemy. They pretend that Bajazet's general defeated Zizim in a second battle: other authors say, that the allies being too weak to keep the field, retired into the streights of mount Taurus upon the arrival of Bajazet.

BAJAZET, vexed that his brother had escaped him, sent to make him other proposals, with a view of surprising him; and besides the offer he had before made him of the entire sovereignty of a province, he made him a new one of a pension of 200000 crowns of gold, a prodigious sum at that time. "I want an empire, replied Zizim in an haughty manner to his brother's envoy, and not money." Besides, this prince was not fool enough to be dazzled with these propositions, since he saw that at the same time that he expressed a desire of adjusting things with him in an amicable manner, Achmet was insensibly seizing on all the streights of the mountains, and endeavouring to secure all the passes of them to prevent his escape. The Caramanian prince told him the danger to which they were going to be exposed, if they stayed any longer in that place; and both of them, not having forces sufficient to oppose those of Bajazet, they agreed to disperse them till such time as that prince should return to Constantinople, their troops being of no other use than to make them be pursued; and both of them to retire to places where they might be in security, either through the obscurity of them, or by the power of the prince to whose court they should retire.

ZIZIM's first scheme was to hide himself with a few persons in the remotest corner of the mountains. The Caramanian was of a different opinion: he told him, that he could never be safe enough in a cavern against the search his brother was making after him; that it was his interest to preserve his secret partisans, that they should believe him to be alive, and still in a disposition to return and dispute the empire: and that further, his sentiments were, that he should apply himself to the grand master of Rhodes, in whose domini-



ons he might be more secure, and live with greater dignity; and also might, by means of the knights, who roved over all the Asiatick seas, be informed of every thing that passed at Constantinople, and over all the east.

ZIZIM followed this advice, and dispatched one of the noblemen that adhered to his person and fortune to the grand master, to desire him to grant him protection in his territories. But this envoy was seized by one of Bajazet's party, who saw by his brother's letters the design he had formed of retiring among the Christians. Whereupon he immediately sent some detachments to force the prince his brother in the fastnesses he was retired to, and at the same time ordered others to secure all the passes that led to any port of Lycia; and flattered himself that he should shut him up so close, that it would be impossible for him to escape. Zizim, not seeing his first agent return, dispatched two others to Rhodes, with the same commission to the grand master, to desire of him a retreat in his dominions, together with a safe conduct, to assure him of a full liberty of coming in and going out of them at all times. The prince afterwards quitted mount Taurus; and the Caramanian serving him for a guide, he drew near the sea coast to wait an answer from Rhodes. The grand master, in concert with the council, and after mature deliberations, thought it would be for the honour and even the interest of the order, not to refuse an asylum to so great a prince. Upon which a squadron of ships was immediately ordered to go to receive him, and don Alvares de Zuni-ga grand prior of Castile, was intrusted with this commission and the safe conduct, which was drawn up in the form that Zizim's ambassadors had desired it.

THIS commodore set sail about the same time that Zizim and the Caramanian prince, seeing themselves pursued by the spahis, resolved to part, after having first embraced each other tenderly, and sworn an inviolable friendship. The Caramanian threw himself again into the mountains, from whence he made his way to some

fortresses that were still left him. The Turkish prince, waited by the sea side in expectation of news from Rhodes; but seeing a squadron of spahis coming up, he got into a bark, which the Caramanian prince, for fear of a surprize, had kept always in a readiness, and lay concealed behind a rock.

SCARCE had Zizim put off from the shore when he saw the troop of spahis appear on the coast, who came but a few moments too late. The prince seeing himself out of danger, lay by with his bark, and taking his bow, let fly an arrow with a letter tied to it, directed to his brother, and expressed almost in these terms.

### K I N G Z I Z I M,

TO KING BAJAZET HIS INHUMAN BROTHER,

“ GOD and our great prophet are witnesses of the  
 “ shameful necessity you reduce me to of taking re-  
 “ fuge among the Christians. After having deprived  
 “ me of the just right I had to the empire, you pursue  
 “ me still from one country to another, and have not  
 “ rested till you have forced me, for the safety of my  
 “ life, to seek an asylum with the knights of Rhodes,  
 “ the irreconcilable enemies of our august house. If  
 “ the sultan our father could have foreseen that you  
 “ would have thus profaned the honourable name of  
 “ the Ottomans, he would have strangled you with  
 “ his own hands; but I hope that since he is gone,  
 “ heaven will avenge your cruelty, and I only wish to  
 “ live to be a witness to your punishment.

THE commander of this troop of spahis took the letter, and vexed that he had missed his prey, carried it to Bajazet. 'Tis said, that as he was reading it, he could not help shedding a few tears, which nature forced from him against his inclinations. Zizim at the same time stood off to sea, and sailed towards Rhodes, to see if he could have any news of the ambassadors whom he had sent to the grand master. The unfortunate prince, uncertain of his fate, was wandering up and  
 down

down those seas, as chance might direct his course, when he discovered a squadron that came full sail, bending their course towards the coast of Lycia. The fear he was in lest they should be some ships that his brother had sent to intercept his passage to Rhodes, made him order the pilot to get as fast as he could to land and put him on shore again. But at a certain distance, distinguishing the flag of Rhodes, and making the signals he had concerted with his ambassadors, they came up to him in a shallop with a knight, whom Don Alvares de Zuniga sent in company with the ambassadors, to assure him in the grand master's name, that he should be very welcome in the isle of Rhodes. This knight told him, that the commodore of the squadron, who was lieutenant-general to the grand master, was sent on purpose to convoy him safe thither. Zuniga advanced afterwards to salute the prince, went into his bark and presented him the grand master's letter and safe conduct. After the usual compliments and ceremonies were over, he put him on board a great ship that was under his command, and sailed for Rhodes, where he soon arrived. The grand master had no sooner notice of it, but he sent the oldest commanders of the order to receive him, and went himself out of his palace to meet him almost as far as the harbour: they joined hands at meeting. The grand master, after having, by the assistance of an interpreter, repeated all the assurances that he had already given him by his safe conduct, waited upon him to the French inn, which was assigned for his lodging: in their way thither he gave him the right hand, which Zizim perceiving, was for giving it him, and told him, it did not become captives to take place of their patrons; "Sir, replied  
" the grand master to him very obligingly, captives of  
" your quality have the first rank every where, and  
" would to God you had as much power in Constantinople as you have in Rhodes."

THE grand master, after having conducted him to his apartment, left him to the care of some commanders and officers of his household, who endeavoured, by  
their

their politeness and noble entertainments, to divert him from musing on his misfortunes, which seemed to employ all his thoughts. Matthew Bosio, a canon of Verona, who saw him some years afterwards, and observed him with great attention, represents him in one of his letters, which has been transmitted to us, as a man who had all the air of a barbarian, and of a savage and cruel prince. His stature, says he, is a little above the middle size; his body thick and well set; he has broad shoulders, a prominent belly, strong and nervous arms, a large head, squinting eyes, and a Roman nose, so hooked at the end that it almost touches his upper lip, which is covered with a large whisker. In a word, says this author, he is the exact picture of his father Mahomet; and such indeed as he is represented in several of his medals that have fallen into my hands.

THE knights omitted nothing that might contribute to divert the prince. There were every day parties of hunting, tournaments, feasts and concerts of musick; but this last kind of diversion did not much affect the sultan; and though they entertained him with excellent voices, he did not seem to take any pleasure in that agreeable musick. To please his goût, they resolved to send for a Turkish slave, who with an harsh and inharmonious voice, but accompanied at the same time with wry faces, and the most grotesque postures, was the only person that had the knack of pleasing him.

IN the mean time the residence of a guest of such consequence gave no little uneasiness to the grand master. He did not question but that Bajazet, as soon as he knew the place where he had fled for shelter, would do his utmost to oblige the order to deliver him into his hands. This they could not refuse without bringing all the forces of the Ottoman empire a second time into the island; and the grand master's word, his safe conduct, and even his natural generosity, made him incapable of taking such a step, and delivering him up to his cruel enemy.

WHILST

WHILST d'Aubuffon was in no little inquietude by reason of these various considerations, an envoy arrived from the governor of Lycia, a province, as we have observed, separated from Rhodes only by a canal of about eighteen miles broad. This envoy, under pretence of proposing a trading truce and liberty of commerce between the grand master's subjects and the people of his government, was come to see whether Zizim was retired to Rhodes, and in what manner the grand master treated him. The grand master received him handsomely, and did not seem at all averse to the proposals which they made him. But the envoy, who had other views, under pretence that he expected new orders from his master, spun out the negotiation; and they soon discovered the main design of his voyage. The grand master, in order to rid himself as soon as possible of a privileged spy, speedily put an end to his treaty, and sent him back to his master. But scarce had he parted with him when another arrived, who brought him a letter from the basha Achmet. The grand seignior, not caring to expose himself to a refusal, had enjoined him to set on foot a new negotiation with the grand master, as from himself. That minister, who, by the important services that he had lately done Bajazet, governed his empire at that time with an absolute authority, wrote to the grand master, exhorting him to make a solid and lasting treaty of peace with the porte, for which he offered his credit and good offices, in case he would send ambassadors to Constantinople.

The grand master saw plainly through the artifice, and that these several negotiators had no design but only to get into Rhodes, and find out some means to dispatch Zizim, either by sword or poison. Though the prince of Rhodes looked upon them as assassins, yet as they were invested, or rather masked with a publick character, no notice was taken of their designs. All that the law of nations and prudence allowed to be done on this occasion, was to dismiss these envoys as soon as possible; and all the answer that the grand



master gave the *basia* was, that provided they dropped all talk of tribute, he might possibly in some time send embassadors to the porte to treat about a lasting peace. Several councils after this were held at Rhodes, to consider of the conduct the order ought to observe in so nice an affair.

IN all these preliminaries the least mention was not made of Zizim, notwithstanding which, the grand master easily perceived that the design of the negotiation related always to the person of that prince, and that if his brother could not get him into his power by way of treaty, he would either take care to get him poisoned, or would attack him by open force, so that they might soon see all the forces of the Ottomans over-running the isle of Rhodes a second time. They held several councils on this subject, and in order not to let a pledge of such value go out of their hands, they resolved, both for the prince's own safety, and till such time as they might see how affairs would go in the east, to send him into France, to reside upon some commandry of the order.

THE grand master, in order to reconcile him to this step, represented to him, that it was his interest to shelter himself for some time from his brother's eager pursuits: that whatever precautions the order should take, his life could never be secure at Rhodes, where so many renegado Greeks could easily get in by means of their language, and find means to dispatch him by sword or poison, notwithstanding all the precautions that the order might take: whereas, whilst he was at a distance, the order, which was entering into a negotiation with the sultan, might find opportunities to take care of his interests, and that he himself would undertake to give him a full account of all that passed at the porte in relation to him.

THE Turkish prince seeing no remedy, consented to every thing they proposed to him. He likewise, before his setting out, left a full power with the grand master to treat with Bajazet in his name, upon such terms as should be most for his advantage and security.

This

This was not the only instrument he signed; he executed another, wherein, after reciting all the obligations he had to the grand master and his order, he engaged himself, in case he ever recovered the empire, or any considerable part of it, to maintain a constant peace with the knights, would give their fleets free entrance into all his ports, would set three hundred Christians of both sexes at liberty every year without ransom, and pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold into the treasury of the order, to reimburse them the expences they had been at on his account. This instrument, signed with his own hand, is still kept in the archive of Malta, and is dated the fifth day of the month of Regeb, in the 887.h year of the Hegira, which answers, according to our way of computation, to the 31st of August A. D. 1482. 1482. The prince went afterwards on board, under the convoy of the chevalier de Blanchefort, the grand master's nephew, who employed all the care and complaisance imaginable, to divert the melancholy with which the prince was seized at leaving his own country, and passing into a foreign land.

WHILST he was sailing towards France, the grand master, pursuant to the promise he had given Achmet, sent the knights Gay de Mont-Arnaud and Duprat as his ambassadors to Constantinople. Bajazet, who saw that his brother's fortune was entirely in the grand master's power, was exceedingly pleased at their arrival. They were received with great honours, and he appointed commissioners to treat of a peace, naming for that purpose the vizier Achmet and Misâch Paleologus, who, after Mahomet's death, having declared in favour of Bajazet, was on that account recalled to the port. The negotiation had like to have miscarried at the very opening of the conference. Achmet insisted by way of preliminary, that the grand master should acknowledge himself for a vassal of the grand seignior, and as such should pay him an annual tribute. This proposition was rejected with a noble disdain by the two ambassadors. The vizier, the proudest man living,

ing, told them, that his master would go in person at the head of an hundred thousand men to levy the tribute himself: the embassadors upon these menaces were for breaking off the conference and retiring: but the basha Paleologus telling the vizier in the Turkish language, that he should consider that the sultan would have the treaty concluded at any rate, the negotiation was resumed, and the two knights shewed the greater constancy and resolution, because Duprat, who understood the Turkish language, was thereby made acquainted with the grand seignior's intentions. Achmet did not insist any longer on that demand; but as he thought his master would dishonour himself by such a treaty, he left the management of it to Paleologus.

THEY were next to come to the principal point which the sultan had most at heart. It related to the person of his brother, and his ministers demanded that he should be delivered up into his hands. The embassadors knew that this would be delivering him up to be executed, and therefore rejected such an odious proposal with indignation. In fine, they agreed, that the grand master should engage to keep that prince always in his power under a good guard of knights, and should not deliver him to any prince whatever, either Christian or Infidel, that could make use of his name and pretensions to disturb the quiet of the empire; that for the maintenance and guard of the prince, the sultan should yearly remit thirty five thousand Venetian ducats to the order; and besides this sum, he should likewise pay the grand master ten thousand ducats more every year by way of satisfaction for the ravages that Mahomet's army had made in the isle of Rhodes. Peace being settled on these conditions, the treaty was signed by the sultan, who sent one of his principal ministers, called Captain, to Rhodes, to receive the grand master's ratification.

THE vizier, who was naturally haughty, could not hear the least mention of the pensions which the sultan was obliged to pay every year, without the highest indignation. He complained publickly, that they had

prostituted the honour of the empire by this scandalous treaty ; and in his exclamations against it, he could not help dropping some sharp invectives against the person of his master himself. The sultan was soon informed of it : There is never wanting in all courts a set of men who make it their business to ruin their enemies, by giving the worst construction to their words, and misrepresenting them in the most artful manner. Achmet had a very dangerous one in the person of a basha, Isaac by name, whose daughter he had formerly married. She was the very Turkish lady that Mahomet's eldest son fell so desperately in love with, and to whom her husband in the fury of his passion pretended he had offered violence. The reader may have observed in the beginning of this book, that Mahomet, who would allow nobody to be a tyrant in his dominions but himself, had, under pretence of doing Achmet justice, put that young prince to death, fearing that his passion might put him upon some attempt against his own person. Achmet, as Cæsar had acted formerly, without caring to examine into his wife's conduct, had divorced her ; which his father-in-law resented so heinously, that he resolved to be revenged. This basha did not let slip the occasion that Achmet's imprudence furnished him with : he informed the sultan of the vizier's murmurings and invectives, and aggravated them with all the ill-natured turns that courtiers are lavish enough in bestowing ; and under a feigned zeal for his prince's service, he insinuated to him, that as the vizier was so very powerful, and in a manner adored by the soldiers, he could not have uttered such taunts and reflections without designing some insurrection.

IN a case of this nature, especially in a despotick government like that of the Turks, bare suspicion is a crime. Bajazet, ever jealous and diffident, as all weak persons are, resolved to dispatch the vizier, in order to prevent the designs with which they charged him from taking effect : besides, the daily sight of a man, the greatness of whose services exceeded all the recompences he could make him, was offensive to his eyes. Orders were given to invite most of the *grandeés* of the  
 porte

porte to a magnificent entertainment that Bajazet was to give them. They there drank very copiously of wine, notwithstanding the express prohibition of their law. The sultan, who had his private designs, and had a mind to make the vizier talk, brought up a discourse relating to the peace he had just concluded with the grand master; and added, that since he had no more enemies to oppose, he thought to lessen the pay of the soldiery, and break some officers that were not well affected to the government. Achmet, the father of the soldiery, and naturally haughty and passionate, immediately took fire, and elevated with the fumes of wine, told him plainly, that the affection of the soldiery was the surest support of the throne, and that those who should advise a sultan, especially one who had a brother still living, to incense his troops, would be evil counsellors. They pretend, that as soon as he had spoke these words, a mute who was posted there on purpose, upon a sign that the sultan made him, stabbed him with a dagger to the heart. Other authors give a different account of what passed at the death of this minister, which they tell us was delayed for some time. According to these writers, Bajazet, before he dismissed the bashas, that he might end the magnificence of the feast with an act of liberality, presented every one of them with a brocade vest, and a cup filled with pieces of gold; but that they put only a black robe before the vizier, who looked upon it as an ill omen of the fate that attended him; and he was confirmed in his sentiments, when, as he was going out after the rest, the sultan ordered him to stay, pretending that he had an affair of importance to communicate to him. Achmet no longer doubting but he was going to be strangled, cried out in a rage, "Cruel tyrant. since you resolved to put me to death, why did you first force me to offend God by drinking a forbidden liquor?"

By Bajazet's order, they began to load him with stripes, after which the mutes prepared to strangle him. But the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, seeing his master drunk with wine and anger, threw



threw himself at his feet. " Sir, said he to him, be  
 " not so hasty to put him to death: you know that he  
 " is the darling of the janizaries: wait only till to mor-  
 " row, to see how they will receive the news of his  
 " death, and then dispose of him as you please."

FEAR, the strongest principle of action in a weak and timorous prince, had its usual effect on Bajazet. He put off Achmet's death, and ordered him to be thrown half naked and loaden with irons into a dungeon. His son, who waited at the gate of the seraglio, not seeing him come out, enquired of the other bashas for him; but they were most of them so drunk, that all that he could get out of them was, that the grand seignior seemed to be angry with him. The young lord trembling for his life, runs to the guard-house of the janizaries, and the vast pile of building where they are quartered when not upon duty, when bursting out into tears, and directing his discourse to the oldest of them, " My dear companions, said he to them, the  
 " sultan has just now caused my father to be seized: will  
 " you, brave soldiers, suffer them to butcher your ge-  
 " neral, with whom you have eat bread and salt for so  
 " many years?"

AT this news the janizaries run to arms, gather into a body, march straight to the seraglio, and with great cries demand the gates to be opened: the noise of the tumult soon passes into Bajazet's apartment. The prince, after considering what measures he should take, fearing that the soldiers might dethrone him in their fury, appeared at a window with a bow in his hand, " What do you require, my companions," says he to them, " and what is the occasion of this tumult?" " You shall know immediately, cried they, You  
 " drunken sot, where is Achmet? we'll either see him,  
 " or find out a means of revenging his death." The fearful sultan seeing all the soldiery enraged and incensed against him, " Achmet, says he to them, is in my  
 " seraglio, and alive. I have only kept him with me  
 " to confer with him about some affairs of conse-  
 " quence." The sultan was so terrified at the looks  
 and

\* Chalcondile vie de Bajazet II.

and threats of the janizaries, that he ordered him to be brought out to them immediately. He appeared at the gate of the seraglio bareheaded, his legs uncovered, and without any cloaths on but a waistcoat only, just like a man who was ordered for execution. The janizaries, provoked to see that great captain treated in so shameful a manner, snatched a turbant from one of the principal officers of the porte, and put it upon Achmet's head. They commanded at the same time a vest to be brought him, and when he was drest they carried him to his palace with great acclamations, and as if they had gained some signal victory.

THE vizier, either from a greatness of soul, or else out of apprehensions that this affection of the soldiers would be imputed to him as a fresh crime, desired them to use their advantages with more moderation. "Bajazet, says he to them, "is our sovereign: and "who knows but I have merited his indignation by "some fault I may have committed!" In fine, he at length by his intreaties prevailed to quiet the sedition: but his own experience taught him, that there is no getting an advantage over one's own sovereign that does not prove fatal to its author in the end. Bajazet disguised his resentment for some time. The vizier seemed to be restored to his favour; but in a journey which the court made to Adrianople, at a time when all his apprehensions seemed to be over, the sultan caused him to be strangled. Such was the fate of one of the greatest captains of the Ottoman empire, who, by being thought too necessary, became suspected to his master, and odious to the other bashas.

WHILST this tragical scene was acting at the porte, Zizim arrived safe on the coasts of Provence. The grand master had sent an ambassador before him to Lewis XI who then sat on the throne of France, to desire leave for the prince to come into his dominions, and reside there for some time. The king, who did not concern himself in the affairs of the east, readily consented to it. Zizim, according to Jaligni a contemporary historian, was first carried into the province of la Marche, to the  
castle

castle of a lord of that province, called Boisslami, the grand master's brother-in-law, whose sister Souveraine d'Aubuffon he had married. The prince, after making some stay in this place, retired to the commandry of Bourgneuf; and the knights, who under pretence of keeping him company, were in reality his guards, lodged him in a tower, built on purpose to secure him against the enterprizes of Bajazet, though perhaps it was designed likewise to prevent his getting out of their hands, and making his escape, as some time after they had reason to suspect.

IN short, this unfortunate prince, instead of the good reception and succours which he had flattered himself he should receive from the king of France, was uneasy to find himself at a distance from his country and his friends, banished into a foreign land, and confined in a sort of prison: and how careful soever the knights who guarded him might be to divert him, yet he could not help looking upon them as his goalers, and the mortal enemies of his house. These reflections threw him into a deep melancholy, which was soon followed by a dangerous illness, that made them fear his life was in danger.

ONE of the knights, whose business it was to guard him, being concerned for his misfortunes, and desirous to expel, if possible, the deep melancholy that had spread it self over his soul, advised him to desire an interview with the king of France, and encouraged him to hope that he might in a conference engage that prince to interest himself in his misfortunes, and obtain from him a sufficient number of forces that might enable him to try the fortune of war once more.

THE prince, like all unfortunate persons, was overjoyed at the first glimpse of hope which they gave him, and signified to the king of France, that he desired a conference with him. The king, who was entirely taken up with what passed in his neighbours territories, especially among the English and at the duke of Burgundy's court, troubled himself very little about the affairs of the east. However, to maintain his charac-

ter of the most Christian king, he answered the prince, that he would really have been very glad to see him, and to interest himself in his affairs as became a sovereign, did not religion put an invincible obstacle in the way ; but that if he would turn Christian, and abjure the errors in which he had been unhappily educated, he would engage to send him back to his own dominions at the head of a mighty army, which should not be inferior either in excellent officers, or in number of troops, to all the forces of the Ottoman empire ; and in case he did not think proper of trying the fortune of war once more, France offered to give him lands and lordships within itself, sufficient to maintain him with a splendor and dignity suitable to his birth.

THE Turkish prince soon discovered, that this proposal was no more than a polite pretence to excuse himself from agreeing to the interview he had desired, and granting the succours which he had flattered himself he should have. To omit the prejudices of education, was he only to consider his interest according to the maxims of human policy, he could not quit the sect of Mahomet, without being considered as a renegado among the Mahometans, and seeing himself abandoned by his best friends and all his partizans ; so that the prince, without laying aside all thoughts of succour from France, turned all his hopes towards the east, whence he expected news with the utmost impatience. He was not long without receiving some advices, but they were not very agreeable to him ; for he heard with equal surprise and uneasiness, that the knights of Rhodes, the eternal enemies of the Ottomans, had, after several negotiations that had been treated at Constantinople and Rhodes, agreed at last on a treaty, the very basis and purchase of which, unhappily for him, was the loss of his liberty : that the grand master, forgetting his safe conduct and the promise he had solemnly given him, had engaged to keep him always at a distance, and under a guard of knights that should be answerable for him so long as the Turks should not violate the treaty ; and that Bajazet on his  
side

side was obliged to pay five and forty thousand ducats yearly to the grand master and the order. The treaty was varnished over by those who drew it up, with all those specious pretences which princes are seldom at a loss to invent, but which after all did not skreen the order from the reproach of having violated its safe conduct.

BAJAZET payed this sum very exactly, and indeed before hand; and in hopes of gaining the grand master's friendship entirely, he sent him a little after the right hand of St. John the Baptist, patron of the order, which had been brought formerly from Antioch to Constantinople; upon the taking of which last city, Mahomet had ordered it to be put into his treasury, probably for the richness of the shrine, in order to sell the relic itself to some Christian prince. Though the Turks look upon our veneration for the dead bodies of saints as idolatry, yet Bajazet sent it with great ceremony to Rhodes: a manifest instance, that religion hath much less the ascendant over most sovereigns, than interests of state.

HOWEVER, as liberty is the first and most valuable blessing of mankind, it is no wonder that the unhappy Zizim should be struck with the most violent grief, when he found that his had been put to sale, and that they had meanly bartered it for gold. The treaty threw him into a rage that can hardly be expressed: he wished for death as the only period of so terrible a misfortune; and they were every moment afraid lest he should make away with himself in the fits of his passion. In vain did the knights set over him for his guard, labour to comfort him, by representing, that whatever had been transacted at Constantinople and Rhodes, was meant purely for his safety, and to prevent his falling into the hands of an implacable enemy. They represented to him, that his confinement would not be near so long as he imagined; that he ought to hope for great matters from time, and that some conjuncture would infallibly present itself, when the grand master might be able to restore him to his dominions with as



much glory as safety. The unfortunate prince was not in a temper to take up with such random and uncertain motives of consolation : the terrible idea of a perpetual imprisonment was ever presenting itself to his imagination, and all the arguments and civilities of his guards could not banish it a single moment from his mind.

THE noise that his grief made, soon passed beyond the bounds of his prison. Some persons who were ill affected to the order, took occasion from thence of blaming the grand master's conduct. They said it was inhumane to sell the liberty of a prince from whom at most they could have demanded but a ransom. Others went further, and said it was astonishing, that so noble an order, and a set of knights who were eternal enemies to the Mahometans, should for the lucre of a sum of money, turn goalers under Bajazet, and let slip so favourable an opportunity of kindling a war among those infidels, which all the enemies of the Ottomans might have made their advantage of.

CAOURSIN, vice-chancellor of the order, a contemporary historian, and who was at Rhodes at this time, hath endeavoured to make an apology for the knights, by representing the advantages which (says he) the Christian princes derived from the confinement of this Ottoman prince : and that author, who was in all likelihood no very scrupulous person, in order to justify the grand master's breach of faith, maintains that it was a much less evil to act in that manner, than, by observing strictly the safe conduct, to bring the arms of Bajazet upon the isle of Rhodes, and the other states of Christendom. But if we follow Jaligni, another contemporary historian, the grand master never gave any safe conduct, nor o much as his bare word<sup>a</sup>. Zizim, as we may see in this historian, was a lawful prisoner, in consequence of which, the grand master might dispose of his liberty as he judged proper for the good of his order.

As

<sup>a</sup> Guillaume de Jaligni, p. 62, 63, 65, Edit. de Louvre.

As these two contemporary historians, one of them the grand master's minister and confidant, the other secretary to Peter de Bourbon, contradict one another in the same fact, we have not met with matter sufficient in either of the two writers to clear up the point, so that we might determine it on any side with certainty: But whether Zizim was a lawful prisoner of war, or whether the knights, under pretence of not incensing so formidable a prince as the sultan, broke their safe conduct, it cannot be denied, but that pope Sixtus IV. Ferdinand king of Castile, Arragon and Sicily, another Ferdinand of the same house, king of Naples, the Venetians, and above all the rest Matthias Corvin, son to Huniades, and at that time king of Hungary, a great captain, and, like his father, the terror of the Turks, used very pressing instances with the grand master, to put Zizim at the head of their forces, in hopes of making use of his name to raise up the secret partisans he had in the Ottoman empire. Indeed most of these princes were divided; some were actually making war upon one another; and we must do this justice to the grand master, who was as great a politician as he was a captain, that he was afraid lest if the war against the Turk should not prove successful, some might be found perfidious, or at least weak enough to purchase their peace of Bajazet, by delivering up his brother and enemy to him. The grand master made a much more commendable use of the power he had over the person of Zizim: and merely by the fear in which he kept the grand seignior, lest he should set that prince at the head of all the forces of the order, and produce him to the malecontents that were very numerous in his dominions, he tied up the hands of that mighty prince, kept his forces as it were in chains, and by this means prevented him, during his brother's life, from falling upon Italy, and turning his arms against the Christian princes.

THE pope impatient to see the Christian princes unite their arms against the infidels, was persuaded, that

if he once had Zizim's person in his power, he might easily make all the powers of Europe join their forces against the Turks. This pontiff had just succeeded Sixtus IV. by the name of Innocent VIII. He was a  
 1484 Genoese by birth, of the illustrious house of Cibo, originally of the isle of Rhodes, where his father was born. As soon as ever he was placed in St. Peter's chair, he notified it to the knights, whom he considered as the sovereigns of his family, and sent a nuncio on purpose to Rhodes, to assure them of the esteem and affection he had for an order so illustrious, and withal so serviceable to the Christian world. But the nuncio declared at the same time to the grand master, that his holiness, for the good of Christendom, and to keep the Turk in awe, would be glad to have prince Zizim sent to Rome, or at least to some strong hold in Italy.

THE grand master represented to the nuncio, that they had reason to fear such a step might give great jealousy to Bajazet; and that that prince, in order to revenge himself, and prevent the pope's designs, might fall with all his forces upon Italy. Besides, that by taking Zizim out of the hands of the knights, they might give the world occasion to suspect that they did not behave themselves well towards him, which would be a great dishonour to his order. The nuncio transmitted these reasons to Rome; but the pope was inflexible, and made new instances, that they would send orders immediately to the chevalier de Blanchefort, then grand prior of Auvergne, to conduct the Turkish prince himself to Rome. The grand master, to shew his deference to the pope's orders, named two ambassadors to wait upon his holiness, and chose for that purpose Philip de Cluys, of the language of France, bailiff of Morea, and William Caoursin vice-chancellor of the order, the person who has left us an history of all that passed at Rhodes in relation to prince Zizim.

WERE we to judge of their conduct in this negotiation by the advantages which they drew from thence,

we must own that they were very able ministers; for in exchange for the person only of Zizim, which they promised to deliver into the pope's hands, they obtained very important privileges. Innocent engaged solemnly by this treaty, never to confer any commandries to the prejudice either of the several languages, or the right of seniority, even though they should fall vacant in the court of Rome: and by an express bull in the year 1489, he declared, that the effects and possessions of the order should not be comprehended in the list of benefices that the popes had either reserved to themselves, or might afterwards reserve; and in case Bajazet should, out of resentment at this change, stop the payment of Zizim's pension, he, by another bull, to compensate the loss the knights of Rhodes would thereby sustain, suppressed the orders of the holy sepulchre, and St. Lazare, which he annexed to that of St. John, to prevent (as the pontiff says in his bull) a body of knights so necessary to Christendom, from being overpowered by the formidable power of the Turks. The grand master's own interests were not forgot in this treaty; and the pope engaged, as soon as prince Zizim should be delivered up to him, to send the grand master a cardinal's hat, a dignity of great eminence indeed, but not very proper for a warrior, and one especially that was at the same time a sovereign prince.

THE treaty being concluded to the satisfaction both of the pope and the grand master. they, by concert, sent ambassadors to king Charles VIII. the son and successor of Lewis XI. to communicate it to him, and desire his consent. They met with no difficulty from that quarter; but whilst these ambassadors were still in France, there came another minister of the porte, dispatched by Bajazet to the king. That sultan, who was continually watching the behaviour of the knights with regard to his brother, was not long without having an account of the designs of the pope, and the negotiations of his ministers. He lost no time in dispatching one of his principal officers to traverse their  
nego-

negotiation. This embassador landing in Provence, notified his arrival immediately to the court, and set out on his road thither. But the king following his father's example, and scrupling to give audience to an infidel, that minister stopped at Riez, pursuant to an order he received by an express messenger, and was obliged to transact the affair by writing, and sent the proposals which he was authorised to make up to court.

BAJAZET in his letter desired the king, that sultan Zizim might be delivered into the hands of the minister he sent, or at least that he would not suffer him to go out of his dominions: and in order to engage him to comply with his request, by something more valuable than gold or precious stones, he offered him all the relicks that the emperor Mahomet his father had found at the taking of Constantinople, and in the whole extent of his empire. He added further, that he was actually in war with the soldan of Egypt; that he hoped to drive him soon out of Syria, Palestine, and the kingdom of Jerusalem, and that if he succeeded in his attempt, he engaged to set the last of those crowns upon his head, as being the most potent prince that followed the law of the Messias.

THOUGH the king was young, very courageous, and fond of glory, yet he did not suffer himself to be allured by this last proposal. Most of the Christian princes had been long before that discouraged from making those tedious voyages and pious expeditions, which had cost their ancestors immense sums, and the purest blood of their nobility. They had scarce a better opinion of the relicks that came from the east after the plundering of Constantinople; and the Greeks had brought such a vast number of spurious ones among the Latins,<sup>a</sup> that the most superstitious had quite lost all that eagerness and respect which is due to the true ones only; so that the minister of the porte was sent  
back,

<sup>a</sup> Observations sur l'hist. de Charles VIII. p. 586. edit. du Louvre.



back, as Philip de Comines relates, without seeing the king, or being able to obtain any thing from him: But on the other side, he signified to the agents sent by the pope and the order, that they might go when they pleased; that he gave his consent to their sending prince Zizim into Italy; and should be exceedingly pleased if the holy father could reap any considerable advantages from thence for the good of religion.

THIS prince however, who had a secret design of carrying his arms one day into the east, and falling upon the Turks, did not give his consent, but upon condition that Zizim should be always kept under a guard of French knights, and that the pope should oblige himself never to deliver him up to any other sovereign, without his privity and consent, under the forfeiture of ten thousand ducats.

THE unfortunate Zizim, after having come from the east into Europe, and from Rhodes into the midst of Auvergne, was now delivered up to the pope's agents, who carried him into Italy, and arrived there without any obstacle: and the better to disguise this change of slavery, they received him with as much pomp and magnificence as they would have shewn at the entry of a Christian king. The Cardinal of Angers, and Francisquin Cibo, the pope's natural son, but got before he entered into holy orders, went to meet him two miles from Rome, and complimented him in the pope's name. Doria, captain of the pope's guards, waited for him at the gate of the town, where the cavalcade began. Some Turks that were Zizim's servants, and never would quit him, were the first that appeared. Next came the pope's guards, his light horse, his gentlemen, with those of the cardinals and nobility of Rome. The seignior de Faucon, ambassador of France, heightened the splendor of the march by the pompousness of his equipage, and a numerous train of attendants in rich liveries: the vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's brother, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, marched immediately after, abreast with Francisquin Cibo; next advanced

advanced the Turkish prince, mounted on a prancing horse, and followed by the grand prior of Auvergne, and the other knights appointed for his guard. The march was closed by the master of the pope's chamber, and a crowd of Italian prelates of the pope's court. The Turkish prince was conducted into an apartment of the Vatican prepared for him; and the next day the ambassador of France and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted him to an audience of the pope.

THAT prince, at his coming into the apartment where he was to have audience, saw the pope seated on his throne, attended by the cardinals and all his court. The prince saluted him after the Turkish manner; but all the entreaties the master of the ceremonies employed, could not prevail upon him to bow his knee, or embrace his feet, as Christian princes do. The pope however did not receive him the less graciously upon that account. Zizim besought his protection with as stately an air, as if the pontiff had stood in need of his. Innocent answered him with great mildness; and he was afterwards treated with abundance of respect, though still guarded by the knights. But as he saw a great deal of company, and could easier receive news out of Asia, he thought himself less unhappy at Rome, than in the tower of Bourgneuf.

THE king of France, for certain private reasons, interested himself for the preservation of Zizim. That prince, who was young, powerful and ambitious, aspired to the title of emperor. He had a mind to make use one day of Zizim, to get Constantinople, Romania, and the Morea into his hands. Andrew Paleologus, nephew to the last emperor Constantine, had yielded up to him all his rights to that empire: and Albania, Greece, and Romania, which had been but lately conquered by Mahomet, and still peopled by Christians, begged and implored his assistance. The king, in order to fall upon those great provinces, had need of some ports in Italy and in the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. His council made him sensible of the right he had to the crown of Naples. This right was found-  
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ed on the will of Charles IV. king of Sicily and Jerusalem, nephew to king René, of the house of Anjou, who had left his cousin Lewis XI. heir to all his dominions and rights; and after him the dauphin his son, who was then upon the throne, and stiled Charles VIII. Here was a right clear enough indeed, which wanted nothing but a sufficient force to render it valid. The king and his council resolved, before they made an expedition into Greece, to undertake first this enterprize. They were likewise encouraged to it by Lodowic Sforza, regent of the dutchy of Milan, and a secret enemy of the house of Arragon, a branch of which had reigned at Naples near sixty years.

THE Italian war was resolved on before any thing was to be undertaken on the side of Greece. However, as the king of France foresaw, that Zizim's person would be very necessary to him in this last expedition, he sent ambassadors to pope Innocent; and we find by their instructions, that they were ordered to put the pope in mind of the engagements he had entered into with him in relation to the grand seignior's brother, that is, of his never disposing of him without his privacy and consent: but these negotiations were interrupted by the pope's death, and Zizim, who, during his pontificate, had found some alleviation of his ill fortune, was upon his death oppressed with a new series of calamities.

CARDINAL Roderigo de Borgia succeeded Innocent, by the name of Alexander VI. a pope, if we may call him by that name, that bought the triple crown, and the votes of several of his colleagues with ready money; and who, in order to re-imburse himself the sums he had laid out after his having got possession of it, bestowed no other reward upon those simonists than by dispatching them by sword and poison, or sending them into a tedious banishment. During his pontificate. bishopricks, benefices, ecclesiastical dignities, dispensations, the very administration of the sacraments, all was venal. He sold by retail what he had bought by the great, and employed the produce of it in keep-  
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ing his mistresses: he was not ashamed to put the purple, so often dyed with the blood of martyrs, upon several of his bastards, that were polluted with all sorts of crimes, and whom he had promoted to the dignity of cardinal.

THE unfortunate Zizim being, by the present situation of his circumstances, in his power, the tyrant, in order to enable himself to dispose of his liberty and life as he pleased, took him out of the hands of the knights, whom he dismissed, shut him up in the castle of St. Angelo, and then sent advice of it to the grand seignior, who, through fear lest he should set him at liberty, engaged to pay him forty thousand ducats annually: others say that Alexander got at least sixty thousand a year from him.

MEAN time, the king of France, fond of his first designs of conquest, made extraordinary levies: his army consisted of 3600 men of arms, 6000 archers, 6000 crossbows, 8000 pikemen, and as many musketeers, besides a prodigious train of artillery. All Italy trembled at the news of this formidable armament. The pope, whom the cardinals in general desired to have deposed, was in a fright at the bare noise of the march of the French: but as he was an able man, and a great politician, he turned his views towards Constantinople, and flattered himself, that if he was hard pressed by his enemies, he should be able, so long as he was master of Zizim's person, to get strong succours from Bajazet, both in money and troops, to sustain the war against the French.

'T WAS with this view that he secretly dispatched a nuncio, to acquaint him with the designs and armament of Charles VIII. We see in the instructions  
1494. given this nuncio, whose name was George Bozzarde, that he was directed to tell the grand seignior, that the king of France was advancing at the head of a formidable army to take Sultan Gem or Zizim his brother out of his hands, in order to make use of his help to dethrone him; that as for himself, he was resolved, in conjunction with  
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the king of Naples his ally, to oppose his enterprize, and hinder him particularly from advancing near Rome; but that he could not maintain war against so potent a prince without a speedy succour, and that therefore he would oblige him, if he would pay him immediately the forty thousand ducats that were due to him for the maintenance of the prince his brother. He adds, in this instruction to his ambassador, that he should acquaint the grand seignior, that the soldan of Egypt, with whom his highness was in war, had sent an ambassador to offer him immense sums if he would deliver prince Zizim into his hands; but that he had rejected this proposal, and that nothing should be able to detach him from his interests.

THE pope, by this subtle turn, and acquainting him with the soldan of Egypt's offers, insinuated to the grand seignior, that his brother was exposed to sale, that the highest bidder would carry it, and that it depended on himself only to obtain the preference. Bajazet understood his meaning well enough, and as he had no interest so pressing as that of getting rid of his brother, we see, by his letters to the pope, that he begs him to dispatch him out of hand, and by his death put an end to the uneasiness which would set upon his spirits as long as he should be living. "Holy father, says he to him, Zizim, as he is imprisoned, cannot be said to live; he does nothing but languish; he is already more than half dead. 'Twould be doing him a good office to dispatch him outright, and send him to enjoy eternal rest in another world." Thus did that tyrant explain himself in writing to another tyrant; and to make him absolutely resolve upon the murder he proposed, he engages himself by his letter, that as soon as he should have made away with his enemy, to remit him three hundred thousand ducats, which, says he, he may employ in purchasing considerable manors and lordships for his children. The pope, who never valued the life of a man in any affair wherein his interest was concerned, readily agreed to the conditions



of the treaty. But as he got a tribute of forty thousand ducats every year that Zizim lived, and also by that means kept Bajazet in awe, he thought proper to defer the execution of this treaty till he saw the success of the enterprize of Charles VIII. and whether that prince would be powerful enough in Italy to take his prisoner from him.

BUT he was strangely surpris'd to hear, that that prince had already pass'd the Alps, and enter'd Italy without meeting with any obstacle or opposition. And indeed every thing submitted to him, so that there was no occasion for sieges or battles. Most of the towns sent at a great distance to meet him, to present him their keys; and it was commonly said, that he had less need of captains than harbingers for this great conquest. to go, as was usual in France, and mark out with their chalk the lodging he was to lie at. Thus that young prince, who was a conqueror before he so much as drew his sword, came on to Rome, and to compleat his good fortuné, as if the gates of Rome were not large enough to afford him a suitable admittance into the city, the very night of his arrival there tumbled down at least forty yards of the wall, which being very old fell of themselves.

THE pope, afraid of falling into the hands of that prince, and of being prosecuted as the chief of the sacred college, solicited he might be shut up in the castle of St. Angelo. 'Twas here that his past iniquities presented themselves to his imagination, with all their black train of horrors. His infamous debauches, his simony, his poisonings, his murders and his assassinations pierced him to the quick. The cardinals, who were witnesses as well as enemies of his vices, the citizens of Rome, and the French soldiers, all cried out aloud, that it was their duty to purge both the earth and the church of such a monster. Though he found himself in this terrible situation, and abandoned by every body, yet he did not abandon himself; and as he was immensely rich, and had as much dexterity as money,

ney, he opposed the storm; and whilst his enemies looked upon him as an undone man, he, by force of presents, and the promise of a cardinal's hat to Briconnet the king's minister, gains him over to his interest, and by his credit, most of the young prince's favourites at the same time: so that this great affair was turned into a negotiation, and of a criminal was made a civil cause. No more mention was made of the crimes of Alexander; all that was now aimed at was to get him over from the party of the house of Arragon. He promised every thing they could desire of him, resolving to keep his promises no longer than a superior power should force him to it. Thus the treaty was soon concluded: he engaged to adhere inviolably for the future to the interests of France; and for a pledge of his word, gave his son the cardinal of Borgia or of Valence in hostage; the same who was afterwards called the duke of Valentinois, the hero of Machiavel, and who was the most profligate man then living, had his father not been alive. By this treaty he was obliged to follow the king to the war for four months, in quality of an hostage. And in order not to sully the honour of the purple, his father invested him with the dignity of legate of the holy see: but what was still a greater mortification to him than to see his son follow the banner of France, was his being obliged to deliver Zizim up to the king. We see, by the treaty made on this occasion, that that prince, after the expedition of Naples, had bound himself to send him back to Rome to the pope; and in the mean time the king was to get him a discharge from the grand master and council of the order, in the same manner as he had given them, when he received Zizim from them; he was likewise, so long as the Turkish prince lived, to have the forty thousand ducats to himself, which the sultan paid for his subsistence; all of them conditions which he stipulated with so much care, with a view only of screening his wicked intentions. For this bloody wretch, in order to keep his promise to the Turk, and elude that

which he had given to the king, caused Zizim<sup>a</sup> to be poisoned before he delivered him up: so that the unfortunate prince ended his days the moment he came up with the king at Terracina. The hasty flight of the pope's son by night, whom the darkness of it favoured to make his escape, pointed out the perfidious authors of this murder.

THE fatal news soon came to Rhodes, and it struck the grand master with horror and astonishment. He reproached himself, and that perhaps justly too, for having delivered up to Innocent VIII. a prince that had put himself into the hands of the order in confidence of their safe conduct, and who, though he had thrown himself as a captive into Rhodes, could never in that case have been treated otherways than as a prisoner of war. That which encreased the grand master's grief was, that he was obliged to dissemble it, and was not allowed to take the vengeance due to so horrible a crime. In this great perplexity, the grand prior of Auvergne his nephew brought him letters from the king of France, desiring him to come to him, that they might consult together about the design he had formed of invading Greece, and falling upon the dominions of the grand seignior.

THIS young prince, whom fortune seemed to conduct by the hand, had just made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, which young Ferdinand had abandoned to him. The easiness he found in gaining conquests which nobody disputed with him, made him fancy he should have the same success against the Turks. This was the occasion of his letter to the grand master, which was wrote in terms equally civil and urgent. The king told him in a very obliging manner, that he had made choice of him, as one of the greatest captains of the age, to be his guide in that holy

<sup>a</sup> Perstringunt nonnulli Venetos Turcico corruptos auro operam dedisse, ut veneno Zizimus necaretur; alii autem Alexandrum pontificem carpunt, qui Zizimum lento tabo infectum, Gallo regi tradiderit. Rainaldi Annales Ecclesiast. anno 1495.

ly enterprife. But the grand master was not to be dazzled by theſe encomiums, much leſs by a project that was more pompous than ſolid. This venerable old man, though he reſided in his palace, kept nevertheless ſecret intelligences in all the courts of the Chriſtian princes, and even in the ſeraglio of the grand ſeignior. He was aſſured that this prince, now free from the uneaſineſs that his brother had occaſioned him as long as he lived, was then making a powerful armament; and that it was by no means prudent for the grand maſter to leave Rhodes and the iſles of the order in ſuch a juncture. But what prevailed more than any thing elſe to prevent his going, was, that he had certain advices from ſeveral places, that the king, far from being in a condition to paſs into the Levant, would be very happy if he could get back into France; that the army which he had led into Italy was conſiderably leſſened, by the gariſons he had been forced to put into different places, by ſickneſs, and eſpecially by the exceſſes which his ſoldiers had fallen into. That there was moreover a powerful league formed againſt that prince, the pope having been the principal inſtrument in promoting it; that Bajazet had, at the pontiff's ſolicitation, ſent an embaſſador to Venice, to threaten thoſe republicans with a bloody war, if they did not declare themſelves immediately againſt the king of France; that they had entered the more freely into the league, becauſe they did not care to have ſo potent a prince for their neighbour: that their bailo was the very perſon who had given the grand ſeignior the firſt account of the death of the unfortunate Zizim; and that in order to gratify the Turks, they had cauſed the archbiſhop of Durazzo to be ſeized, who, in order to facilitate the conqueſts of Charles the eighth, had held ſecret intelligences with the Greeks of Illyria, a people that had but lately been brought under the ſubjection of the porte; and that thoſe republican politicians had ſent all the papers and writings of that prelate to the ſultan.

THESE advices informed him farther, that the emperor Maximilian I. Ferdinand king of Spain, Ferdi-

nand the dethroned king of Naples, Lodowic the duke or usurper of Milan, the marquess of Mantua, and several other petty princes of Italy, were actually treating at Venice, and they pretended that the league was signed the last day of March. The grand master sent the chevalier de Blanchefort back to the king, to communicate these advices to him, which the event shewed to be but too well founded. All these princes took up arms, and their army consisted of 20,000 foot and 34,000 horse.

THE king saw plainly, that he must be forced on this occasion to lay aside the enterprize of the Levant: all his thoughts were bent on going to raise new forces in France: he marched that way with the remains of the army that he brought from thence. The enemy, who made near sixty thousand men opposed his passage; they came to an engagement. The allies, tho' superior in number, yet differing in opinion, and not being well united among themselves, advanced indeed bravely to the battle, but after the first charge, most of them wheeled about and retired. One would have thought, that they were come only to make a tournament; and the stradiots, a body of light horse in the Venetian service, falling upon the baggage, which was purposely left for them, as a bait to furnish them with some employment, the king, at the head of his gentry and men of arms, opened himself a passage sword in hand, and advanced forward with the loss only of thirty or forty of his soldiers, after killing three thousand five hundred of the enemy; in which number were Rodolph uncle to the marquess of Mantua, and three other princes of the name of Gonzaga, together with eighteen Italian lords.

CHARLES VIII. returned into his own dominions with more glory than advantage. He lost the kingdom of Naples by his retreat; and as the grand master had foreseen, there was no more talk in France of the voyage beyond sea, or of the conquest of Constantinople. The pope delivered from his fear of the king's forces, and being no longer under apprehensions of any prosecution



cution from that prince, who was scandalized at his wicked life and infamous actions, kept no measures at all after the French army had repassed the mountains, but relapsed into his former disorders.

THE knights of Rhodes were not safe from the oppression of his government. This pontiff, without any regard to the privileges of the order, and though he could not but be sensible of the services that the knights were continually doing to Christendom, he yet pretended to be absolute master of all the dignities and commandries of the order; and the priory of Catalonia with the commandry of Nouvelles falling vacant, he bestowed them on Lewis Borgia his nephew, though the grand master had disposed of them before to brother Francis Boffolx, a Catalan by birth, and one of the most illustrious knights of the language of Arragon.

SUCH a notorious invasion of their privileges occasioned great complaints throughout the order. They wrote about it by their ambassadors to Ferdinand, at that time king of Arragon and Castile. This prince, who in his wars against the Moors of Granada had found no succour so surely to be depended on as those of the Spanish knights, entered into their just resentment. He assured the grand master, that he would openly support the nomination he had made of the chevalier Boffolx, and that so long as he lived, he would never suffer any commandry to be disposed of to his prejudice, and contrary to the rights of the order. This prince wrote at the same time to the pope, and represented to him, that there was no state in all Christendom but had the institution and bravery of that noble order in singular veneration; that those illustrious knights were the standing protectors of all the Christian nations that sailed in the Mediterranean; that ever since the foundation of the order, they had always served as a convoy to pilgrims that went out of devotion to visit the holy land and the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind; that since the increase of their power by the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, they made no  
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use of their forces, as his holiness well knew, but only to succour Christian princes against the Infidels; that they spent their revenues, their blood and their lives in that service; that the order was daily losing some of its bravest knights in those holy wars and that very few of them came off without wounds; that it was in consideration, and by way of acknowledgment for these important services, that most of the sovereigns of Christendom had given so useful an order the estates of which the commandries were composed, and that there was not one of them but beheld with concern the attempts that were making to alter this disposition; that they themselves would not sit tamely down, whilst the possessions which their predecessors had acquired to justly, and by so many dangers and fatigues, were alienating from them, and were giving away to strangers; and that after all there was no depriving them of their right, without damping their zeal, lessening the forces that they kept at sea, and abandoning all the Christians that should undertake any voyages by sea, as a prey to barbarians and infidels.

THE pope submitted to the arguments, or rather authority of the king of Arragon and Castile. That pontiff was very sensible, that amidst the complaints of the Spanish knights, some invectives had been dropped against his intimacy and his correspondence with the great Turk. He was obliged in honour to wipe off the stains that the poisoning of Zizim had thrown upon him. In order therefore to silence reports so very prejudicial to his reputation, he proposed by his nuncios to most of the Christian princes the forming a powerful league against the infidels. He declared publicly that he himself would be the head of it; and to impose on such as might call in question the sincerity of his intentions, he named the grand master of Rhodes for generalissimo of the Christian army. Such a choice determined most of the sovereigns of Europe to take up arms. The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, those of Castile, Portugal and Hungary, the Venetians and most of the Italian princes entered into  
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the league. The pope sent the news of it to Rhodes : he required the order to maintain four gallies and four other vessels well equipped for its quota during the war, promising at the same time to furnish fifteen for his part, and took notice, in a particular letter which he sent to the grand master, that the bishop of Trivoli his nuncio was actually fitting them out in the port of Venice.

HOWEVER positive this promise might be, the grand master, who knew the pope's deceitful mind, was very loth to depend upon it, and was so thoroughly persuaded of the certainty of his conjectures on this head, that he would have refused the post of general, if the council of the order had not represented to him, that there were certain conjunctures in which something must necessarily be left to chance ; that they had indeed but too much reason to apprehend, that the pope, notwithstanding this great ostentation of zeal which he affected to shew, still kept up secret intelligences with the porte ; but that in a crusade and a general war undertaken against the infidels, the order was not at liberty to lie by in a state of indolence, which would cast a stain on the bravery of the knights ; and that they ought always to be the first to take up arms, and the last to lay them down.

THE grand master was very sensible, that on such occasions there is no keeping exactly to the rules and dictates of prudence : and a very obliging letter which he received at the same time from Lewis XII. king of France determined him entirely. This prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, after giving just eulogiums to the valour and experience of the grand master, told him, that he was sending several vessels well equipped, and provided with land forces on board, into the Mediterranean ; that Philip de Cleves-Ravestein commanded this little fleet, and was expressly enjoined by his instructions to obey him, and do nothing without his orders. The grand master and the council, in order to answer in a suitable manner to the great expectations all Christendom had from the order, made ex-

traordinary efforts, and put to sea a considerable fleet, composed of vessels with high decks, gallies, galiots and barks well provided. All these vessels lay at anchor, and waited for the coming of the pope's gallies and French vessels under Ravestein's command. But this officer, far from observing the king his master's instructions, and in hopes of getting the whole honour of the campaign to himself, went first, without consulting the grand master, and besieged the capital of the isle of Mitylene.

THE Venetians were at sea with thirty gallies. They were continually expecting those of the pope; and Ravestein flattered himself, that with that succour he should have the glory of this conquest. But it was not long before he found that the enterprise exceeded his strength. The place was fortified with strong bastions, and was defended by a numerous garrison consisting chiefly of janizaries. Moreover, the French general had not troops to invest it round, and the Turks were every moment throwing new succours into it. Ravestein, after losing abundance of men in several attacks, was obliged to raise the siege; and pretending that the season was too far advanced, he returned directly for the coasts of France. The Venetian general wrote the grand master word, that the French had attempted and afterwards raised the siege of Mitylene without his privacy and consent; adding, that there was no depending on the fifteen gallies of the pope, that were so many castles in the air; that he knew only of two, which the duke of Valentinois his son was employing at that time against the prince of Piombino, and that they had no notion at all in Italy of the pontiff's taking up arms against the Turks. Nevertheless the league subsisted some time longer, during which the Christians took the islands of St. Maure from the Infidels, which was the only benefit they reaped from this union of the Christian princes. The war that broke out between the French and Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples destroyed it entirely; and the pope, instead of intervening to reconcile those two powers, did all he could to foment their

their divisions. The Venetians deserted by the principal of their allies, made a separate peace with the Turk. Ladislaus king of Hungary entered into a like treaty with Bajazet, and none stood out but the knights of Rhodes, who, without having the least succour from the pope and the other princes of Europe, continued the war against the Turks with the single forces of the order.

THEIR gallies were then at sea, and met off the coasts of Syria and Egypt a fleet of Turkish and Sarazen ships, bound from Alexandria, where they had been richly laden with merchandize, to Constantinople. The chevalier de Villaragut, castellan of Emposta, commanded this squadron: he attacked and beat the convoy of this rich fleet, which he seized on, and brought into the port of Rhodes. The prize indeed was considerable, but not sufficient to remove the grand master's concern for the indifference and negligence of his allies. He employed every method, and used the most pressing instances, but to no purpose, in order to give new life to the league, and engage the pope to keep his word the following campaign. That pontiff, who had sufficiently re-established his reputation in having formed a league, employed his thoughts only on the making a great provision for Cæsar Borgia his favourite son. He was for making that bastard a sovereign prince and raising his fortune upon the ruins of the first houses of Italy.

THE other princes of the alliance were in like manner entirely taken up with their own private interests. The grand master seeing no room to expect any thing for the advantage of Christendom under such a pontificate, waited for a change, and in the mean time turned all his care to regulate the constitution of his state, and the manners of his knights and people.

By an edict of the council he banished the Jews out of the isle of Rhodes, and all the territories of the order in which they had been settled for several ages. The hereditary aversion of that people for the adorable person of Jesus Christ, made them odious to the grand master. Besides, they ruined the subjects of the order by  
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their excessive usury, and were accused likewise of a certain kind of traffick that was still more baie and infamous.

FROM the same motive of piety, and the same spirit of religion, the grand master made severe ordinances against blasphemers, and extended them afterwards against the luxury of some knights that went too fine and gaudy in apparel. This worthy head of an order, holy in its institution, being as regular a religious as he was a great captain, ordered all his knights, agreeable to what had been always practised in the order, to wear no cloaths but what were plain, uniform, of one colour, and without any of those vain embellishments, the result of pride and ambition; and if any one dared to infringe that statute, he was condemned to undergo the discipline for two days, and fast for seven, and his cloaths were confiscated for the benefit of the poor. All the old commanders and the most zealous among the knights highly commended the grand master for this wise regulation. From that moment there were no more to be seen any staves of different colours, embroideries, rich furs, or any sort of vain equipage unsuitable to a set of religious persons who had made the solemn vow of poverty at the altar. Indeed what could one think to see these religious dressed up like so many women, and perhaps with a view only of seducing them, and to have nothing of their profession about them but a bare cross, which they would not have worn neither, had it not served for a title to the claim they laid to the revenues of the order? 'Twas a happy circumstance indeed, that at the same time that they resumed the modest habit of their profession, they resumed likewise the spirit of it; and the order again found a set of holy religious in the person of its brave knights.

WHILST the grand master was employing himself so worthily in maintaining a regular discipline in his order, one would have thought that the pope had conspired its ruin. That pontiff, ever greedy of wealth, and above all things fond of despotick power, bestowed the richest dignities of the order upon his relations  
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and secular persons; and disposed of them without the privity of the grand master, without the least regard for the nature of the possessions which belonged to an independant and sovereign body, and in violation of all the rights and priveleges of the order. This unjust and violent proceeding afflicted the grand master in a very sensible manner. He wrote about it to the pope in very strong terms, such as a true zeal is apt to inspire; but all the answer he had was a continuation of the same injustice; and he had an account, that even after his remonstrances, Alexander had promised the grand priory of Castile to Don Henry de Toledo. This news threw the Grand master into a melancholy which ended at last in a sickness that proved mortal to him. The generous old man, a sincere lover of his order, of whose merit and usefulness he was thoroughly persuaded, could not get the better of his grief. His indisposition became insensibly too strong for all the remedies of physick. He sunk under it without losing any thing of his ordinary resolution, and saw death steal upon his bed with the same intrepidity that he had so often stared it in the face in war amidst the most terrible dangers. Thus died, at above eighty years of age, Peter d'Aubuffon, grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, one of the greatest captains of his age: a man rever'd by all the princes that lived in his time, the darling and delight of his knights, the father of the poor, the redeemer of Rhodes, the sword and buckler of Christendom, and as eminently distinguished by his unfeigned piety as by his singular valour.

His birth was illustrious; he was sprung of one of the most noble and most antient houses of France, the original of which is not to be traced in the obscurity of the first ages of that monarchy. About the year 887 as Aimar de Chabanois relates, a nobleman of the name of Aubuffon was made a viscount in the province of Limousin by king Eudes. The same historian, who lived in 1029, in order to set off the birth of Turpin bishop of Limoges, says, that he was uncle to Robert viscount d'Aubuffon. But how illustrious soever the

grand master's ancestors were, he gloried chiefly in such of them as had signalized themselves in the wars of the holy land. 'Twas to copy after their example that he devoted himself to the defence of Christians by entering into the order, and fighting under the banner of St. John ; we have now seen in the history of his life that he was as serviceable to them, as he was terrible to the Infidels. The order, after his death, inherited his estate ; but we may say with justice, that the most valuable treasure he left was the remembrance of his glory and the example of his virtues.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K V I I I .

**T**HOUGH all grand masters are mortal, we may say that the order of St. John is immortal, and that such a kind of republican government, founded upon invariable laws, and always actuated by a wise council, may lose its head, or some of its members, without losing any thing of its solidity. Let whatever will happen, it is always the same spirit that reigns in it: the history of the grand master d'Aubuffon furnishes us a great example of it. 1503. The order was not sensible of his loss, by reason of the wisdom and zeal of his successor. EMERI 'This successor was brother EMERI D'AMBOISE. D'AMBOISE, of an ancient and very noble house, which was at that time particularly famous

by the famous George d'Amboise, brother to the grand master, archbishop of Rouen, cardinal and legate of the holy see, and first minister of France.

THE new grand master was in that kingdom, when the chevalier de Gaverston, by order of the council, brought him the instrument of his election. This knight was ordered to represent to him what need the order had of the king of France's good offices with the pope, who continued, contrary to their rights and privileges, to put his creatures into all the commandries that fell vacant in the language of Italy. They complained likewise, that by his grant of expectative favours, he anticipated upon the vacant ones; and that for an inconsiderable sum of money, he not only exempted the knights from their residence at Rhodes, which was so necessary at that time in order to acquire and preserve a right of seniority; but also dispensed with several from taking on them the vows of the order, a practice which was entirely unprecedented. Every thing was venal in the court of this avaricious pope; no body, even in his own territories, could be rich with safety; and when he wanted pretences to seize on other people's estates, he kept a set of poisoners in his pay, who by their abominable art, made the richest commandries and the first dignities of the church vacant whenever he pleased.

It seemed strange that in so holy a post God should so long suffer a monster that dishonoured it: but if his justice was slow, it was not the less severe upon that account: and this pontiff perished by the ordinary instrument of his cruelties: for his last crime proved fatal to himself.

THE pope and his son had long hankered after, and grasped already in their hopes, the inheritance of the great estate of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, who passed for the richest of all the cardinals in ready money: but as the old man lived too long for their wishes, they resolved to poison him. The pope invited him to an entertainment in a country house near Rome: the poison was prepared in a bottle of wine, which was to be



be filled out to no body but the cardinal. But the pope and the duke of Valentinois coming to the garden before him, and finding themselves thirsty, called for drink, and the butler, who was let into the secret of the bottle, happening not to be there at that moment, another servant filled them wine out of the poisoned bottle, which they drank off. Alexander being old, could not resist the violence of the poison, what remedies soever they applied<sup>a</sup>. Thus died pope Alexander VI. “ whose publick debaucheries, says P Daniel in his history of France, treacheries, boundless ambition, insatiable avarice, cruelty and irreligion, made him the odium of all Europe, in a post to which none ought to be raised but by the practice of virtues, the very opposite of his abominable vices<sup>b</sup>.”

THE duke of Valentinois being of a stronger constitution, escaped indeed by the help of various remedies, from dying outright; but ever after this terrible accident, he lived but in a state of languishment; and afterwards lost his life in attempting to reconnoitre a small place that he had besieged.

THUS were the church in general, and the order of St. John in particular, delivered from two tyrants, who by their wicked example, and their unjust government, seemed to have conspired their ruin. The grand master hearing of their death, and thinking himself no longer necessary at the court of France, prepared to set out for Rhodes, whereupon he took leave of the king. That prince gave him the utmost demonstrations of kindness, made him a present of a piece of the true cross, and gave him at the same time, as a testimony of the esteem he had of his valour, the sword that king St. Lewis were in his wars beyond sea, a present very suitable to the head of an order who was animated with the same spirit as that holy king. The grand

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<sup>a</sup> 1 Edit. t. 2. p. 1721.

<sup>b</sup> *Historia arcana; sive de vita Alexandri VI. papæ; seu excerpta ex diario Johannis Burchardi Argentinenfis capellæ Alexandri VI. papæ clerici ceremoniarum magistri.* Edita a Godefr. Guilielm. Leibnizio.

master, before his setting out, went to the parliament. The courts were then assembled in order to verify the bulls relating to the legatine faculties of cardinal d'Amboise his brother. He told that august assembly, that he would not set out for his own territories without taking leave of that court, to which he assured in general, as likewise to every particular member of it, that he would do them all the good offices that lay in his power.

THE grand master had a prosperous voyage, and arrived without any obstacle at Rhodes, and came to an anchor by the mole of St. Nicholas. He was received with all the usual ceremonies on such occasions; and in order to get a true information of the condition of the whole body of the order, he called a general chapter. Several regulations were made in it, for the supporting of discipline, and for settling a good order in the administration of the revenue: and it was highly necessary to take proper measures to prevent the ill designs of the Turks and Sarazens. Bajazet and the foldan of Egypt being exasperated against the knights, who were masters of the sea, in all parts of the Levant, had secretly made a league together to destroy a power which ruined the commerce of their subjects. The grand seignior being now freed from the inquietude that his brother's life had before given him, could not forgive the knights for receiving a son of that unfortunate prince into their island. He was called Amurath, who not fancying himself safe in the foldan's dominions, had taken refuge at Rhodes. Bajazet, by way of revenge, had given orders to all the corsairs that sailed under his banner, to make descents in all the isles that owned the grand master as their sovereign. The foldan too had agreed to raise a strong army to lay siege to Rhodes: but as there was no wood in his dominions to build ships, the grand seignior lent him four gallies well equipped, and allowed that prince's ambassador to purchase several merchant ships in the port of Constantinople: these the ambassador laded with timber, iron, sails, and all other necessary rigging. Besides this  
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succour, that minister obtained leave of the grand seignior for the soldan his master to cut down timber in the forests about mount Negro, and along the gulph of Ajazzo; this gulph is well known to Cilicia and Syria together. These preparations were not intended only for the war of Rhodes. The soldan, whose name was Campson Gauri, designed part of them against the Portuguese, who were grown formidable along the coasts of the Red-sea, and over all the east. They were to carry this timber all ready framed to the port of Alexandria, from whence they transported it upon camels to Suez, a small town seated on the edge of the Red-sea,<sup>a</sup> near the place where 1505. the Israelites had formerly crossed as on dry land, under the conduct of Moses.

EMANUEL king of Portugal, one of the greatest kings of that nation, was then making war upon Naubeadarin king of Calecut: the spice trade had drawn the Portuguese into his territories, which lie along the coast of Malabar, in the peninsula on this side Ganges. This was the place where the Portuguese landed when they discovered the East Indies. They were at first received by the people with great humanity; but afterwards abusing their good nature, and attempting to make themselves masters of the country, they were driven out of it. The Portuguese returned thither with powerful fleets. The king of the country, not having forces enough to make head against these foreigners, applied to the soldan of Egypt for succour: and in order to engage him in his defence, represented to him by his ambassador, that the Portuguese seemed to have a design to conquer the east, and destroy the holy law of the prophet; and that those Europeans were likely to extend their conquests as far as the places which true Musulmen have in the greatest veneration. And the better to excite the zeal and indignation of that prince, he engaged the king of Aden, who hav-

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<sup>a</sup> Otorius, l. 3. c. 4.

Matt. l. 3. c. 2. hist. gen. de Portugal, par Lequian, tom. 2.

ing the honour to be of the race of Mahomet, bears, on that account, a distinguished rank among the kings of Arabia, to dispatch likewise an ambassador to him to make the same remonstrances.

CAMPSON, who, among other titles, assumed that of protector of Mecca, assured them of strong succours; and was likewise solicited to it underhand by the Venetians, who were jealous of the commerce carried on by the Portuguese in the east, and had sent an ambassador to the soldan. This ambassador brought several workmen along with him, some to cast artillery, others to work in the building of vessels; but who were particularly to be employed in building gallies, vessels absolutely necessary in the port of Suez, which had not a bottom safe enough for great vessels to ride in.

THIS was the occasion of Campson's desiring leave of Bajazet to supply himself with timber out of the forests of Cilicia. Whilst his artificers were employed in these kinds of work, the grand seignior put to sea a fleet consisting of a great number of galiots, flutes, and other sorts of vessels, with a body of land forces on board, under the command of a famous corsair called Camali, to whom the rest of the corsairs had joined themselves in this expedition, and who had all of them orders, as we have said, to make descents on the isles belonging to the knights, and destroy all with fire and sword. But they were prevented by the care and vigilance of the grand master: several detachments of cavalry, with the bravest knights at their head, were posted along the coast of the isle of Rhodes to guard it; so that the corsairs attempting to make a descent, the troops which they put on shore were surrounded by the Rhodians as soon as they advanced into the country. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and Camali gathering together as many as he could of those that escaped the sword of the knights, set sail again and fell upon the isles of Simia, Tilo and Nissaro, but with no better success than he had at Rhodes. He was in hopes however of repairing these miscarriages by the conquest of the isle of Lango; in this view he stood

flood away for that coast, and was not far from it when he was informed that the grand master had put a considerable body of knights in it, under the command of brother Raimond de Balagner, an old knight, dreaded over all those seas for his valour and experience

ALL this expedition ended in a descent on the isle of Lero, which does not so much deserve the name of an island, as of a rock or shelf; Camali landed 500 Turks, that began to batter the castle with all the cannon of their vessels.

THE governor of this little place was an old knight, of the language of Italy, who being extremely ill at that time, left the care of defending it 1506. to a young knight of Piedmont, scarce eighteen years old, Paul Simeoni by name. This young knight having no garrison nor soldiers, but only some poor inhabitants that cultivated the least rocky places of the isle, put a good face upon the matter, and fired briskly on the infidels that battered the place; but as their artillery had beat down a great pannel of the wall of his castle, he, to intimidate the enemy, and prevent their making an assault, dressed the inhabitants of the island, and also their wives, in the habit of knights, with the white cross: this new militia, by his orders, lined the breach in great numbers. The Turks taking them to be really knights, and imagining that they were a re-inforcement which had been sent on the noise of their cannon, and landed in the isle by night, raised the siege with precipitation, for fear of being surpris'd by the gallies of the order, which owed the preservation of this fort to the resolution and adrefs of young Simeoni.

THE soldan of Egypt, pursuant to the treaty which he had made with Bajazet, had sent seven flutes into those seas; which are a sort of long vessels with a low deck, and provided with oars as well as sails. These flutes had land forces on board, and the commodore's design was to make an attempt on the isle of Lango. Two of these vessels, that were a sort of van to the rest, advancing a good way before them in order to re-



connoitre, were discovered by the centinels of the castle. The governor immediately ordered two gallies to sail out of the port, who, after having put out to sea, turned back upon the flutes, and cut off their retreat. The Sarazens not thinking themselves strong enough to fight them, and not able to get back to their squadron, made for the coast of Lango, ran their ships aground, got on shore, fled and hid themselves in the island. The knights knowing they could not escape being taken, lost no time in pursuing them, but towed off the two flutes, put Christian soldiers and seamen on board them, with two knights, that got into the same course which the infidels had held before. The other five flutes that came quietly on, seeing the two others that preceeded them, came up with them without mistrusting any thing; but they were strangely surpris'd to see themselves attacked: they were still more so, when they saw the two gallies of the order appear from behind a cape of the island, and lay them aboard. The Infidels, after a smart attack, were forced to strike, and were all made slaves in the gallies, as well as those that had fled to the island, where they were soon discovered and taken prisoners.

THIS little advantage was succeeded by an enterprisé much more considerable, that was executed by one of the vessels of the order.

1507. There went every year from Alexandria a great carack laden with silks, spices, and all sorts of merchandize, which the soldan's subjects brought from the Indies by the way of the Red-sea, and were carried in this vessel from Egypt into Africa, and to Tunis, and up as far as Constantinople. This ship was of so extraordinary a bulk, that they say the top of the highest mast of the largest gallies was not near the height of the prow of this prodigious machine. Six men were scarce able to clasp the mast about. This vessel had seven stories, two of which were lower than the surface of the water: it was able to carry, besides its freight, and the merchants and seamen necessary for the working and sailing of it, a thousand soldiers for

its defence ; it was a sort of floating castle, mounted with above an hundred pieces of cannon : the Sarazens called this carack the queen of the sea: the knights, during the government of Aubuffon, had attempted several times to come up with it and attack it, but never could carry their point. The order was more lucky under his successor. Advice being brought that it was at sea, the grand master ordered the chevalier de Gafineau, commander of Limoges, to go on board the admiral galley of the order, and endeavour to meet the carack and engage it, but to make use of artifice rather than force in the taking of it, and to be particularly careful neither to burn nor sink it. The commander, pursuant to his orders, set sail, steering his course for Candia, and cruising a little beyond that island to wait the coming up of the prize. The carack soon appeared, and discovered the Christian caper ; but the Sarazens presuming on their own force, and the superiority of their fire and artillery, would not change their course ; so far from that, they looked on their enemy with contempt, and thought it a rashness in the Christian to put himself in their way, as if he had a mind to be taken, and surrender himself up into his hands.

THE knight however still kept on his course, and seeing himself within cannon shot, sent one of his officers in his long-boat to summon the captain of the carack to deliver up his ship. The Sarazen replied, that the ship belonged to the soldan his master ; that he had by his orders commanded her several years, without having met with any enemy in those seas daring enough to attack him, and required him to tell his commander, that he had a number of brave Musulmen on board, who would lose their lives rather than lose their honour and their liberty. The knight, upon receiving this answer, and as if he had a mind to make up this affair by way of treaty, sent his officer back to the Sarazen, to represent to him that his superiors had given him express orders to attack him whether strong or weak ; that he could not help obeying them, and  
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therefore could only offer them, if they would surrender, to give them good quarter; but that in case they would not, he would either burn or sink them. By means of these parlies, the time which was spent in dispatching the Christian officer backwards and forwards, the commander, who had no design but to amuse them, was still advancing forwards, and was come almost insensibly up close to the carack; so that the Sarazens having threatened the envoy to throw him into the sea if he returned any more with such proposals, he was no sooner got on board the galley of the order, but the commander let fly a broadside of his cannon loaden with cartridges, which killed the Sarazen captain, with most of the officers, as well as soldiers and seamen that were upon the deck. The merchants, soldiers and seamen that were left in the carack, frighted at the terrible havock made by this volley, and seeing them preparing to fire a second broadside, struck and offered to yield. The commander obliged the principal of them to come on board his galley, and at the same time sent a party of his own officers and seamen on board their vessel, to take the management of it. 'Twould be impossible to relate the immense wealth that was found in this prize, besides vast sums of money and precious stones belonging to the merchants.

THE soldan sent several bales of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and a great quantity of rich tapestry, camlets, and various sorts of commodities of great value for the ransom of the merchants and his other subjects. The vessels of the order took likeways, a few days after, near the coast of Cyprus, three ships of the Sarazens, and sent the merchandise on board them to be sold in France, the produce of the sale being laid out in cannon, arms, and ammunition, which the agents of the order sent to Rhodes.

THE soldan, incensed at these losses, resolved to augment his naval force, and to have always a certain number of gallies in the Mediterranean and Red-sea. That prince sent five and twenty vessels of different bulk into the gulph of Ajazzo,

jazzo, to transport the timber which he had caused to be cut and ready framed there, and designed to make use of for the building of new vessels.

THE grand master having certain advice of the arrival of this Egyptian fleet in the gulph, and that this new armament was designed against a Christian prince, resolved to oppose it. He proposed the matter to the council. Several of the grand crosses thought the enterprize dangerous by reason of the forces of the soldan: but as the order was stronger at sea than that prince, and besides, the council was persuaded of the wisdom and prudence of the grand master, his opinion prevailed, and they allowed him to draw out of the treasury the money necessary for this expedition. He gave orders for equipping the great carack, and they fitted out at the same time four gallies of the order, and eighteen vessels of several sizes. As the king of Portugal's interest was chiefly concerned in this war, the grand master gave the command of the gallies to Andrew d'Amaral a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, commander of Vera Cruz, a brave knight, and well skilled in naval affairs, but proud, conceited, and too much prepossessed in favour of his own valour and capacity.

THE ships were under the command of the chevalier de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: the grand master chose him for this employment, on account of the esteem and reputation he had in the order, which he had merited by his valour and wise conduct in commanding.

The gallies sailing out of the port of Rhodes, came up to the isle of Cyprus, and went coasting up and down the island. But the commander de l'Isle-Adam, to avoid being becalmed, kept out to sea; and both, according to appointment, came by different ways to cape St. André, which is on the east of the kingdom of Cyprus. When the whole fleet of the order was joined, they held a council of war upon the manner of their attacking the infidels. The two chieftains, I mean d'Amaral and l'Isle-Adam, were of different opinions. The Frenchman proposed to wait, and surprize

the ships when they should be at sea with the timber on board; d'Amaral was for going to attack them in the bottom of the gulph, without considering that they might be defended by batteries erected on the shore: and pretended to make his opinion pass for a law, at the same time that he rejected that of l'Isle-Adam with contempt. The debate grew very hot; the two generals were on the point of fighting; but the Frenchman having more moderation, and fearing that the quarrel might cause the enterprise to miscary, sacrificed his resentment to the common good of the order, and submitted to d'Amaral's opinion. The whole fleet then discovered itself, and entered full sail into the gulph. The commodore of the Sarazens was the soldan's nephew: the young prince, who wanted no courage, seeing the Rhodian fleet, put what land forces he had on board his ship, weighed anchor, advanced to meet the knights, and offered them battle. There were in the Christian fleet excellent pilots used to those seas, who, by working their ships, got the wind of the enemy; the infidels however were not daunted at it, but fought on with the same courage. The artillery was played equally well on both sides, and the generals fought themselves, and obliged their soldiers to fight like men that would not outlive their defeat. The continual fire of the cannon and small arms, the crash and havock of the shipping, the shooting down the masts, and sinking of several vessels, all this lost abundance of men on both sides; and after an obstinate engagement for three hours together, it was scarce discernible on what side the victory inclined: and in all probability, if they had continued firing and cannonading only at a distance, the battle would not have been so soon ended; but the knights, by order of their generals, endeavoured to board them, and following their example, leaped most of them sword in hand into the enemies vessels. This soon changed the face of the combat; and as, when they come to grapple, a knight had a great advantage over a Sarazen soldier both in courage and address, the Egyptians lost several ships. Most of the infidels got  
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into their long-boats, whilst others threw themselves into the sea to swim to the shore. Such as were lucky enough to get thither, fled into the woods and mountains; only their general chose rather to die honourably fighting, than either abandon his ship or surrender.

THE knights in this engagement took eleven ships and four gallies, and sunk the rest. They afterwards landed some troops that pursued the fugitives, and took most of them, and made them slaves; and after setting fire to the timber, which the Egyptians had framed, they returned to Rhodes, and came back into the port with the ships and gallies they had taken from the enemy, and a great number of prisoners that they had taken in this expedition.

THESE prizes made the treasury ample amends for the expences it had been obliged to make for this armament; especially at a time when the knights, out of a spirit of disappropriation, devoted not only their prizes to the common good of the order, but also all the money they could lay by out of the revenues of their several commandries. We have a remarkable instance of this at that time in brother Charles l'Aleman de la Roche-Chinard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, who, reserving only to himself out of his income, a small sum for his maintenance, employed as long as he lived the profits of his priory, either in the beautifying of their altars, or in the defence and service of the order: and they have particularly observed, that during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubuffon, he sent to Rhodes the statues of the twelve apostles, which he had caused to be made of gilt plate, and which weighed two hundred merks of silver; that he afterwards sent thither a gold ring representing the Saviour of mankind, the statues of the holy virgin, and St. John Baptist, both likeways of massy gold, and weighing fourscore merks, a chalice, and several rich ornaments for the altar: and this year he made the prioral church a present of fifteen pictures which cost him a thousand

crowns, having each of them a cross of fine gold, fashioned after the same manner as those which were worn by the knights, and weighing thirty merks. In fine, this very knight built, at his own expence, a noble palace to serve as an inn to the knights of the language of Provence, to whom he sent likewise four cannons with their carriages, to serve for the defence of the place. He left himself, before he died, no more than ten thousand crowns, which he deposited in the bank of St. George at Genoa, for the benefit of the body of the order, with the view, that if Rhodes should chance to be besieged, the knights might find that supply ready for the purchasing arms and ammunition: all of them dispositions so truly Christian and religious, that we thought ourselves obliged to transmit the remembrance of them to posterity, and to propose them for an example to the commanders, who, under that honourable title, are really no more than the administrators of the revenues that belong to the body of the order, and the common treasury. 'Twas from the same spirit, that the grand master d'Amboise employed the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in relieving the poor, who looked upon him as their father, or in making fortifications at Rhodes; but death surprised him in the midst of such laudable employments, in the 78th year of his age, the greatest part of which he had spent in the practice of Christian virtues. He was a wise prince, skilful in the arts of government, successful in all his enterprises, and one who enriched his order with the spoils of the infidels, without encreasing his own wealth; for he died poor, at the same time that he left not one poor man in his dominions.

WE may justly apply to the grand master d'Aubuffon what is said of Raimond Dupuy of blessed memory, the first military grand master of the order, viz. that most of his pupils proved his successors. Indeed, upon the loss that the order had just sustained by the death of the grand master Amboise, they thought they could  
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not repair it better than by making choice of brother GUY DE BLANCHEFORT grand prior of Auvergne, nephew to the grand master d'Aubusson, during whose mastership he had a considerable share in the government of the order, and particularly in the guard and care of prince Zizim.

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WHILST messengers were gone from Rhodes to France, to carry the prior de Blanchefort news of his election, the council of the order received a brief from Julius II. who was then on the throne of St. Peter, inviting the principal knights to repair immediately to the council of Lateran, which that pontiff had called, in order to balance the authority of the assembly called at Pisa against him, at the request of the emperor Maximilian the first, of Lewis XII. king of France, and five cardinals. The pope in his brief told the council of the order, that he designed to entrust the knights of St. John with the guard of the council. The design of this warlike pope was to get a considerable body of those knights into his party, and engage them to serve in his troops. But the council being well informed, that the business of that council was not so much to take care of the interests of religion, as to support the ambitious projects of Julius, who had put all Christendom in a flame, did not think proper to intermeddle in affairs that bore so little conformity to their institution. They excused themselves on account of the absence and distance of the new grand master, from making any considerable detachment on that account. To shew some deference however to the orders of the pope, the first spiritual superior of the order, they ordered the chevalier Fabricio Caretto admiral of the order, who was then residing at the court of Rome, in quality of their procurator general, to raise in Italy and in the pope's territories a number of knights, and to go at the head of them to offer their service to that pontiff.

THE desire of husbanding the Christian princes was not the only motive which made the council take such a prudent resolution. They had received at Rhodes an

account of mighty preparations which the Turks were making in all their ports ; and this made the lieutenant of the mastership, and all the council, resolve not to let any knight go out of the island. They dispatched at the same time the chevalier John de Fournon to the grand master, to press him to come thither as soon as possible. The commander Caretto, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, had orders likewise sent him to repair thither with the pope's permission, and bring with him two ships laden with corn, recruits and supplies of several sorts for the garrisons of fort St. Peter, and the isles of the order ; and they sent at the same time detachments of knights thither to provide for the defence and preservation of those places.

THE news of the Turks armament spreading itself over all Europe, made the grand master hurry away ; and though he found himself dangerously ill, nothing could stop him. He embarked at Villa Franca near Nice ; but the sea made his illness much worse. The knights that attended him seeing themselves off of Trapani, a town of Sicily, would fain have persuaded him to put in there, and be carried ashore : but the grand master, who had more regard to the interests of his order than to his own life, fearing that if he should die in that place, the pope would hear of his death before his successor was elected, and take upon him to dispose of the grand mastership, ordered that they should keep on their course for Rhodes. After some days sail, as they were off of the isle of Zante, he felt the approaches of death. He faced it with the same intrepidity as he had so often shewed in the many engagements he had been in ; and after discharging all the duties of a Christian and a true religious, he devoted his last moments to the preservation of the sovereignty and temporal independence of the order. To prevent any attempt from the court of Rome against the freedom of election, he ordered the knights that attended him, as soon as the breath was out of his body, and before the news of his death could reach Italy, to dispatch a caravel,  
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well provided with excellent rowers, to carry the news of his death to Rhodes with all possible expedition. His last orders were punctually executed; the caraval arrived at Rhodes December 13th. 1513.

The day following the chapter met, and chose admiral CARETTO for grand master, FABRICIO a dignity that had been foretold him by CARETTO. the grand master d'Aubuffon, as has been already mentioned in the seventh book of this history, and which he deserved not only from a series of gallant actions, but also by the several negotiations that he had carried on at the courts of Christian princes with great wisdom and dexterity.

As soon as he had taken possession of this eminent post, he called a general chapter. As they expected they were going to be besieged, most of the regulations made in it related either to warlike stores, or the subsistence of the knights that were necessary for the defence of Rhodes. The grand master undertook to provide for every thing, and engaged to maintain five hundred and fifty knights that actually resided in the convent for the sum of forty thousand crowns which was to be paid him annually out of the treasury. They assigned him likewise a farther sum of twenty three thousand crowns for the extraordinary charges of the artillery, and the maintenance of sultan Amurath, Zizim's son, who had turned Christian, and had the castle of Feracle in the isle of Rhodes given him by the order for his residence, where he led a very exemplary life. The grand master, by means of a rich merchant of Lions, Laurenfin by name, got a large train of artillery from France, and sent thither at the same time to reside in quality of embassador of the order, brother Philip de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, whom we have already mentioned, hospitaller and grand prior of France, in which kingdom he likewise acted as visitor and lieutenant to the grand master.

THE war which they were apprehensive of at Rhodes from the Turks, was suspended by some domestick dissensions that broke out at the porte in the Ottoman



man house. Bajazet was still upon the throne, a gouty and infirm prince, that delighted only in eating and drinking, or in searching after some of the secrets of nature, a lazy and voluptuous philosopher but a very weak prince.

THIS prince had three sons, Achomat, Corcut and Selim : the first, either from a political view, or from his natural inclination, passed his life in luxury and a shameful indolence. Corcut, who has been already mentioned, and whom the janizaries, after the death of Mahomet II. his grandfather, had seated on the throne, in order to secure the possession of it to his father, affected a great air of devotion, and was never seen without the Alcoran in his hand. Selim, the youngest of the three, loved war, and omitted nothing that might gain him a reputation in it. Among three princes of such different characters, Bajazet was for declaring Achomat his successor ; the similitude and conformity of their taste for pleasures occasioned this distinguishing affection in his favour. Selim being informed of his intentions, employed every artifice in order to traverse them. He found means to get the janizaries into his interest ; and those troops being gained by Selim's money, waited only for an opportunity of declaring in his favour.

THE grand seignior and the king of Persia, being both too powerful and too near neighbours to live in good understanding for any time together, declared war against each other. The janizaries, a body of troops always terrible to such of their sovereigns as do not make themselves dreaded by them, before they marched into the field, demanded openly a prince to command them, and Selim must be that prince in spite of Bajazet, who had named them his eldest son for their general. They carried their insolence still higher : they required of weak Bajazet, as a security of their pay, as they said, to deliver up the keys of the treasury to their new general. The unhappy old man understood the meaning of this well enough : he came down from the throne and quitted Constantinople to retire to

Demotica, a country house which he had built by the side of the Euxine sea. But Selim, who was dissident of his inclination for Achomat, got him poisoned by his physician: he afterwards caused his two brothers with their wives and children to be strangled. Such were the steps by which he mounted to sovereign power: in other respects he was a great captain, always on horseback, indefatigable, sober, not given to any pleasure, nor affected with any thing but glory, which he sought after all his life-time in the dangers of war.

THIS prince's ambition, his courage, his power, the forces of his empire, all contributed to alarm his neighbours. Ismael king of Persia was the first that he fell upon. Selim invaded his dominions, passed the Euphrates, gave him battle, routed him, and took the famous city of Taurus. The persian to make head against so formidable an enemy, endeavoured to form alliances with the princes his neighbours. He sent an ambassador to the grand master, who in the habit of a merchant, and by the assistance of a Turk, who was an inhabitant of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had a pension from the order, got safe through Selim's territories, and came to Rhodes. He was received in that place with all the regard due to the greatness of his master, and the importance of the affair he was come to negotiate. This minister treated with the council, and concluded a league against the common enemy. Campson Gauri soldan of Egypt, who was as much afraid of Selim as the rest entered likewise into the treaty. The grand seignior having advice of these various negotiations, sent ambassadors to Cairo, to disengage the soldan from the league; but not succeeding in his design, he turned his arms against that prince, and in less than four years time reduced Syria, Palestine, the maritime places of the Red Sea, a great part of Arabia, and all Egypt: and having entirely destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, he left the government of Egypt to Cair-beg, and that of Syria to Gazelles, two lords who had been principal officers among the Mamelukes, but who, in breach of the fidelity which they owed to  
their

their sovereigns, had deserted them, and gone over to the Turks. Selim returned to Constantinople covered with glory after these great exploits; and immediately set to work in fitting out two hundred gallies, which he designed for the conquest of the isle of Rhodes.

THE precaution so necessary for a conqueror of being informed of the fortifications of a place which he intends to besiege, made him send a Jewish physician to Rhodes as a spy. This traitor, in order to be the less suspected, got himself baptized: his skill, and the want they were in of such a man of his character, soon introduced him into the principal houses of the city: and when he had discovered the weak places of the fortifications, he gave an exact account of them to the ministers of the porte. Whilst they were continually at work in the arsenals upon the preparations necessary for this enterprise, Selim fell ill of the stone, others say of a cancer in the reins, of which he died at the age of forty years, after having destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, subdued Syria and Palestine, triumphed over all the forces of Persia, taken the maritime towns of the Red Sea, and great part of Arabia, and reduced all Egypt into one province only of his empire: all which conquests he finished in a reign of less than eight years.

SOLYMAN II. his only son succeeded him in the government of this vast empire, who took possession of it almost at the same time that Charles V. was elected emperor of Germany. Solyman was scarce twenty years old. Gazelles governor of Syria had been faithful to his father, whom he stood in fear of, and whose power kept him in awe: but thinking himself freed from his engagements by the death of that prince, as soon as he heard the news of it, he thought of raising up the empire of the Mamelukes again, and was not without hopes of getting into the throne himself. He wanted neither courage nor capacity for the carrying on so mighty a design, but as he had not forces sufficient singly to oppose the formidable power of the Turks, he secretly dis-

dispatched one of his confidants to Cair-beg governor of Egypt, in order to endeavour to engage him in his intended revolt. His agent represented to him in his behalf, that under the reign of a young prince, whom he looked upon as a child, nothing could be more easy or more glorious for both of them, than to unite their forces, and employ them to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Turks.

BUT Cair-beg preferred a fortune already made to his hands, which was as great as a private man could enjoy, to the uncertain success of an enterprise of so delicate a nature, which, though it should chance to succeed, Gazelles nevertheless would probably reap all the benefit of it. To clear himself therefore of all manner of suspicion of infidelity, he put the envoy of Gazelles to death, dispatching at the same time an express to the porte, in order to acquaint the grand seignior and his ministers with the dangerous projects of the governor of Syria.

SOLYMAN sent immediately a strong army against him, under the command of Ferhat basha, one of the ablest generals of the emperor his father. Gazelles not seeing his agent return, began to be apprehensive that he was betrayed by the governor of Egypt. As he was engaged too far to retreat, and the bare debating whether one shall continue faithful to one's sovereign, is a breach of faith that merits chastisement, he summoned about him all the surviving Mamelukes that were dispersed up and down in different places. All Syria by his orders took up arms; and he sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes to desire a train of artillery of the grand master, which he wanted, in order to make head against their common enemy.

THE grand master, overjoyed to see war breaking out again between the Infidels, immediately sent him cannon, powder, and other ammunition, with several excellent officers of artillery. Gazelles employed them to his advantage; and though he was every moment expecting the Turkish army, which was on its march, he yet besieged Tripoli, Baruth, and several  
other

other places of Phœnicia, which he took. His conquests were interrupted by the arrival of Ferhat basha. Though the Egyptian had fewer troops, he saw plainly, that he had no resource but in a victory: he marched straight against the Turks: the two armies soon came to an engagement; and the victory was disputed a long time. Gazelles at the head of his Mamelukes, sustained all the efforts of the Turkish army for six hours together: he rallied his troops several times, charged always at their head, and killed several officers of the janizaries with his own hand: in fine, after losing the best part of his men, oppressed with numbers, and surrounded on all sides, he chose to die fighting rather than take quarter. He fell covered over with wounds, upon an heap of Mamelukes that had met with the same fate; and his death put an end to the war, and utterly destroyed that nation, or rather that body of soldiers which had disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure, for upwards of two hundred years.

THE grand seignior was not long before he was informed of the leagues which the knights of Rhodes had entered into against sultan Selim his father. His ministers represented to him, that those knights by their fleets and armaments were masters of the sea; that they had several times intercepted the convoys that they were sending to Syria and Egypt; that they kept several Turkish officers in chains, whom they had taken prisoners; that corsairs were continually putting to sea from Rhodes and the other isles of the order, to disturb the commerce of his subjects; and to raise his resentment to the height, they put him in mind of the succours which they sent to Gazelles to support him in his rebellion. Solyman resolved to invade that island, and was particularly confirmed in that design by some memorials that sultan Selim had left, wherein was this observation, that to secure the frontiers of his empire, it was necessary to take the town of Belgrade in Europe, and the island of Rhodes in Asia.

BUT



BUT Solyman, before he engaged in two such difficult enterprizes, seeing himself in possession of such a vast empire, was desirous of establishing his authority upon certain principles and maxims of a very different nature from those which his predecessors had followed. Before Solyman's reign, force alone, with respect to the neighbouring princes, determined both of peace and war, and was the sovereign rule of the enterprizes of his predecessors; at the same time that a barbarous despotick power was the only law that prevailed within the kingdom. The bashas plundered the people with impunity; and the prince in his turn squeezed these sponges, and frequently put the greatest of them to death; under such a government no rich man could be innocent. Solyman's conduct was entirely opposite: he never made war without declaring it, and he never declared it without having a plausible pretence for doing so, which, after all, politick princes are seldom wanting in. His subjects under his reign saw perhaps for the first time justice and equity reign together. This prince, the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the Turkish throne, issued out a proclamation throughout all his dominions, the purport of which was, that all such as had been unjustly deprived of their estates by his father and his ancestors, by applying themselves only to him, would have justice done them. The unjust possessors of those estates, which were appointed for the keeping up of temples and mosques, were severely punished: he restored the authority of the courts of judicature which had been laughed at in the precedent reigns. Several cadis or judges, that had prevaricated in their posts, were condemned to death: and as to the grandees and bashas, he never put any of them to death for the sake of their riches, but only punished such as grew so by extortions, and abusing their power; in a word, he declared war against vice, injustice and violence, before he carried his arms against the enemies of his law.

SUCH was Solyman when he resolved to make war upon the Christians. This prince being told that A-

murath II. and Mahomet II. had miscarried at the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, fancied that such an enterprise would be an honour to his first attempt in war. He resolved to begin with the siege of Belgrade; but to hinder the Hungarians from making timely preparations for their defence, his ministers, by his orders, gave out that his designs were directly levelled against the isle of Rhodes.

BUT the grand master, to prevent them, built new walls in such places of the city as seemed most to want them. They augmented the fortifications of the place and filled the magazines with corn, ammunition and provisions. The pope, at the request of this vigilant grand master, sent three galleons well provided to the succour of the order; and Francis I. king of France, furnished at the same time nine galleys, four brigantines, and four barks well equipped. This little fleet arrived safe at Rhodes, under the command of the baron de St. Blancard.

BUT Solyman had no sooner made his real designs public by the siege of Belgrade, but those foreign ships returned homewards. Hungary was at that time under a young prince who was still a minor, whose name was Lewis, and son of Ladislaus; or rather, there were as many princes as great men in the kingdom, who tore it to pieces by their domestick dissensions, arising from a reciprocal emulation, and were greater enemies to one another than to the very Infidels. The grand seignior, the better to conceal his designs, had sent an ambassador to the young king, to notify to him his accession to the empire: but instead of receiving that minister with the respect due to his character, the lords of the council had treated him as a spy, and hindered him from returning to his master.

THIS was the occasion of the war. Solyman resenting this shameful violation of the law of nations, after having demanded satisfaction for it, but to no purpose, sent Pyrrhus basha at the head of a great body of horse to invest the town of Belgrade, antiently the capital of the country called Rascia. This place which was built

on the edge of an hill at the confluence of the Save and Danube, was, besides the fortification which nature had bestowed upon it, surrounded with a double wall, flanked at proper distances with great towers well provided with artillery ; and on an eminence which commanded the town, there was a castle called antiently Taurunum. It was strengthened with all the fortifications that art could invent, and was then looked upon as impregnable.

SOLYMAN followed the basha close, and soon appeared at the head of a formidable army. The trenches were opened, batteries of canon were raised, and the Turks carried on their works with the utmost diligence, All Europe fixed their eyes on the siege of a place which they considered as one of the bulwarks of Christendom. The knights of Rhodes especially interested themselves in it, and the rather, because they judged if the Turk should carry Belgrade without any opposition from the Christian princes, that success would probably determine him to undertake the siege of Rhodes next.

WHILST they were under this uneasiness, the grand master fell ill, and was carried off pretty suddenly. He was a liberal prince, was magnificent, charitable, a lover of his people, and desirous to be beloved by them ; and what was very rare in that age, he was learned in the dead languages, and spoke most of the living ones with great facility. His death was so much the more considerable loss to the order at this juncture, in that the knights who were going to have war with the porte, could the easier have obtained succours from most of the Christian princes, he being highly in their esteem, and having often negotiated with them during his embassy at Rome.

THE order not being able to continue without an head, as soon as the funeral was solemnized, they assembled to chuse him a successor. Brother Andrew d'Amaral chancellor of the order, and grand prior of Castile, whom we have already mentioned on occasion of his dispute with the chevalier de l'Isle-Adam, demanded that eminent dignity with as much arrogance and

presumption, as if he thought he should thereby do a favour to the order by condescending to accept it. He had not indeed been thought unworthy of it, had he not been the first to do himself that justice: His presumption, and the contempt he discovered for his rivals, occasioned all unanimously to declare against him, so that all the votes were divided only between

Sir Thomas Docray, grand prior of Eng-  
 PHILIP DE land, and brother PHILIP DE VILLIERS  
 VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, hospitaller and grand  
 DE L'ISLE prior of France. The Englishman was

ADAM. distinguished by sublimity of genius, and his great skill in treating with princes, at whose courts he had been employed on important embassies: and in a juncture when Rhodes was threatened with a siege, some regard was also had to the great riches which that knight possessed. L'Isle-Adam for his part had acquired a great consideration and general esteem in the order, by his wise conduct in all his employments, and by his open and candid behaviour, full of frankness and integrity, and which was too natural for ambition and hypocrisy to counterfeit for a long time together.

THIS lord was then absent; he had no partisans in the assembly but the remembrance of his services, and the knowledge of his virtues. 'Twas owing only to a reputation so well established, that he had a plurality of voices in his favour, so that he was declared grand master.

1521. All the knights applauded the choice which  
 Jan.22. the electors had made, and there was an universal joy over all the island. D'Amaral alone was mad with vexation; and in the first transports of his passion could not help saying to a Spanish commander who was his friend, that l'Isle Adam should be the last grand master that reigned at Rhodes.

TIME, instead of mollifying the violence of his resentment, served only to increase it. 'Tis said, that his private animosity against the person of the grand master grew up to a violent hatred against the order in general, and that being perpetually restless and tormented

mented with rage, he took up a resolution to extirpate the order itself, and destroy the mother that nursed him. Full of these deadly designs, it is thus that Bosio relates he carried them on; he unbosomed himself to a Turkish slave, whom he had taken in war, a man of parts, and one whom he had found very capable of carrying on an intrigue. The slave, who saw a prospect of recovering his liberty by this negotiation, readily entered into his measures; and under pretence of going into his own country to procure money for his ransom, went privately to Constantinople. He was entrusted with a letter from the chancellor d'Amaral to the grand seignior. In his letter he pressed that prince to besiege Rhodes; and in order to convince him of the facility with which he might succeed in that enterprise, he had annexed an ample memorial to this letter, containing an account of the present state of the city, the weakest parts of the place, the number of knights and troops provided for its defence, and what provisions and ammunition it had to sustain a siege. He added, that the council had just demolished part of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to rebuild it on a more solid foundation, and that if his highness would lose no time in making his army advance, he would find the place all open on that side, and in a defenceless condition. Solyman was still in Hungary: D'Amaral's slave in his absence delivered his packet to the ministers, whom he had left at Constantinople, which they sent by an express to the grand seignior. That prince was delighted to find in the person of the chancellor a privileged spy, who having by his dignity admittance into all the councils, could send certain and exact advices. They sent the slave back to him with promises of a vast recompence if he could contribute to the success of his highness's designs. The chancellor, as Bosio says, still full of rage, and infatuated by his passion, was pleased to see a way open to his vengeance; and for fear they should be alarmed at his slave's return, he gave out that he was only come back to bring him his ransom. Such an excess however of confidence for a



slave whom he had suffered to go upon his parole, his return, and the great civilities that the chancellor shewed him, appeared a little extraordinary; but that lord's authority, and the fear they were under of making a proud haughty man their enemy, who was known to be implacable in his hatred, stifled these suspicions, or at least prevented their breaking out.

IN the mean time the new grand master, having received an account of his election, prepared to set out. As he was well informed that Rhodes was threatened with a siege, he signified it to all his order by a general summons, which he sent into all the states of Christendom. He collected all the responsions which he could, and laid them out on warlike stores; and after taking leave of the king of Burgundy, came to Marseilles where he embarked. He went on board the great carrack, and the rest of his train and equipage, with the stores that he was carrying to Rhodes, followed in four felucca's. Unluckily, as he was off of Nice, a fire broke out in the carrack, by the carelessness of an officer of his table: the flame spread itself in a moment into different parts of the ship; the sails and cordage were burnt to ashes in an instant, and flakes of flame and smoke made the terror still greater, and likewise hindered the seamen in the service they were for doing. In this disorder and confusion, usual in such accidents, every body was for throwing themselves into the sea to swim ashore, or shelter themselves in the felucca's, which were not far off; but the grand master forbad any body to stir out of the ship on pain of death. A new fear, and their respect for his orders, served instead of resolution; the most timorous returned to their posts, and all laboured in concert to extinguish the fire, which they at last effected: and the carrack was saved by the very persons that would have abandoned it.

SCARCE had the grand master escaped the danger of the fire, when another element, no less formidable, threw him into fresh dangers. There arose a furious tempest: the sea was all in motion; the winds blew  
with

with violence, and raised the billows to a dreadful height ; the pilot could no longer manage the helm ; and, as if heaven had been resolved, in concert with the sea, upon the destruction of the carrack, the thunder, after having roared for a long time together, fell upon the ship, broke into the stern room, killed nine men, and broke the grand master's sword to pieces, without hurting the scabbard. The seamen did not fail to make dismal presages from these various accidents ; and I cannot say whether the knights that were with the grand master were altogether free from the like fancies, especially at a time when the Turks threatened the isle of Rhodes, and that men had a great deal of faith in omens. But the grand master, without regarding any of these vain prognosticks, put into the port of Syracuse, got his ships refitted, and was preparing to keep on his voyage, when they brought him advice, that Curtogli, a famous corsair, and a favourite of the grand seignior, was waiting for him as he passed with a strong squadron of gallies and ships, much superior to his escort.<sup>a</sup> The corsair, besides the hopes of booty, had formed this enterprize with the design of revenging the death of two of his brothers, who had been killed in engagements against the knights ; and designed also, if he could make a prize of some felucca, or take any knight prisoner, to make an exchange for his third brother, who was at that time a slave at Rhodes.

THE principal citizens of Syracuse endeavoured to persuade the grand master to avoid meeting with the corsair, who was formidable in those seas both for his forces and valour : but that great man, who never knew what danger meant, went out of the harbour, crowded all the sail he could make, made Capo Malio, called also St. Angelo, where the infidels waited for him, passed it in the night, and arrived safe at Rhodes, where he was received with the usual ceremonies, and with the joy and respect due to his dignity and merit. His presence heightened, as it were, the courage and confidence of the knights : it looked as if he seemed to  
have

<sup>a</sup> Bozio, t. 2. l. 18. p. 625.

have brought an army in his single person: no man dreaded any longer a siege; several even wished it, in order to have frequent opportunities of signalizing their valour; and Solyman, who was so much dreaded in Hungary, scarce raised the least apprehensions at Rhodes.

THAT young prince had just made himself master of Belgrade. The happy success of that siege made him expect the like against the city of Rhodes; and besides the desire of acquiring glory by such an important conquest, he was also induced to it by the continual complaints of his trading subjects, who were often taken by the knights; and especially by the remonstrances of the musti, who was continually representing to him, that those Christian capers disturbed the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that he was obliged in conscience to put a stop to their cruising. Solyman was very zealous for his religion, and well enough disposed to turn his arms that way; but as he was a wise prince, and never engaged in any enterprize without communicating it to his council, he laid the matter before them in order to its being debated.

SOME basha's represented to him all the difficulties of it, the fortifications of the place, the valour of the knights as well as of the inhabitants, being most of them corsairs; the mighty succours that the grand master would infallibly draw from Christendom: that this spark might raise a great flame, and produce a league and crusade of all the sovereigns of Europe; and that his illustrious ancestors, and the soldans of Egypt, having in different ages attempted this conquest, had been always baffled, and lost abundance of men without being able to carry their point.

MUSTAPHA, on the contrary, who had married Solyman's sister, and was a very brave general, guessing at the sultan's secret inclination, represented to him like a true courtier, that all the valour of the knights could never resist his victorious arms; that he had such a great number of troops, who were all such good soldiers, that he could cover the whole island with his numerous

merous armies ; whereas the grand master had only an handful of men for his defence ; that they had nothing to fear from the Christian princes who were actually in war, and so incensed against one another, that the emperor Charles V. chose rather to suffer the taking of Belgrade, though the taking of it opened a passage into the hereditary dominions of his family, than make peace with the king of France, or draw any detachment from the armies he had in the field against that prince, to send to the succour of the king of Hungary his ally ; that after all it was a sort of dishonour to the Ottoman house, considering the high pitch of grandeur to which it was arrived, to suffer any longer in the very heart of their empire, a republick of corsairs that roved over the seas at pleasure, disturbed the commerce of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and were daily fixing a price on the liberty of his subjects ; that Rhodes, and the other isles of the order served for an asylum to fugitive slaves, malecontents and rebels ; and what was most to be considered, that they could not be ignorant, that in times of peace between the several princes of Christendom, the grand masters were always taking that opportunity of proposing the conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem ; that in order to engage them in such an enterprize, which was what they always had most at heart, they had offered all the forces of their order, and that so long as the knights should be possessed of the port of Rhodes in the east, a port capable of receiving the Christian fleets, there would be always reason to fear some crusade from the princes of the west.

SOLYMAN preferred this last opinion, as being most agreeable to that ambition which is inseparable from so vast a power : Pyrrhus, and the other bashas, though of a different sentiment, came over with great submission to that of their sovereign : a war against the knights, and the siege of Rhodes were therefore resolved upon. The sultan named Mustapha basha, his favourite and brother-in-law, to be general of the land army, Curtogli to be great admiral, and Achmet basha, an able engineer, to have the direction of the works

at the siege; and appointed Pyrrhus basha his old governor, a man in whom he entirely confided, to go along with Mustapha, as a counsellor to that young general, whose capacity and prudence might not perhaps be equal to his courage and valour. The sultan, after the distribution of these several employments, in order to find how the grand master stood affected, wrote to him by an ambassador, whom he sent on purpose to congratulate him, as it were, on his promotion to the dignity of grand master. He proposed to him the keeping of peace, and maintaining a good correspondence together; but he concluded his letter by telling him that he had taken Belgrade, as if he were minded to intimidate him with the fear of meeting with the same fate as that unhappy city had undergone. As the stile of these kind of letters gives a better idea of the character of princes, and the manners of the age they live in, than meer extracts, we have thought the reader would not be displeas'd to meet with that of Solyman, and the grand master's answer, in this place. Solyman's letter was wrote in Greek, and drawn up almost in these terms.<sup>a</sup>

“ SULTAN Solyman, by the grace of God, king of  
 “ kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high emperor  
 “ of Bizantium and Trebizond, most mighty king of  
 “ Persia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, supreme lord of  
 “ Europe and Asia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, possessor of Jerusalem, and lord of the universal sea.

TO PHILIP VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, GRAND  
 MASTER OF THE ISLE OF RHODES, GREETING.

“ I CONGRATULATE thee on thy new dignity,  
 “ and thy arrival in thy dominions: I wish that thou  
 “ mayst reign there happily, and with more glory than  
 “ thy predecessors. It shall be in thy power to have  
 “ a share in our good will. Enjoy then our friendship,  
 “ and as our friend, be not the last to congratulate us on the conquests we have just made in  
 “ Hun-

<sup>a</sup> Bozio, t. 2. l. 18. p. 627.



“ Hungary, where we have reduced the important  
 “ fortrefs of Belgrade, after having destroyed all that  
 “ durst resist us with our dreadful sword. Adieu. From  
 “ our camp the . . . . and of the hegira the . . . .

THIS letter was read in full council ; and they were surprised, that whilst Solyman was offering, as it were, peace with one hand, he should make an ostentation of his formidable power with the other, and that his vessels should insult those of the order, or such as sailed under its banner. The grand master did not neglect to answer that prince, but in such terms, as the reader will observe, that might give him to understand that they were equally disposed at Rhodes either to conclude a peace, or continue the war.

F. PHILIP VILLIERS DE LISLE-ADAM, GRAND  
 MASTER OF RHODES,

TO SOLYMAN, SULTAN OF THE TURKS.

“ I UNDERSTAND very well the meaning of thy  
 “ letter, which thy embassador has brought me : thy  
 “ proposals of a peace between us, are as agreeable  
 “ to me as they will be displeasing to Curtogli. That  
 “ corsair, at my passage from France, did all he could  
 “ to surprisè me, but not succeeding in his project, and  
 “ not caring to go out of these seas without having  
 “ done us some damage, he entered the river Lycia,  
 “ and attempted to carry off two merchant ships be-  
 “ longing to our ports. He had likewise attacked a  
 “ bark belonging to some Candiots, but the gallies  
 “ of the order, which I sent out of the port of Rhodes,  
 “ forced him to let go his hold, and make off as fast  
 “ as he could for fear of falling into our power. A-  
 “ dieu . . . . from Rhodes the . . . .

As the Turks were not very scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, the grand master did not think fit, without a pass, to send his letter by a knight whom  
 they

they might probably detain. They gave it to a Greek, a private man of the city of Rhodes. Solyman and his ministers found, by reading this letter, that they had to deal with a prince of a firm and intrepid character, one who was not easily terrified. Pyrrhus basha, an old man, as great a politician as a soldier, proposed in the council, that they should write again to the grand master in order to make a new overture of peace; that they should tell him that they durst not present his letter to the grand seignior by reason of the mean character of the bearer; but that if he would send one of his principal knights to the porte, there was room to hope that his negotiation might end in a solid peace. The design of this minister was to draw one of the first of the order to Constantinople, then to seize his person, and force him by torture to give them an account of the state of the place, and the forces of the order; which might make one doubt of the intelligence which, it is pretended, d'Amaral held with the grand seignior, notwithstanding its being positively asserted by contemporary historians: not but Solyman had likewise the same advices from the Jewish physician: that perfidious wretch was continually urging him by his letters, to hasten his armament; but as traitors, in order to make themselves better listened to, always lessen the difficulties of an enterprize which they themselves propose, the grand seignior and his council, perhaps from the fear of a double treachery, would have been very glad, before they engaged in the siege, to know from some knight, whether the advices that they received from their spies were true, and whether there was no exaggeration in their relations.

THE grand seignior entered into the views of his minister; and in order to endeavour, under the specious pretence of a negotiation, to get some knight sent to Constantinople, he ordered them to dispatch a new express to Rhodes in Pyrrhus's name. That basha wrote to the grand master to assure him, that the sultan was very well disposed to treat of peace in good earnest, but that out of fear of affronting the majesty of so  
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great a prince, they did not dare to present his letter to him, because of the mean character of his agent ; but that if he would send any lord of his council with another letter, and furnish him with full powers, he would readily introduce him to the porte. He added, that the grand seignior, being surprized that he had no answer to his first letter, had given a second to the messenger, which he did not question but he would answer in a manner suitable to the majesty and formidable power of so great an emperor. The express indeed had a letter from Solyman to the grand master, wherein that prince, as we shall find, in order to oblige him to sue for peace, makes a great ostentation of his designs and forces.

“ WE have been assured, says he to him, that the letter which our highness wrote to thee, has been delivered into thy hands, and that it gave thee more astonishment than pleasure. Be assured, that I shall not be satisfied with the conquest of Belgrade, but propose to myself another of as great importance in a little time, of which thou shalt soon have notice ; thou and thy knights being scarce ever out of my memory.”

As this second letter had more the air of a challenge, or a declaration of war, than of a preliminary of peace, the grand master thought himself obliged to answer it in as lofty terms.

“ I am not sorry, says he to him in his answer, that thou rememberest me and the knights of my order : thou speakest to me of the conquest thou hast made in Hungary, and the design thou hast, as thou informest me, of undertaking another enterprise which thou hopest will have the same success ; but consider, that of all the projects that are formed by man, none are more uncertain than those that depend upon the fortune of war. Adieu.”

THE grand master having thought himself obliged to answer the sultan's indirect menaces with so much resolution, wrote likewise to Pyrrhus, telling him, that if the sultan his master desired a peace with greater sincerity than appeared by his letters, he needed only send him some hostages, or else a pass sealed with the great seal of the empire, and that as soon as it was come to hand, he would send one of the most considerable knights of the order to Constantinople to hear what proposals they would make him. But a brigantine of the order, commanded by a serving brother, being taken by the Turks near Rhodes, that act of hostility was taken for a declaration of war.

THE grand master prepared for it with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had passed his whole life in war : he enlarged the ditch, and sunk it deeper ; he repaired the fortifications, and added several new ones to the place.

To deprive the Turks of forage, they, by his orders, cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe : some country houses, as well as churches, situated without the town, were demolished, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy should make use of their ruins to raise platforms, and plant their artillery on them. From another precaution, and in order to be well supplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peasants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled at the same time all the adventurers and privateers that were cruising against the infidels under the banner of the order, whose protection they had, as well as free admittance and full security upon occasion in the port of Rhodes.

BUT it was necessary to provide for the subsistence of these people as well as for that of the knights, the citizens, and the garrison. This was the first care of the grand master : he appointed three commissioners for that purpose ; and to give them the greater credit in the execution of their office, he chose them out of the grand crosses. The first was Gabriel de Pommerols, great commander and lieutenant general to the grand

grand master; John Buck Turcopilier of the language of England was the second; and chancellor d'Amaral was named for the third. These three noblemen visited all the magazines carefully; and though they found most of them full, yet the grand master, from an opinion that what on such occasions is called sufficient, does not always prove so, proposed in the council to send immediately to Naples, Sicily and Candia for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder and arms; and to endeavour likewise to get five hundred archers and bow-men from Candia, the Candiots in all ages excelling even the most warlike nations in the managing of those instruments. The chancellor, who, as they pretend, had sold his religion to the infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the grand master's precautions, represented, that by news just arrived from the Christian isles of the Archipelago, they were informed that the Turkish armament was not so much designed against the isles of the order as against that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy itself; that for near forty years in which he had been in the order, he had frequently observed, that the Turks had occasioned it more expence by the jealousy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that indeed the care and precautions that the grand master took could never be sufficiently applauded; but they might defer the execution of them for some time longer, for fear of draining the treasury of the order in making preparations to guard against a storm that would probably fall on some other place.

THE grand master, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious spirit of parsimony; but he declared, that he had letters from a faithful spy that he could depend on, whom he kept at Constantinople, and who assured him that the grand seignior's armament was designed only for the siege of Rhodes; that he had given orders to let no ship go out of his ports that was bound towards Rhodes; that they were labouring hard in preparing a train of large artillery, which is never used but in sieg-



es; that the sultan had caused a great quantity of tools to be made proper for pioneering, and that most of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark in order to be transported into the isle of Rhodes. The grand master added, that in an affair of such importance, it was dangerous to give way to a too timorous policy, and that it was much better to hazard some expence than see the island covered with enemies before they had provided for its defence.

THE grand master's advice prevailed: they got wheat from Naples and Sicily, so that there was no want of any thing during the whole course of the siege, but powder, which happened, by the treachery of the chancellor, who made a false report of the quantity in the magazines. They had also like to have wanted wine through the same perfidiousness, the chancellor having, under a pretence of thriftiness, rejected the proposals of three merchants of Rhodes, that offered to supply the city with it at a reasonable price. But the grand master, whose views extended on all sides, sent a serving brother into Candia, Anthony Bosio by name, uncle to the author of the annals of the order, with orders to provide great store of wine, and to procure leave also from the governor of the island to levy five hundred foot. Bosio arriving in Candia, had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he shipped off in fifteen brigantines; he was even cunning enough to engage a young Venetian gentleman, whose name was Bonaldi, and who had at that time in the port of Rhodes a ship freighted with wine, and bound for Constantinople, to alter his course and carry it to Rhodes.

BUT the serving brother did not find it as easy a matter to levy soldiers. The governor not only denied him leave, but, as if he dreaded Solyman's resentment, forbid, by sound of trumpet, all persons whatsoever, under pain of corporal punishment, to list themselves with the grand master's agent, or quit the island. Notwithstanding which, the dextrous Rhodian made a shift to get his recruit, and above five hundred men, disguised like merchants and seamen, got on board the  
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brigantines, either unknown to the governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This cunning negotiator did another piece of service to the order before he set sail. There was at that time in the isle of Candia an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo by name, a gentleman of Brescia, a subject of the republic, and of an antient and illustrious family: the senate had given him a pension of twelve hundred crowns to superintend over all the fortifications of that island. Bosio, who foresaw how useful a man of his abilities would be in a place that was besieged, proposed to him to go to Rhodes, and to share with the knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valour, and who was both a brave soldier and a great engineer, offered cheerfully to accept his invitation, provided he could procure a discharge from the governor.

Bosio parted for Rhodes with his soldiers and provisions of wine. He arrived safe in that place; and, having given the grand master an account of his voyage, he discoursed with him about the negotiation he had entered into with Martinengo. The grand master immediately saw the advantage that a man of his abilities would be to them in the present juncture: he sent Bosio immediately back to Candia, with a letter to the governor, wherein he entreated him in the most pressing terms, to give that officer leave to come and defend a place which served for a bulwark to the very islands of the republick. But the governor flatly refused to grant it him, and went so far as to send for Martinengo, and give him express orders not to stir out of the island. But that officer, not troubling himself about the consequences, put on a disguise, and, in concert with Bosio, came to the sea side, and got on board a felucca that waited for him in a bye-creek of the isle.

THE governor having notice that the engineer had disappeared, caused a strict search to be made after him in the principal houses. He sent to his own, where he confiscated all his effects, and not questioning but he was

embarked in some passage ship, he sent two gallies to pursue him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Martinengo and Bosio seeing themselves pursued, took down the mast of the felucca, drew their oars into their vessel, brought it close under a rock of the island, covering it with sails made of whitish linen, almost of the same colour as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the secret orders of the governor, they escaped the gallies, which returning back into the port, they set sail, passed in the night time through some Turkish vessels, which by means of Bosio's speaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own squadron, and arrived safe at Rhodes. Martinengo was mightily well received by the grand master, who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders following his example, shewed him the utmost respect: every body was striving to shew him how sensible they were of his merit. Martinengo also was delighted to see himself esteemed by that noble body of knights, the best judges of valour, and which was composed of the most illustrious persons in all the states of Christendom. From these sentiments, that favoured perhaps too much of human nature, he passed to those of a particular veneration, when he saw these knights and warriors preparing themselves like Christians and true religious for the defence of religion. Under a soldier's habit, and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith, and sincere disengagement from the things of this life: he was particularly edified to see most of them preparing themselves for a bloody siege, by a frequent receiving of the sacraments.

THESE reflections gave rise to his vocation: he saw himself exposed to the same dangers, without the same holy preparation: God touched his heart; he ran to the grand master's palace, threw himself at his feet, and, inflamed with zeal to sacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honour him with his cross. The grand master took him up and embraced

embraced him tenderly, assuring him, that he would go immediately and propose his request to the council, and acquaint them with his pious dispositions. The votes were unanimous in his favour: the whole order was delighted to associate so excellent a man in it; the grand master gave him the habit, and administered the vows to him in a full assembly; and to acknowledge the generosity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony, and the great pensions he had from the republic of Venice, the order assigned him a pension of twelve hundred crowns, till such time as he might have some commandry or priory of the like value given him. As a farther favour to the new knight, the grand master made him the next day a grand cross, and gave him at the same time the general inspection over all the fortifications: and the grand marshal, who is standing general of all the troops of the order, divided as it were his authority with him: he admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority which his post gave him over all the forces in the island.

'T WAS by the advice and directions of Martinengo, that they repaired the walls and towers; he caused them to raise the ramparts higher: they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made casemates in the flanks of the bastions, and in the counterscarp of the ditch mines filled with powder, to which they might set fire by the help of a train laid under ground: within the place, he caused them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of necessary defences that a person of his capacity, and who foresaw every thing that might happen, could oppose against the attacks of the besiegers.

WHILST the order was receiving such advantages from his skill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be besieged, there happened a kind of desertion among the knights of the language of Italy. The principal of that nation complained to the grand master and the council, that pope Adrian VI. who had just succeeded Leo X. disposed in an absolute

folute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy, and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome to complain of it. The grand master did not think fit in the present juncture to grant them the leave that they desired : his refusal exasperated them; and d'Amaral, who lost no opportunity of weakening the order, insinuated to them, that they themselves ought to take a permission which he denied them; that l'Isle-Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the language of Italy; that in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their language; that the grand master spread and encouraged the reports of an approaching siege, with the view only of having a pretence to dispose the more freely of the funds that were in the treasury of the order; and that after all, it would be a dishonour to them, if after shedding their blood so often in the defence of the order, they should, by an odious distinction, be the only persons deprived of the recompence so justly due to their services.

THE Italian knights, seduced by this perfidious advice, left Rhodes without leave, and retired into the isle of Candia. The grand master, justly provoked at so scandalous a disobedience, ordered them to be prosecuted as rebels and deserters; and the council deprived them of the habit by an express sentence to this purpose: however just this sentence might be, the order nevertheless lost in them a considerable number of valiant knights. Some of their friends, better affected than the chancellor, went over to Candia with the grand master's private consent; and after having dextrously entered into their complaints and resentments, they represented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the siege of Rhodes; that they would see the island immediately covered over with the Turks, and that though the motive of their journey to Rome was never so just, they yet could not prevent their enemies spreading a report that they had made it at such a juncture, with a view only of getting out of the way  
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of those dangers to which their brethren were going to be exposed.

THE certainty of the siege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being suspected to have withdrawn themselves from so cowardly a motive, prevailed over their resentment. They returned to Rhodes to throw themselves at the grand master's feet; and that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they protested that they would wash it out with their blood, and with that of the Infidels. The grand master received them like a tender father; and after having given them a wise reproof for their disobedience, the generous old man embraced them with great tenderness, gave them the habit again, and promised them, that as soon as they should be free from the war, with which they were threatened, the whole order should interest itself in their affair; that he would make it his own, and that as their complaints were just and reasonable, he was in hopes, that the several princes of Christendom would not refuse him their good offices with the pope.

THIS storm being happily calmed, the grand master immediately dispatched knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to solicit the pope and the other princes of Christendom to send him speedy succours: but the event shewed that the order could depend on nothing but its own strength. Most of the princes, engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private interests, neglected those of religion; and the pope himself, though a virtuous pontiff, yet as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the emperor Charles V. whose preceptor he had been, he durst not dispose of the troops and money of the holy see without his privity and consent.

BROTHER James de Bourbon, commander of Oisemont, and natural son to Lewis de Bourbon, elected bishop of Liege, a prince of the house of France, tells us in his relation of the siege of Rhodes, that upon the request made in the grand master's name by the chevalier d'Ansoyville to the king of France, this religious prince who had a great affection for the order, gave him  
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a power to fit out all the vessels that he should find in the ports of Provence, and carry them to Rhodes. But the commanders in that province, fearing to be attacked by the emperor, delayed executing his orders : so that he was forced to go back to court to solicit for new ones that might be more particular : and these voyages took up so much time, that winter came on, and the proper season for putting to sea was over.

'TWAS probably from the same misfortune, that a strong carrack, which the chevalier Hyferant of the language of Auvergne had fitted out at Genoa, and freighted with ammunition and provisions, ran aground near Monega: though they suspected at that time, that the winds and the sea, had not so much contributed to that accident, as the policy of the Genoese, who were afraid of incurring the resentment of the Turks. Nor is it less difficult to discover the motive of the inactivity of Fabricio Pignatelli prior of Barletta, of Charles Quesvalle, of Lully de St. Stephen, and John Baptist Caraffa bailiff of Naples, who having by the grand master's directions, purchas'd with the order's money, a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, never sent any of it to the succour of Rhodes.

THE grandmaster being in no certainty of these remote succours, placed all his confidence in the protection of heaven, and in the valour of his knights. Like a man of war and a great captain, he neglected no precaution necessary to prevent being surpris'd by the Infidels. One of the first of his many cares, so worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the knights and regular troops ; which amounted in all to about six hundred knights, and four thousand five hundred soldiers ; and with this handful of men, he undertook to defend the place against the inundations of those formidable armies that Solymán brought into the field in all his enterprises. The townsmen indeed of Rhodes took up arms, and some companies were formed out of them : they also recalled the Rhodian privateers that were out at sea ; these were posted in  
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the town, and were charged with the defence of the port. The country peasants were designed to serve as pioneers; but they could not afterwards make any use at all of the common people of the town, who were insensible to any passion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The grand master gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaillie bailiff of Manoſque the direction of the artillery, and the chevaliers de Nuères and Britto were entrusted with the carrying on of the works under the orders of the bailiff de Martinengo. The slaves of Rhodes, and such as belonged to the private persons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the bastion of Auvergne: they repaired the mills: they built new ovens: the port was shut up with a double chain, one before its mouth, the other within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and to prevent the Infidels from seizing on the mole, as they had attempted in the former siege, and advancing by means of that bank as far as the gate of St. Catharine, they sunk at the entrance of the bay, where the Tunny fishery was, several ships loaden with stones: the walls were at the same time lined with artillery: they carried arms, granadoes, fire-pots, and large stones upon the ramparts and bastions; there never had been seen a greater diligence or a more compleat order.

THE knights and the Greek gentlemen, the townsmen as well as officers, the soldier and mariner, the very priests and monks, each of these employed himself readily and without confusion upon whatever was prescribed him. The grand master was present in all places, he alone inspected the carrying on of these several works; his presence and capacity advanced them still more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave such manifest proofs in a besieged place of so perfect an understanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valour, incapable of being discomposed either by the greatness or the

the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards surrounded.

BUT for the better understanding of the importance and usefulness of the precautions which he took, though we have in the former book taken some notice of the situation of this place, it may nevertheless perhaps be proper to give a fuller account of it, and take notice likewise of the additional fortifications that had been made since the last siege.

THE city of Rhodes, as we have already observed, is situated by the sea side, on an hill which terminates with a gentle descent into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it easy. 'Tis divided into the high and low town; the grand master's palace was in the high town, and served as a castle and a citadel to it at the same time. All the knights were lodged near the grand master's palace in the same quarter; and all the secular and married persons, as well townsmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place on the side towards the country seems to be of a round figure, but when seen from the sea, represents a perfect crescent. There are two ports belonging to it; the larger is square and spacious, but not very safe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port on the right stands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip the good duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a bastion that lay behind it, and had a curtain which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the sides of the port. On the other side, over against this tower, stood an old castle, to which the knights gave the name of the castle St. Angelo. This castle and the tower, which were somewhat more than an hundred yards distant from one another, were built upon the two rocks, upon which it is pretended, that the feet of the great brazen Colossus stood in former times, and which was of so prodigious a bulk, that the greatest vessels, as we are told, might pass with all their sails spread between its legs. The bastion adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, was by  
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the sea side, provided with nine great pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry of the port so entirely, that no ship could enter in on any side. The little port, or port of the galleys, was covered towards the sea with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the firm land, and had a castle upon it, called by the knights the castle of St. Elme or St. Erme. This port is more secure than large, and may hold several galleys; but the mouth of it is so narrow, that there cannot above one enter at a time. They shut it up every evening with a chain that was fastened to a little tower at the farther end of a mole which runs about twenty five or thirty paces out into the sea; the other end of the chain was fastened to a piece of rock that jutted out from the land seven or eight paces from the castle. Near the port of the galleys stood the arsenal where they used to be built, and over against the bastion which is between the two ports, there is a large tower with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon, which defended the entrance of this last port. Above the prince's palace, and the inns of the languages, were a great number of churches, among which that of St. John, the patron of the order, was remarkable for the greatness of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanship of its steeple. All these noble buildings, together with the fortifications both antient and modern, made Rhodes one of the finest cities of the east. It was surrounded by a double, others say with a triple enclosure of walls, fortified with thirteen large towers, built after the antique fashion, five of which lay within a sort of ravelin and bastion, which the historians of the time call bulwarks: and these bulwarks were covered by barbicans or fausse-brayes, and other advanced works. The ditch was large and deep: the counter-scarp well faced and palisado'd: all that lay open in the parts adjacent to the place, was exposed to an infinite number of batteries, composed of cannon of different bores, according to the nearness or distance of the places in view. Rhodes seemed to defy an attack on all sides; and from the glacis to the body of the



place, there was nothing but fortifications heaped one upon another, and batteries that suffered no approaches to be made without danger and loss of men.

WE have said, upon the credit of the historians of that age, that there were five bulwarks or bastions.

THE grand master committed the defence of them to five old knights that had given signal proofs of their capacity and courage on many occasions. The chevalier du Mesnil had the care of defending the bastion of Auvergne ; brother Francis de Carrieres was posted in that of Spain ; Nicholas Hufsey was to command in that of England ; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence ; and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the bastion of Italy. The grand master distributed at the same time the best part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldest commander of the language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade to take care of a post that bore the same name. Raimond Roger of the language of Auvergne was pitched upon for the quarter of his language ; Joachim de St. Aubin with the French knights was to defend the wall from the Franque tower, as far as the gate of St. Ambrose, and from that gate as far as that of St. George. The Germans were posted under the conduct of the commander Valdners : William Ouazon commanded in the quarter of the English ; George Emar in that of Italy ; John de Barbarar and Ernard Sollier were to defend the posts of Castile and Arragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Mary de la Victoire was still weaker : the grand master undertook the defence of it himself, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall with some knights that he had reserved to fight under his own command, and near his person.

BESIDES this distribution, the grand master chose likewise four lords, all of them grand crosses, to whom they gave the title of ADJUTANT CAPTAINS or GENERALS, who with the companies under their command, were a sort of corps de reserve, and were

to march to such places as were most pressed. The first of these captains was d'Amaral, whose fidelity they did not as yet suspect. His business was to sustain those that defended the posts of Auvergne and Germany; brother John Buck, Turcopilier of the order, and a knight of the language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; brother Peter de Cluys, grand prior of France, was to sustain those of his own nation, and the posts of Castile and Portugal; and brother Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, was assigned to march to the succour of the posts of Provence and Italy. The grand master added to these four lords, brother Gabriel de Pommerois his lieutenant general, who without having any settled post and quarter, was to go to all places where there should be need; and the grand master at the head of his guards, commanded by the chevalier de Bonneval, of the language of Auvergne, reserved the same function to himself.

WE have already observed, that before the first siege they carried into the city a statue of the holy virgin, which was rever'd in a church dedicated to her, and built upon Mont-Philerme. They took the same precaution before this second siege, and all the clergy and people went in procession to the church to take it, and brought it into the city, whereof she was considered as the protectress, and deposited it in the church of St. Mark.

THE tower of St. Nicholas being looked upon as the most important post, and as the key of Rhodes, the grand master entrusted the defence of it to brother Guyot de Castelane, of the language of Provence, an old knight who had distinguished himself by a great number of brave actions. Twenty knights and three hundred foot entered into the fortress under his command; they gave six hundred men to the knights Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon Spaniards, to patrol round the city night and day in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and

condemn malefactors to death, reserving however a liberty of appealing to the grand master. This prince, fearing that the four grand crosses, whom he had chose for adjutant captains, would not, during the course of of the siege, be sufficient to carry relief to all places that should be attacked, added four others to them, viz. Anastasius de sainte Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French knights, Marin Furfan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of a hundred and fifty men. The grand marshal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great standard of the order to Anthony de Grolee of the province of Dauphine, a knight of distinguished valour, and well worthy of so honourable a trust. The chevalier de Tinteville, a relation of the grand master's, was appointed to carry the standard of the holy crucifix, and the chevalier Henri de Mauselle, one of the officers of the grand master's household, carried his particular standard.

WHILST the grand master was employed in assigning the knights their several employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they saw that the Turks were in the night making signals of fire upon that part of the coast of Lycia that lies opposite to the isle of Rhodes.

THE grand master, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French knight<sup>a</sup>, whose name was Mennetou, to take his pink and go with a Rhodian named Jaxi, who spoke the Turkish language, to find out the meaning of those fires. The French knight pursuant to his orders put to sea, and coming pretty near the coast, he perceived several Turkish soldiers, disguised like merchants, standing by the side of a fountain. Jaxi asked them the reason of their signals, and enquired at the same time for a Turkish merchant of his acquaintance, who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They answered him, that that merchant was not far off, that he was coming thither, and that he might see him if he would come ashore. The Rhodi-  
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<sup>a</sup> Relation du commandeur de Bourbon p. 13.

an excused himself, unless they would send an hostage to his commander : the Turks agreed to it, the exchange was made ; but as soon as Jaxi was ashore, these perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away in all haste to Constantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus basha, the author and director of this piece of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkish hostage, but when he came back to Rhodes, they found that he was only a sorry peasant, whom they had dressed in a silk vest, and from whom the grand master and council could get no manner of information.

IN the mean time Pyrrhus having the Rhodian in his power, endeavoured to get an account from him of the state of the city of Rhodes ; and not being able to gain upon him by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to such violent torture for several days together, that the Greek, no longer able to bear it, answered to the interrogatories that were put to him, and died soon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the grand seignior with the Rhodian's deposition, and assured his master, that there were not above five or six thousand men in arms at Rhodes. Solyman resolved immediately to begin the siege ; but as it was a rule with him never to begin any war without a previous declaration of it, he sent one by an express who went into Lycia, and according to custom made the usual signals with fires, as had been done by those who carried off Jaxi.

THE grand master, who did not know of his death, fancied immediately that the Turks had sent him back. The knight Boniface d'Aluys went by his orders with a galley to receive him. When he arrived near the coast, he saw some Turks on horseback, who without saying any thing of Jaxi, told him they were come with letters from the grand seignior to the grand master, and that if they would wait a little while, they would go fetch them, inviting at the same time the Trucheman or interpreter of the galley to come ashore to re-

ceive them. But the chevalier d'Aluys, fearing another trick like that which was played the chevalier de Mennetou, would not suffer him to go. Being likewise apprehensive of another ambuscade, and of there being some vessels in a readiness to surprize and seize on his galley, he told them, that he was going away that very moment, and that if they had any letters to send to the grand master, they might deliver them to him. The Turks seeing him ready to sail off, tied the packet of letters to a stone, and threw it on ship-board. He carried the packet to the grand master: it was opened in full council: they found in it a letter of Solyman in the form of a declaration of war, directed to the grand master, to the knights in general, and to the citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up pretty near in these terms.

“ THE continual robberies with which you infest  
 “ our faithful subjects, and the insult you offer to our  
 “ Imperial majesty, oblige us to require you to deliver  
 “ up to us immediately the island and fortress of  
 “ Rhodes. If you do it readily, we swear, by the  
 “ God who made heaven and earth, by the six and  
 “ twenty thousand prophets, and the four musaphi that  
 “ fell from heaven, and by our great prophet Maho-  
 “ met, that you shall have free liberty to go out of the  
 “ island, and the inhabitants to stay there, without  
 “ the least injury being done to you: but if you do  
 “ not submit immediately to our orders, you shall be  
 “ all cut to pieces with our terrible sword, and the  
 “ towers, bastions and walls of Rhodes shall be laid  
 “ level with the grass that grows at the foot of all those  
 “ fortifications.”

THIS letter was no great surprize to the council; and they resolved, that if the grand seignior should attack the island, to answer him only with their cannon. But before the enemy appeared, and that they were obliged to enter upon action, the grand master ordered them to prepare themselves for it by fasting and prayer:  
 he



he himself first set them the example of it, and the moments which he could spare from the toils of government, he spent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and eye-witness of what passed at the siege, in the relation which he has left us of it, observes, that the knights and citizens of Rhodes had as much confidence in his prayers as in his valour; and it was a common saying among them, that under so pious a prince, heaven would interpose for the preservation of his dominions.

As the isle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different nations, each of them had their own metropolitan, both in the nomination of the grand master. Leonard Balestein then enjoyed that dignity with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Basil, called Clement, was archbishop of the Greeks. These two prelates lived in a perfect harmony, and made it their whole business to maintain peace between their diocesans. The Latin archbishop was a very fine speaker: he was one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek subjects more favourably than the Latins, the grand master was not without apprehensions that the Greek inhabitants of the isles of the order might possibly be seduced by this distinction in their favour, and therefore engaged the two metropolitans in their sermons to exhort their diocesans to fight courageously against the enemies of the faith.

BOTH the prelates acquitted themselves in this point with zeal, and succeeded in it without difficulty. The fidelity of the Rhodians to the order was not to be shaken: not only from the inviolable attachment which they discovered for the true religion, but likewise because the knights had always governed with great justice and moderation; the surest bond in nature between a sovereign and his subjects.

IN the mean time the Turkish fleet set sail; thirty galleys advanced before it. The commander, as he passed along the coasts of the isle of Lango or Coos, landed some troops to ravage it: but these plunderers

were so vigorously charged upon their landing by Prejan de Bidoux, great prior of St. Giles, governor of the island, that they were forced to reimbark with some loss. This commander being informed by the prisoners that he took, that those gallies, and the main body of the fleet which followed them, was steering directly for Rhodes, sent, after they were gone by, to ask the grand master leave to come to him, and serve the order in the siege. The grand master, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily sent him the orders that he asked; and the brave knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night time got into the port of Rhodes, without being discovered by the Turks that lay off it at sea. The grand master embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and not to leave his talents, and particularly his vigilance unemployed, he gave him the commission of visiting the several posts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries jointly with the bailiff of Monofque.

THEY likewise brought over at the same time from the other isles of the order, and particularly from Nizzaro, the greatest part of its inhabitants, a brave set of men, used to cruize at sea, and combat against the infidels. The grand master took this resolution, because the only thing they had to do in this war was to save the capital; and if the order could but maintain its ground there, the other islands would be either preserved, or at least be more easily recovered.

WHEN these inhabitants were landed, they put them with provisions into the castles of Lindo, Feracle, and the other fortresses of the island: some gallant knights were likewise put into those places to command them: their orders were, that if they should be besieged, to hold out as long as possible, to gain time and put off the siege of the capital; and if the infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to surprize the stragglers from the main army.

THE

THE Turkish fleet, after making the coast of Lycia, appeared at last within sight of Rhodes, and stopp'd in a shallow water about eight miles or three leagues from thence : but not finding a good bottom, and the place being likeways at that season expos'd to the westerly winds, Curtogli weigh'd anchor, set sail, and went to land on the other side, in a lee-shore, where there was good anchoring, called Parambolin, six miles from the city. There afterwards came thither from the ports of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, a great number of vessels and gallies laden with troops and ammunition ; so that when the Turks had got all their forces together, they computed no less than four hundred sail in their fleet ; and the land army consisted of a hundred and forty thousand men, without reckoning sixty thousand pioneers, which Solyman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Bosnia and Walachia, where most of them had been bred to digging under ground and working in mines.

THE grand master, upon the enemies approach, quitted his palace, and posted himself near the church of St. Marie de la Victoire, to be the more within reach of succouring the posts that should be attacked. During the first thirteen days, the infidels made no motion at all : their gallies, flat-bottomed vessels and barks were continually transporting their troops from the ports of Fisco and Macry into the isle of Rhodes, and they worked at the same time in landing the heavy artillery, provisions and ammunition. When all was landed, they held a council of war about the different operations of the army. Some officers were of opinion, that they should begin with the attacking the castle of Lindo, and the other fortresses of the island, which the knights had built to hinder the making of descents ; and they represented, that the troops which were in those places might surprize and interrupt their convoys, and cut those troopers to pieces that might straggle abroad for forage ; but Peri or Pyrrhus basha, the son of a renegado Epirot, was against this sentiment, and represented, that they should lose time, which was too  
pre-

precious to be thrown away, in reducing these little places; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all those castles fall of course; and with regard to the parties which might disturb their convoys and foragers, they might easily secure themselves from any apprehensions of that nature, by sending such strong escorts that the Christians durst not attack them.

THE general declared himself for this latter opinion: Rhodes was invested; they began to open the trenches out of the reach of cannon shot, and when they were nearer the town, the infidels raised a battery, which was immediately dismounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain, but it was immediately battered, and felt the fury of the cannon; and the knights making frequent sallies, killed a great number of the Turks, cleared the trenches, and filled up their first works. The Turks began them again, and raised new batteries; but notwithstanding their being covered with sheds, gabions and shoulder works, nevertheless the knights, with their continual fire, ruined all their works, and destroyed such as managed the artillery of the infidels. The sword made a great havock of what the cannon had spared: there was every day some skirmish or other, and no sallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

THE Turkish soldiers, who were used to make prognosticks from the first skirmishes, presaged no good to themselves with regard to the success of the siege: the janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valour of the knights so much superior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the slaughter. Besides, thro' the grand master's wise precaution, the island was a kind of desert, no inhabitants, no provisions nor forage; neither could the soldiers straggle abroad in quest of any, but they were presently snapped up by parties that sallied out of the castles of the island; and these parties, that were always lying in one ambuscade or  
other,

other, killed all that fell into their hands, without giving quarter. A war so toilsome and bloody, the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes, the continual fire of the artillery, the frequent sallies, the scarcity of provisions, which they were forced to be very careful of, because they could get none but from beyond sea, the little, or rather no hopes of booty, and yet less of recompence, in the absence of their sovereign, their small confidence in a young general that had been brought up in the pleasures of the seraglio; all this contributed to the distaste, and even the murmurings of the officer as well as the soldier. A spirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, soon succeeded to these murmurs; and if an attack was to be made, or a sally to be repulsed, the troops could not be brought to advance but with reluctance, and like men that did not believe they could vanquish or help being vanquished. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languish, and all respect for command was lost.

Peri basha, to whom Solyman had given particular orders to send him an exact account of every thing that passed at the siege, thought himself obliged to let him know the discouragement and despondency of his army: and he observed in his letter, that nothing but his presence could root out the seeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his soldiers. The bashas that were left about the sultan, and composed his council, were against his committing himself to the hazards of the sea; but the prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father Selim, and the sultans his ancestors before his eyes; and being likewise persuaded, that the single presence of a sovereign surmounts the greatest difficulties, resolved to put himself at the head of his army, and accordingly set out for Lycia with a body of 15000 men.

WHILST this prince was on his march, a Turkish woman, who was slave to a townsman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her false religion, or in hopes of recovering her liberty, formed alone an enterprize that



an hundred thousand Turks could not bring about. As the knights and the infidels were fighting together every day, she, in order to make a diversion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, resolved to set fire to the principal places of the city; but as it was impossible for her to execute this project alone, she communicated it to some other slaves of her own country and religion. These slaves, influenced by the same motives, and by her persuasion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkish generals notice of her design; and, in concert with them, she fixed the conspirators a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. These measures were so well taken, that Rhodes must have fallen by the enterprise of this woman, had not one of the slaves accidentally dropped a word that discovered the secret of the conspiracy. They were immediately seized, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot: the woman was the only person that did not submit to the force of pain, but endured the most violent tortures, without making the least confession. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that she was the only person that engaged them in this conspiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conspirators, and their limbs were fixed up in several places of the city, in order to intimidate the rest of the slaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterprise.

THE sultan in the mean time passing through Caria and Lycia, arrived at Portofischo. His vessels came thither to take him on board with the troops that served for his escorte; and he came into the isle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with the salvo's of artillery, and the sound of drums, trumpets and other warlike instruments. His presence put a stop to the murmurs of the soldiery, and made them dread a chastisement. He declared that the only design of his coming was to punish a rebellious army, and decimate or put to death every tenth soldier, calling them cowards at the same time: but Peri basha, who had a  
great

great influence over him, represented to him that the janizaries, and even the bravest of that body of troops, were the very men that had appeared most mutinous; that he could not punish them without discouraging the rest, and that therefore, in a siege of such difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their fault, else make them sensible of it by such reproaches as should reinspire them with their wonted bravery.

THIS prince, after having concerted with his minister what behaviour he should put on with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him without their arms, and caused them to be surrounded by the 15000 men that he had brought with him to the siege. They had erected an high and magnificent throne for him. The prince, armed with majesty, ascended it with a fierce and stately air, and sat there for some time without once opening his lips, casting dreadful looks on every side, which the trembling soldier considered as the forerunners of death. At last, breaking this dismal silence, “ Was I, says he, to have addressed myself to soldiers, I would have allowed you to appear before me with your arms; but since I am forced to direct my discourse to wretched slaves, weaker and more faint-hearted than women, and who cannot stand the bare shout of their enemies, it is not fitting that such cowards should dishonour our arms, and the characteristicks of valour. I would gladly know, if, whether upon landing in this island, you flattered yourselves that the knights would prove greater cowards than yourselves, and in a dread of your arms should bring you their own, and come in a servile manner to offer their hands and feet to the lions with which you should be pleased to load them. In order to undeceive and cure you of such a ridiculous mistake, know, that in the person of these knights, we are to fight with the flower of the Christian world, with brave men, trained up from their infancy in the profession of arms; we are to fight with cruel and fierce lions, greedy of the blood of Musulmen, and who will not quit their

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“ haunt but to a superior force. ’Tis their courage  
 “ which has excited our own. I imagined that in at-  
 “ tacking them I should meet with an enterprize and  
 “ dangers that were worthy of my valour. And is it  
 “ from you, base and effeminate soldiers, that I am to  
 “ expect a conquest ; you that are flying from the e-  
 “ nemy before you have looked him in the face, and  
 “ would have deserted, had you not been prevented  
 “ by the sea that encompasses you ? but before such a  
 “ disgrace shall happen to me, I am resolved to exer-  
 “ cise such exemplary justice on the cowards, that the  
 “ severity of their punishment shall keep such in their  
 “ duty as might be tempted to imitate them.

SCARCE had the sultan ended these words, when, upon a signal given to the armed soldiers that surrounded the others, they drew their swords as if they were going to massacre their comrades. Those wretches, at the sight of the drawn swords, whose points were turned against them, fell upon their knees, and cried aloud to the sultan for mercy. Then Peri, and the other generals, in concert with the prince, drew near his throne with the most profound reverence, and besought him, in the most submissive expressions, to pardon those soldiers, who, as Peri said, had behaved manfully on other occasions, but who in this had been unhappily misled by an evil genius and a panick terror. The basha added, that they were ready to wash out their faults with their blood, and his head should answer to his highness for their hearty sorrow and repentance. Though Solyman’s design was only to reclaim his troops, and bring them back to their duty, yet in order to keep up before them to the character of an incensed prince, and engage the soldiers to blot out the remembrance of their cowardice by some daring action of extraordinary valour, “ I suspend, says he to  
 “ Peri, at your request, the punishment of the guilty :  
 “ but let them go seek their pardon in the bastions and  
 “ upon the bulwarks of our enemies.” With these words he dismissed the assembly.

THIS

THIS prince's discourse, so seasonably mixed with severity and clemency, inspired the troops with their wonted boldness and antient valour. The officers especially, to wipe off the ill opinion the sultan had entertained of their courage, demanded eagerly to be placed in the most dangerous posts. Those very persons, who, before Solyman's arrival, had blamed this enterprize, found it then easy and glorious; one would not have taken them for the same men: they were all on fire to signalize their courage, and, to speak properly, it is only from this day that we are to date the commencement of the siege.

THE soldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches without intermission. They worked at them in the day time as well as in the night, and they were relieved in their turns by various detachments of troops that succeeded one another. The grand master seeing them sustained by strong brigades, did not think fit to continue his sallies, in which the loss of one single knight was of greater consequence to him than fifty soldiers to Solyman; so that the infidels having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, laboured with so much vigour, that they carried on their works as far as the counterescarp: and in order to make their lines the stronger, they faced them on the outside with beams of timber and planks tied together: They next augmented their batteries; from which they, for several days together, fired continually upon the city. The Turks flattered themselves that they should ruin the fortifications in a little time, but had notice sent them by the Jew who served them as a spy in Rhodes, that their cannon had scarce so much as grazed upon the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed or the cannon was not well pointed. He added, that the knights, from the top of St. John's steeple, saw every thing that passed in their camp, and the parts adjacent; and that if the Christians should happen to plant some piece of artillery on the top of that steeple, they might either kill the sultan as he was vi-

siting the works, or such as carried his orders. These advices determined the besiegers to change the situation of their batteries : they pointed one among the rest against St. John's steeple, which was demolished by the first cannon-shot that they fired.

THESE barbarians finding Rhodes covered and buried, as it were, under its fortifications, resolved to raise two cavaliers that should be higher than those works, and command the city and bulwarks. The soldiers and pioneers, by the general's orders, fetched earth and stones for several days together, which they placed between the posts of Spain and Auvergne, over against the bastion of Italy. As these two places lay open and exposed to the cannon of the place, it would be impossible to express what a prodigious number of Turkish soldiers and pioneers perished in this work ; but Mustapha, in order to advance it, made no scruple of throwing away the lives of those poor wretches : the work at last appeared like two little hills, which were ten or twelve foot higher than the wall, and commanded it absolutely.

THE general, and the other bashas then made a distribution of the several attacks. Mustapha took upon himself that of the bulwark of England ; Peri that of the post of Italy ; Achmet basha, a great engineer, undertook the attack of the bastions of Spain and Auvergne ; but as they seemed to be defended by a numerous artillery, and a great number of knights, the sultan would have this last basha sustained by the Aga of the janizaries. The begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches opposite to the post of Provence, and the begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas ; all these generals caused a continual fire to be made.

THE post of Germany was the first attacked : the Turks planted several batteries against the wall : they did not think it could long resist the violence of the cannon, because it had no platform of earth : but the grand master repaired thither immediately himself, and caused it to be supported on the inside by earth, beams  
of



of timber, and fascines : and as the artillery, which was placed on the gate of his palace in a place of great height, looked over and commanded the batteries of the infidels, the Christian cannoneers demolished them, and broke to pieces their gabions, sheds and parapets. The only remedy was to make new ones, which, however, did not last longer than the first ; the cannon of the town did sure execution, and beat down all it was levelled at, whereas that of the infidels, on the contrary, being ill managed, and pointed against a place of such height, and always keeping the same line and point of elevation, passed above the wall and shot at random : we may suppose that their gunners were as yet wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards, and against the foot of the wall.

THE basha, discouraged at the little service his batteries had performed, removed, and planted them against the tower of St. Nicholas. We have observed in the former book, and during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubuffon, the ill success of the attacks of the basha Paleologus ; nor was that of the begler-bei of Romania more successful. The basha battered the tower with twelve great brass guns, but had the mortification to see his cannon dismounted, and his batteries ruined by those of the tower. To prevent this effect, that was owing to the skill of the Christian gunners, he resolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the land all the day time : as soon as night came, they planted them again on the platform ; and above five hundred cannon-shot striking on the part of the wall that looked towards the west, it was shaken down into the ditch.

THE basha was in high delight at the effect of his nightly battery, and fed himself with vain hopes of carrying that work at the first assault : but he was strangely surpris'd to see a new wall appear behind the ruins of the first, strengthened with a rampart and parapet, and lined with artillery to keep off all ap-

proaches to it. He was now forced to take a resolution of beginning anew to batter this second wall.

SO LYMAN being advertised of it, sent to reconnoitre it: they gave him an account, that this tower was the strongest part of the place, not only by its situation on a rock, which was proof against the sap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likewise by the different works added to it since the last siege; and that under the reign of Mahomet II. his grandfather, the basha Paleologus had been obliged to give over this attack. These considerations determined the sultan to remove his batteries to another place. Mustapha, by his orders, directed his attack against the principal bastions of the place; a prodigious train of artillery battered them night and day for a month together. The chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon ball. He was succeeded in his command by the chevalier John d'Omedes, afterwards grand master, of the language of Arragon, who, in defending that post, lost an eye a few days after by a musket ball. The Turks battered all these bastions at the same time; that of England was greatly damaged. A new wall, which they had made there, was entirely ruined by the cannon of the infidels, but the old one stood firm against all the fury of the artillery: the grand master ran thither; and finding the Turks obstinately bent upon that attack, he lodged himself at the foot of the wall, and for fear of an assault, caused a reinforcement of fifty knights to enter into the bastion.

THAT of Italy was in a still worse condition: seventeen pieces of cannon firing on it day and night, had almost demolished the whole wall. The grand master, by Martinengo's advice, in order to get time to make cuts and intrenchments behind the breach, before the infidels could mount to the assault, ordered two hundred men to sally out under the command of a serving brother, called Bartholomew, and Benedict Scaramose, an engineer who had been brought up under Martinengo: they threw themselves into the trenches sword

in hand, surpris'd the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreseen, to hasten to drive them back: but as they were forced to pass by a place that lay open and exposed, the artillery of the place, which they had pointed on that side, killed a great number of them, and by the help of a continual fire, the Christians who had made the fall got back into the city without any considerable loss.

WHILST this skirmish lasted, part of the knights were busy in digging ditches and making cross-cuts and entrenchments to hinder the enemy from making a lodgment upon the breach, whilst others of them, with musket-shot, killed all that durst advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon, and reached such as were at a greater distance, and nothing appeared but was struck down immediately. Most of the batteries of the infidels were ruined; their gabions and sheds were beat to pieces: and their shoulder works could not save those that were employed about the artillery from being taken off by that of the town.

A RENEGADO, Solyman's general of the ordnance, a man well skilled in his profession, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, which also killed five men with the splinters of the planks that it broke to pieces. The Turks, without being disheartened, repaired their batteries, kept firing continually, and they had so great a number of cannon, and such a great quantity of powder, that they often demolished in an hour's time, what the Christians could hardly repair in several days. The knights began even to want powder already. D'Amara, one of the commissioners appointed before the siege to visit the magazines, had in order to favour the Turks, and disable the knights from continuing their defence, made a false report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would serve to sustain the siege, even though it should

should last a whole year. But they were not long before they found to the contrary: the powder they had was diminished so considerably, that they would soon have had none left, had it not been the grand master's having made provision of salt-petre, who set all the horses of his stable to work, to beat it small by help of the mills that were in the place: the bailiff de Manoſque and the chevalier Parisot were appointed to superintend over this affair. However, as they had not so much salt-petre as they would have occasion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire less frequently, to husband their powder, and reserve it for the assaults which they foresaw the Turks would make on the place, whenever the breaches should be made larger.

THIS misfortune, owing, as it is pretended, to the treachery of the Portuguese knight, was attended by another, occasioned by some young knights, whilst the Turks were giving a false alarm to the post of Auvergne. The Guards were bringing from work a company of slaves, about a hundred and twenty in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing stones and beams to make intrenchments. These young knights meeting them struck some of them for diversion's sake, just as a body of old knights were passing by, and who were marching in haste to the post of Auvergne upon the signals made on occasion of the false alarm that was given by the Turks. They seeing it, immediately imagined that those slaves, from an impatient desire of liberty, were risen, and that the young knights attacked them in earnest. Possessed with this notion, they fell upon those poor wretches, sword in hand, and cut them to pieces: by this unhappy mistake killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themselves of the assistance they received from these slaves, who would have served to supply the places of the Christian pioneers, who fell daily in great numbers, either by the enemies cannon, or by musket shot fired out of fuses of a large bore, that carried as far as the breaches, and into the very city.

THE

THE Turkish general discovering that these peasants, without minding how they exposed their lives, were by Martinengo's directions making barricadoes, cuts and intrenchments along the breaches, had chosen out of his army a good number of fowlers that were excellent marksmen. He had placed them upon eminences that were nearest the place, and upon cavaliers that commanded it, from whence they fetched down with their harquebusses all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo seeing his workmen killed without his being able to secure them from the enemies fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant some small field-pieces on the roofs of the highest houses. These on their side killed abundance of the fowlers, but the killing or disabling ten of those workmen did not make the order amends for the death of one Christian soldier or pioneer: the town being reduced to a small number of defendants, could not lose one of them without drawing nearer its ruin: and the grand master, in order to protract it, had no resource, but either in a speedy succour, or by prolonging the siege, and holding out till the coming of winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkish fleet would not be able to keep the sea.

THE war had hitherto been carried on between the besiegers and the besieged, by firing at one another: and though that of the Turks, by reason of the multitude of their cannon, and the great quantity of their powder, was vastly superior, yet they were not masters of one inch of ground in the bastions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments served instead of the walls that were beaten down: there was no carrying these new works but by an assault; and in order to make it, it was necessary to try the descent of the ditch, or fill it up. Solyman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, some to throw earth and stones into the ditch; but the knights by help of their casemates, carried off by night what they had thrown in by day: other pioneers were employed in digging  
mines



mines in five different places, in each of which they were carried on towards the bastion over against it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of discovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and skins hard braced and stretched.

THE Turks had worked with so much skill, that the several branches of these mines had all a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centered at last in one place. Martinengo discovered one in the middle of the ditch of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fontaine, an engineer, had it broke open immediately, drove the miners out of it with granadoes, and threw in barrels of powder, which burnt and smothered the Turks that were in those subterraneous passages. But whatever pains he took, he could not prevent the infidels from springing two mines, one after another, under the bastion of England, the force of which was so violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

THE breach appeared so large and so easy to mount, that several battalions of the infidels that waited the success of the mine, ran immediately to the assault with great shouts, and sabre in hand. They got in a moment to the top of the bastion, and planted seven ensigns upon it, and would have made themselves masters of it, had they not met a cross cut or intrenchment behind it that stopped them. The knights recovering from the confusion that the terrible noise of the mine had thrown them into, ran to the bastion and charged the Turks with musket-shot, grenadoes and stones. The grand master was at the very time that the mine sprung in a church not far off, where he was before the altar imploring from heaven the succour which the princes of the earth refused him. He judged by the dreadful crash he heard, that the noise which the mine made would be soon followed with an assault; he rose up immediately, and it happened to be at that very instant when the priests of the church were beginning divine service,

and

and were chanting this preliminary prayer, Deus in adiutorium meum intende, O God, make haste to deliver me. "I accept the omen, cried the pious grand master," and turning about to some old knights that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren, says he to them; to change the sacrifice of our praises into that of our lives, and die, if it must be so, for the defence of our holy law."

HE advances immediately with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the bastion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns and kills all that dares oppose him: he pulls down the enemies ensigns, and recovers the bastion with an irresistible impetuosity. General Mustapha, who saw from the trenches the consternation and flight of his soldiers, sallies out of them sabre in hand, kills the first of the fugitives that he meets, and shews the rest, that they would find less safety near their general, than they would upon the breach. He advances on boldly himself; his reproaches, and the shame of deserving them, make the run-a-ways rally about him; the engagement begins afresh; the dispute grows bloody; fire and sword are equally employed on both sides; they kill one another both at a distance and near with musket shot and the sword; they grapple with one another, and the strongest or the most dextrous dispatches his enemy with a stroke of his poinard. The Turks, lying exposed to musket-shot, stones, grenadoes and fire-pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs; in vain does their general strive by threats and promises to bring them back to the charge; they all break and take to their heels; but in their flight find a death they were afraid of meeting in the action; and they made such a continual fire of the artillery from different parts of the town, upon the foot of the breach, that they pretend the Turks lost on this occasion three thousand men, and there sangiacks or governors of places.

THE order lost by this great advantage the great master of the artillery, the chevalier d'Argillemont captain or general of the gallies, the chevalier de Mauselle,

Mauselle, who carried the grand master's standard, and several other knights that were killed in fighting valiantly.

SCARCE a day passed but was signalized by some new attack. Every general officer, to please the grand seignior, endeavoured at the expence of the soldiers lives, to push on the works committed to his care. Peri basha, an old captain, notwithstanding his advanced age distinguish himself by continual enterprizes: he was posted against the bastion of Italy, and never gave the besieged a moment's repose either day or night. The hopes he had of carrying that work, made him plant a good body of infantry so as to be concealed behind a cavalier which they had raised on the ditch side, and on the thirteenth of September, at day break, when the besieged, quite spent with fatigue and continual watching, were overtaken with sleep, he ordered his troops to make the assault: they first dispatched the centinels, passed the breach, and were ready to seize the intrenchments; when the Italians, amazed to see the enemy so near them, rushed with fury upon the Infidels, who opposed them with as much courage and resolution.

THE fight was maintained by the valour of both for a long time. The basha stood exposed by the ditch side, from whence he sent them continually new reinforcements: but whilst he was exhorting them to merit the recompence which the grand seignior promised to such as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, the governor of the isle of Negrepont, a young lord of singular valour, and Solyman's favourite, was killed by his side, with a ball shot from a musket. Peri, either fearing that the grand seignior would impute his favourite's death to him, or else desiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The grand master, whose valour and love for his order multiplied him, as we may say, on this occasion, ran to the succour with a particular body of knights that adhered to his person: "Let us go, says he to thõe about him, and repulse the Turks: we should not be afraid of men whom we daily throw into a panic fear." At the same time,

time, he charges the Infidels with his half-pike in his hand. The knights of the language of Italy under his eye, and in imitation of so great an example, perform the most glorious actions: they all expose themselves to the greatest dangers. A good number of them were killed on this occasion; and we must do them this justice, that next to the grand master, the saving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

PERI judiciously concluding, that it would be in vain for him to persist in an attack which the grand master himself defended, contented himself with keeping on the fight; and drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that served to cover them, he put himself at their head, and went to attack a new bastion, built in the grand master Caretto's time, imagining it not to be so well provided with defendants, and that he should be able to surprise it. His troops advanced to the assault with great resolution, but were repulsed with equal vigour by the chevalier d'Andelot who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his succour: the Turks were soon overwhelmed with showers of granadoes, stones, bitumen and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the flanks of the adjoining bastions, scouring the ditch, made an horrible slaughter of them. Peri, after losing abundance of men in these two attacks, was forced against his will to sound a retreat.

THE janizaries, disheartened at so many unsuccessful attacks, murmured aloud against an enterprise, wherein one or other of their bravest comrades daily lost their lives. The vizier Mustapha fearing lest these complaints should reach the ears of Solyman, and that that prince, like most of his predecessors, should make him responsible for the ill success, resolved to make a new assault on the bastion of England, and either carry the place, tho' he lost never so many soldiers, or die himself at the foot of the intrenchments. He communicated his design to Achmet basha, who was encamped, and commanded in the quarter opposite to the posts

of Spain and Auvergne. These two generals agreed, that whilst the vizier attacked the English bastion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the besieged, should spring his mines, and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches, and make a lodgment there. This enterprize was put in execution on the 17th of September. Mustapha sallied out of the trenches at the head of five battalions : the troops sustained by his presence, climbed up the rubbish and ruins of the wall, mounted boldly to the assault, got upon the breach, and in spite of all the fire of the besieged, made their way as far as the intrenchments, and planted some ensigns upon them. But they did not keep this first advantage long. A swarm of English knights, led on by a commander of that nation, whose name was John Buck, sallied out from behind the intrenchments, and being sustained by Prejan grand prior of St. Giles, and the commander Christopher Valdner of the language of Germany, made so furious a charge, that the Infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good order however, and still fighting. Mustapha, a much braver soldier than an able general, led on himself a re-inforcement to their succour : the engagement begins again with equal fury : the Turkish general throws himself into the midst of the knights, kills some of them with his own hand, and had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially, that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers that galled them from behind the intrenchments, made so terrible a fire, that the Infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them in their flight. How glorious soever this success might be to the order, nevertheless the knights paid very dear for it ; they lost on this occasion the commanders Buck and Valdner, several English and German knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.

ACHMET



ACHMET basha was as unfortunate as general Mustapha in his attack: he sprung his mines as had been agreed between them; but that which was under the post of Auvergne took vent and did no execution. The mine which play'd under the post of Spain, threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which served for a sort of fore-wall. The Turks advanced immediately to seize it, but met a body of Spanish knights upon the ruins of it, that made head against them, and kept them from approaching; they fought for some time at a distance with musket-shot, but as the Turks advanced in close and good order to break through the besieged, the chevalier de Mesnil, captain of the bulwark or bastion of Auvergne, and the chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their posts play so a-propos and continually upon the thickest of the battalions of the janizaries, that those troops, though brave in their persons, and the very flower of the army, could stand the fury of it no longer, but dispersed of themselves, and made the best of their way to the trenches.

SOLYMAN lost that day three thousand men, and the order, besides the chieftains abovementioned, had likewise several knights killed on these two occasions; and among the rest Philip de Arcillan, of Spanish extraction, whose great valour justly merited him the honour of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux, grand prior of St. Giles, who made all the posts that were attacked his own, was shot through the neck with a musket-ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

ABOUT this time they <sup>a</sup> discovered the treason of the Jewish physician, who by or- Sept. 20.  
der of Selim I. had formerly settled at Rhodes, where he served as a spy to the Turks. They caught him shooting an arrow with a letter tied to it into their camp; upon which he was immediately seized, and being on such strong presumptions put to the torture, he owned that he had given the Infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place,

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<sup>a</sup> Bourbon p. 31.

and of every thing that passed in it; and that when he was seized, it was the fifth letter that he had conveyed to them in the same way. His judges condemned him to be quartered, and it is pretended, that he died a Christian. His confession of Christianity was very much suspected: but if he made it only to save his life it stood him in no stead, for he suffered the punishment he had so justly deserved.

SOLYMAN in the mean time, enraged at the little progress of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he summoned his principal officers. Various opinions were proposed in it. Mustapha, who before the siege, out of pure complaisance had represented the enterprise as easy, now dreading his passion and resentment, proposed the giving a general assault, and attacking the town in four different places at the same time. “ One would imagine, says he, that we were  
 “ making war in concert with our enemies, and that  
 “ from a romantick point of generosity we would not  
 “ fight them but upon equal terms. We never attack  
 “ but one post at a time; and as the knights draw all  
 “ their forces thither, we need not think it strange to  
 “ find a set of brave men, the very flower of Chulstendom, maintain their ground against our soldiers.  
 “ But if the whole army was to surround the place,  
 “ and that detachments were to be drawn out to assault all the places where there are breaches, and  
 “ also new supplies sent continually to reinforce those  
 “ that should make the attack, the Rhodians would  
 “ be obliged to divide their forces, and could never be  
 “ able to stand before us.

THE grand seignior approved of this advice: the general assault was fixed for the 24th of September; and Solyman, to inspire new ardor into his soldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it sword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this assault, made a continual fire with their cannon; and in order to enlarge the breaches, battered the bastions of England and Spain, the post of Provence, and the platform of Italy for two  
 days

days together. The evening before the assault, the grand master suspected, by the motions he perceived in the enemies camp, that they were going to attack him: He gave out his orders, and the knights following his example redoubled their care; but though they had just reason to fear, that the enemy would take their advantage of opening to themselves a passage through the ruins of those strong holds that had been battered down in the vast circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their measures by the few troops they had left, and to distribute the old commanders and principal officers into such posts as the violence of the attacks, the wideness of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications exposed to the greatest dangers.

THE grand master taking up his weapons, visited all the quarters to see the disposition of his troops, and exhort them to a noble defence; and addressing himself to the knights whom he found in their respective posts; “ I should offer violence to your courage, said he to them, should I pretend to invigorate it by an harangue; and it would be throwing away time, to tell you, what your valour has so often inspired into you on the like occasions. Consider only, my dear brethren, that we are going to fight for our order, and for the defence of our religion, and that a glorious victory must be the reward of our valour, or else Rhodes, the strongest rampart of Christendom, must serve us for a grave.” Whenever he met any of the townsmen and inhabitants, “ Think, said he to them, that besides the defence of the faith, you have taken up arms for your country, for your wives, your maidens, and your children: fight gallantly, my friends, in order to rescue them from the infamy that the barbarians threaten them with: their liberty and your own, your blood, your honour, and your fortunes are all in your hands, and depend upon your bravery.

THESE few words, pronounced with an heroick ardor, had such an effect on all, that the townsmen as

well as the knights, and the Greeks no less than the Latins, made publick protestations, that nothing but death should make them abandon their posts; and embracing one another in a most tender and affectionate manner, their eyes streaming with tears, they bid as it were a last adieu to each other, resolutely bent either to conquer or die.

THE Turks at day break made a furious fire from all their batteries, especially against the posts which they designed to attack, not only in order to widen the breaches, but also to be less exposed to view, as they marched through the smoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the assault in four different places: they had never discovered so much resolution ever since the beginning of the siege, especially the janizaries, who fought under the young sultan's eye.

THAT prince, in order to animate them by his presence, had placed himself on a rising ground near adjoining, where a scaffold was erected for him, whence he, as from an amphitheatre, was able to distinguish and judge of the valour of those brave fellows, without any danger to himself. The cannon of the place begins to play: this is succeeded by showers of arrows and musket-shot. The knights in all quarters shew their intrepidity, and the soldiers their obedience and courage; some of them burn the assailants with boiling oil and fire-works, whilst others roll stones of a vast size upon them, or pierce them through with their pikes. The English bastion was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed: it was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and withal the best defended. The grand master runs thither himself: his presence on the one side inspires the knights with fresh ardor; hope of booty on the other encourages the Turkish soldier. Never did the Infidels discover so much eagerness in battle; they mount upon the ruins of the wall through a storm of bullets, javelins and stones: nothing stops them, and several of them leaped like so many desperadoes from the machines which they had brought near the walls upon the ramparts, where they were  
soon

soon cut to pieces. The knights throw the Turks from the top of the breach headlong into the ditch: they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place makes so terrible a slaughter, that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the assault. But the general's lieutenant, who commanded at that attack, an officer highly respected among the soldiers for his rare valour, rallies, and leads them on to the attack: he himself mounts first upon the breach and plants an ensign on it. Happily for the besieged, a cannon ball, fired from the post of Spain, carries him off, and throws him in the ditch. One would have thought, that his death would naturally have cooled the ardor of his soldiers: but thirst of revenge inspired them that instant with a contrary sentiment, and filled their hearts with a sort of rage and fury; they rush on headlong into danger, pleased to die themselves, provided they could kill a Christian. But all their impetuosity could not make the knights retire one single step. The priests, the religious, the old men, and the very children resolve to have their share of the danger, and repulse the enemy with stones, boiling oil, and combustible matter.

NEITHER did the women yield in assiduity to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the soldiers: several lost their lives in defending their husbands and children. Historians make mention of a Greek<sup>a</sup> woman of exquisite beauty, that was mistress to an officer who had a command in that bastion, and had been just killed. Upon which, distracted at the  
 death

<sup>a</sup> Mulier una græcanici sanguinis, quæ cum arcis præfecto consuetudinem habebat, ut eum agnovit fortiter dimicando occisum, amplexa duos venusto corpore & amabili indole pueros quos defuncto genuerat, postquam maternæ pietatis oscula extremè libasset, & notam crucis Christi lacrymantium, periturorumque frontibus impressisset ferro atrox fœmina jugulavit, & trementes adhuc exeunte simul sanguine & spiritu artus cum cæteris quæ cara habebat, in ardentissimum rogam conjecit, ne hostis (dicebat) vilissimus vivis aut mortuis gemina nobilitate corporibus potiretur.



death of her lover, and resolving not to survive him, after kissing the two children she had by him, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads, "'Tis better for you, my dear children, says she to them, with tears in her eyes, to die by my hands than by those of our merciless enemies, or to be reserved for infamous pleasures, more odious than death itself." Then, inspired with fury, she takes up a knife, cuts their throats, throws their bodies into the fire, puts on the officers cloaths that were still dyed with his blood, snatches up his sabre, runs to the breach, kills the first Turk she meets, wounds several others, and dies fighting with a bravery equal to the most courageous officer, or the most resolute soldier.

THE engagement was carried on with equal fury and obstinacy at the other attacks. The greatest danger was at the post of Spain. The aga of the janizaries, who commanded on that side, led on his soldiers to the assault: the artillery of the place killed a great number of them before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to cross the ditch, go to undermine the wall, and are frequently buried under its ruins, whilst others of them make use of ladders to mount up: some of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall in spite of all the opposition of the besieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is said, they planted no less than thirty ensigns. Unhappily for the knights, such of them as had the guard of the bastion of Spain had like to have been surpris'd by not standing on their guard. The Turks having shewed no signs of any design to attack them, those knights reproaching themselves for being idle in their post, and seeing the bastion of Italy hard pressed

Et cum dicto induens cari amatoris paludamentum, madidum multo adhuc sanguine, accepta framea in hostes tendit; ibi egregia bellatrix et omnium seculorum memoria dignissima virago, inter confertas hostium phalanges, more virorum fortiter bellando occubuit. Jacobi Fontani de bello Rhodio l. 2. t. p. 159. Francofurti ad Mœnum.

pressed by the Turks, ran to their succour, and left only a few centinels upon the bastion of Spain. These soldiers likeways, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their post to help the gunners in transporting some pieces of cannon which they had a mind to point against the post that the aga of the janizaries was attacking. Some Turks that lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, seeing the bastion abandoned, mount without being discovered, get to the top of the work, make themselves masters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pull down the ensigns of the order, and plant those of Solyman in their stead ; and proclaiming victory, invite their comrades to join them : upon which the aga sent immediately a detachment of his janizaries to that place.

THE grand master having notice of this surprise, runs thither in an instant, makes them point the artillery of the bastion of Auvergne against a breach which the enemies cannon had made in that of Spain, keeps the Turks from approaching it ; and from another battery which faced the bastion, he makes them fire upon those that were in possession of it, and who were endeavouring to make a lodgment there. On another side, the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave soldiers, enters by the casement into the bastion, mounts up to the top upon the platform sword in hand, in order to drive out the infidels ; where he finds part of them killed by the cannon ; he cuts the rest in pieces, again sets up the ensigns of the order, pulls down those of the Turks, and turns the artillery of the bastion upon such as were mounting up a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the post of Spain. The aga maintained his ground in that place in spite of the gallant resistance of the knights. The grand master comes back thither at the head of his guards, and throws himself into the midst of the infidels, with an ardour which made his knights tremble as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement begins again with fresh fury, the soldiers, as yet unhurt,

unhurt, the wounded and the dying all blended together, after a combat of six hours, want rather strength than courage to continue it. The grand master, fearing that his men, who were quite spent with such a long resistance, should at last be bore down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a re-inforcement of two hundred men, with some knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. These troops, who were fresh, and had suffered no fatigue, soon changed the face of the engagement: the janizaries began to give back; and finding themselves pressed by these brave soldiers, abandon the breach and fly to recover their trenches. Solyman, to cover the shame of their flight, and save the honour of his troops, ordered a retreat to be founded, after having left upon the breach, and at the foot of the wall, upwards of fifteen thousand men, and several captains of great reputation, that lost their lives in these different attacks.

THE Rhodians sustained as considerable a loss as they did in proportion: and besides the soldiers and inhabitants, they had a great number of knights killed in these assaults, among which were the chevalier du Fresnoi, commander of Romagna, the commander of St. Camelle of the language of Provence, Oliver de Treffac of the language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips the grand master's receiver. The chevalier John le Roux, surnamed Parnides, had his hand, with which he had slain seven Turks, carried off that day by a cannon ball; there were few knights but what were wounded, and there scarce remained sufficient enough unhurt to continue the service.

THE sultan, furious at the ill success of this enterprise, fell upon his general Mustapha, who out of complaisance had advised him to it, and gave orders for his being shot to death with arrows; a sad recompence for all his services, but such an one as slaves and servile courtiers are frequently exposed to under the government of the infidels. The army was drawn up in battle array in order to be spectators of the death of  
their

their general, and the unhappy man was already tied to the fatal stake, when Peri basha, provoked at the punishment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, as he was persuaded that Solyman, when the heat of his passion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented such a stain to his glory. As he had educated that young prince from his infancy, and had still a great ascendant over him, he went and threw himself at his feet, and begged him to pardon Mustapha. But he found by his own experience that lions are not to be tamed: Solyman, still in the first transports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to see there was a man in his empire daring enough to suspend the execution of his orders, condemned him at the same time to undergo the same punishment. The other bashas were in a terrible consternation, and threw themselves all at his feet in order to mollify him; when the sultan coming to himself, was moved at their tears: he pardoned Mustapha and Peri, but would never see Mustapha more, and sent him afterwards at a distance from court under pretence of another employment.

THIS prince, despairing to carry the place, seemed resolved to raise the siege; and it is said, that whole companies and the heavy baggage began to file off towards the sea in order to re-imbark; when an Albanian soldier, getting out of the town, came into the Turkish camp, and assured them that most of the knights were either killed or wounded at the assault, and that those who were left were not able to sustain another. They pretend, that this deserter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the grand seignior that the besieged were reduced to the last extremity.

THESE several advices determined him to continue the siege; and in order to shew his troops and the besieged that he was resolved to pass the winter before the place, he ordered an house to be built on mont Philermé for himself to lodge in; giving, at the same time, the command of the army to Achmet basha, an  
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able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the siege. He resolved to be as sparing as possible of his soldiers blood; and before he led them to an assault, to prepare for it by new cannonadings, and particularly by sapping and mining, and other subterraneous works, in which he was particularly skilled.

THIS new general made his first efforts against the bastion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower, and not so deep as in other places: and in order to facilitate the descent of it, his artillery played for several days together so furiously upon that work, that he ruined all the defences of it; there was nothing left but the barbican or fausse-braye, which lay so low, that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkish general, resolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall; but these trenches being seen from the bastion of Auvergne, the cannon of the knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to shelter themselves from it, raised a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring these several works to perfection without the loss of an infinite number of soldiers and pioneers: no one could shew himself but he was immediately exposed to the fire of the artillery, and a shower of musket shot; and the knights at the same time were continually throwing grenades and fire-pots into their works. The Turkish general, to guard against them, raised along the curtain a gallery with planks, which he covered with raw hides, which the fire would not take hold of. Under shelter of this new work he undermined the wall, whilst other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work to penetrate under the bastions of the place, and run mines through that place.

THESE mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the post of Spain, the barbarians advanced to the assault; but coming up to the breach, they found themselves stopped by new intrenchments, lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their bravest officers, and a prodigious



digious number of soldiers, forced the rest to run back to their trenches for shelter.

THE bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the infidels from coming to reconnoitre the works he was making within the place, made them cut loop-holes for the cannon in the wall of the counterscarp on the side of the town, from whence the knights killed with musket ball all that durst advance near it. The Turks, after his example, did the like on their side, and a continual fire was kept on both sides. Unhappily a random shot from the trenches struck Martinengo in the eye, just as he was looking through one of those loop-holes to examine the enemies works; he fell upon receiving the shot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The order could not have had a greater loss at such a juncture; for he was in a manner the only person that directed all operations, and determined the time and places where the knights should exert their valour.

THE grand master, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and caused him to be carried into his own palace: by his care he was afterwards cured of his wound, the knights and all the people offering up their prayers for his recovery. The grand master filled up his post in his absence, and undertook himself to defend the bastion of Spain. The chevalier de Cluys grand prior of France, the commander of St. Jaille bailiff of Manosque, the bailiff of the Morea, and the oldest knights of the order staid about the grand master's person, in order to share with him in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valour were performed on both sides; there were new engagements every day. It would appear very surprizing that so small a number of Christians, who had nothing to cover them but some barricadoes and weak intrenchments, should be able to hold out so long against such a prodigious number of assailants, if this handful of men had not been composed of old knights, whose valour had been experienced on a thousand other occasions, and who on this were un-

nimously resolved to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very strong and very formidable when they are not afraid of death.

HISTORIANS, speaking of their zeal and courage, use but one sort of eulogium for all these noble soldiers of Jesus Christ. Not but there were among these warriors different talents, and more or less capacity in the arts of war; and we should justly deserve to be censured, if we did not do justice to the memory of the grand master, who, for four and thirty days that the bailiff de Martinengo's wound and illness lasted, never stirred from the intrenchment made on the Spanish bastion, nor ever took any rest either day or night excepting only for some moments on a mattress, which they laid for him at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating sometimes in the quality of a soldier, and sometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardor which made him fight like a young knight, and rush into perils with less precaution than became a sovereign.

THE example of the grand master, who was so very careless of his own life, made the knights, left in the principal posts of the place, expose daily their own, sometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemies miners; there scarce passed a day without an engagement in some place or other. Besides the bastion of Spain, which was almost entirely ruined, the Turks directed their principal attacks against the posts of England, Provence and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army consisted, easily supplied them with men for all these attacks: the walls were quite demolished in several places, and the breaches were so large, that the Turks could mount in formed battalions to the assault of the bastion of England. The knights that had undertaken the defence of it, lined the ramparts sword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet for its defence. They were seconded by the artillery of the city, which played from several places  
upon

upon the foot of the breach. The Turks, without being daunted at the number of their slain, rush on with fury to attack the knights, come up with them, grapple with them, and by their multitudes as much as by their courage, force them to give back. Thô noble defendants saw themselves on the point of being overwhelmed by the croud of their enemies, when the chevalier de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant captains, as they were then called, ran with his company to their succour, restored the battle, forced the infidels in their turn to retire, and with new efforts obliged them at last, after the loss of above six hundred men, to sound a retreat, and give over the attack.

BUT if the order had such brave defendants in the person of her knights, she likewise nourished in her bosom, and even among her principal chiefs, a traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loss of Rhodes, and the ruin of the whole order. The reader may easily perceive that I mean the chancellor d'Amaral. The commander de Bourbon, in his account of the siege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

D'AMARAL, says this author, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved at seeing the blood of his brethren shed every day, Oct. 30. still kept on his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets de chambre, Blaise Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, used to come with a bow in his hand at unseasonable hours to the post of Auvergne, whence, whenever he fancied himself not to be perceived, he shot an arrow with a letter fixed to it into the enemies camp. His frequent resort to the same place, especially in a besieged city, immediately gave some suspicion, but as they had not seen him shoot any of his letters, and besides that he belonged to a person of great authority, such as had observed his stolen visits thither durst not mention it at first, for fear of drawing upon themselves the resentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one knight, who, stifling all considerations, and

seeing the servant return often to the same place, gave private notice thereof to the grand master, who immediately gave orders for the seizing of this servant: he was afterwards examined by the judges of the castellany, who not being satisfied with his equivocal answers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned, upon the very first twitches of it, that he had, by his master's command, thrown down several letters into the Turkish camp, to point out to them the weakest places of the city. He added, that he had likewise acquainted them, that the order had lost the greatest part of its knights in the last assaults; and besides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammunition and provisions; but that though the grand master was reduced to extremity, the grand seignior ought not yet to flatter himself with the thought of being master of the place any other way than by force of arms.

THIS deposition was laid before the council, who gave orders for seizing the chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders, grand crosses, repaired thither with the magistrates of the city to examine and try him: they read to him the deposition of his servant, who was afterwards confronted with him, and maintained to his face, that it was by his orders only that he frequently had gone to the bastion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters from thence into the camp of the infidels. This deposition was confirmed by that of a Greek priest, chaplain to the order, who declared before the judges, that passing one day by the *fausse-braye* of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to observe the enemies works, he found the chancellor in a bye-corner with this very servant, who had a cross-bow, with a quarrel or square arrow in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied; that the chancellor, who was then looking through a loop-hole for the cannon, returning back, seemed surprised to see him so near him, and demanded of him roughly, and in an angry manner, what he wanted; and that

that finding his presence in that place was disagreeable to him, he had made off as fast as possible.

DIEZ agreed to the Greek priest's deposition in all its circumstances. This servant, who might perhaps flatter himself with the hopes of escaping punishment by accusing his master, added farther, that the chancellor was the person that had persuaded the grand seignior to invade the island, by the advices he sent him of the condition of the place, and dispatching the slave before mentioned to Constantinople, the whole negotiation passing through his hands. They put the chancellor at the same time in mind, that on the day of the grand master's election, he could not help saying, that he would be the last grand master of Rhodes. D'Amara, no ways confused, being confronted a second time with his servant and the Greek priest, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impostor, whose deposition, he said, was nothing else but the effect of the resentment he had entertained on account of punishments that his ill conduct had occasioned him. He flatly denied all the facts advanced by the Greek priest, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence: they were forced in fine to have recourse to the rack; but before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother knights, in order to save him from the torture of it, as also to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, to encourage them to save his life by an ingenuous confession of his faults; but the chancellor rejected their offices with indignation, and demanded of them haughtily, if they thought him base enough, after having served the order for above forty years, to dishonour himself at the end of his life by the confession of a crime that he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture with the same intrepidity; and owned only, that at the time of the grand master's election, at a time when the Turks were threatening Rhodes with a siege, having no great opinion, as he said, of the courage and abilities of l'Isle-Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and said, that he would perhaps be the last



grand master of Rhodes; when turning towards his judges, he asked them, if a word, that emulation and a rivalship for the same dignity had extorted from him, deserved to have the great chancellor of the order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges being persuaded of his criminal correspondence with the Turks, were not dazzled by his protestations: no body took his recriminations against Diez for proofs of his innocence: the master and servant were both condemned to death. The chancellor was sentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged; their bodies were afterwards quartered, and exposed to the view of the Turks upon the principal bastions of the place. The valet was executed first: he was born a Jew, but had been converted, and declared at his execution that he died a good Christian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an assembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the bailiff de Manosque presided. The criminal was brought thither; they read him his sentence, which ordered him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order; which was done with all the ceremonies prescribed by the statutes. They delivered him over afterwards to the secular arm, who carried him to prison, and the next day he was carried in a chair to the public place where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution, and the approaches of death, with a resolution worthy of a better cause; but his refusing in that extremity to recommend himself to the protection of the blessed virgin, whose image the priest that assisted him presented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and an eye-witness of what passed, speaking of the very different deaths of two grand crosses, who were appointed in the beginning of the siege, in joint commission with d'Amaral, to visit and take care of the ammunition and provisions, and who were both killed in assaults, adds, with regard to the chancellor whom he speaks of but does not name. "God, says this author, had reserved the last of the three for a shame-

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“ful death, which he richly deserved.” However, the services he had done the order for so many years, his intrepidity under the most exquisite torments of the rack, the ancient and valuable fidelity of the Portuguese gentry to their sovereigns, of which there are so many illustrious examples in history, all this might serve to balance the deposition of a servant: and perhaps the chancellor would not have been treated so very rigorously, if, when the public safety is at stake, bare suspicion were not, as we may say, a crime that state-policy seldom pardons.

BUT be that as it will: to resume the relation of this famous siege, Solyman, tired out with its continuance, and the little success of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again, and dispose his soldiers for a general assault. The eyes of all the universe were then fixed upon Rhodes. The Turks flattered themselves with hopes of carrying it by storm; and the knights, who were reduced to a small number, and were rather hid and buried than fortified in the little ground that was left them, waited with impatience for the succours which the Christian princes had so long fed them with the vain hopes of sending them, in order to raise the siege. But the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France, were so obstinately animated against one another, that they durst not send away their troops or divide them: and the other European princes, most of which were engaged on the side of one of those two princes, and were afraid lest their own territories should be invaded, kept their forces about them for fear of a surprise. The pope himself, Adrian VI. by name, a pious and indeed learned pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the emperor, being pressed by cardinal Julian de Medicis, an old knight of the order, to send his galleys to Rhodes with a body of infantry which then lay about Rome, the new pontiff excused himself from so doing, under pretence, that as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not send away his troops whilst all Italy was up in arms; though it is very probable that  
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he durst not dispose of them without the privity and consent of the emperor his benefactor : and that out of complaisance to that prince, instead of sending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milanese and Lombardy, where they were employed against the French.

THUS were the grand master and his knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of succour but what they could draw from the order itself : they were besides so unfortunate as not to receive a considerable convoy which the French knights sent in two ships from the port of Marseilles. One of these ships, after a storm of several days, was cast away and lost off Monaco, and the other losing her masts in the same storm, was stranded on the coast of Sardinia, and disabled from putting to sea. Nor were the English less unfortunate. Sir Thomas de Newport embarking with several knights of that nation, and a good quantity of provisions as well as money on board, was caught in the same storm, which drove him upon a desert country where he stranded. The chevalier Aulamo of the language of Arragon, and prior of St. Martin, was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met in the Archipelago by some Turkish galleys, and after a long engagement got out of their hands with great difficulty. The grand master, though abandoned as we may say by all human succour, did not yet abandon himself or despond. This great man discovered in so sad an extremity the same courage which had carried him so often upon the breach, and into the midst of his enemies. By his orders the knights that resided in the adjoining isles that depended on Rhodes, and in the castle of St. Peter, quitted them in order to preserve the capital of the order, and transported thither, on board some light barks and little brigantines, all the soldiers, arms and provisions they were masters of. The grand master, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this step, in hopes of one day recovering those islands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But as they had drawn the like succours from

from these several places before, this last, the only hope the knights had left, betrayed their weakness more than it augmented their forces. The grand master dispatched at the same time the chevalier Farfan of the language of England into Candia, to endeavour to get provisions from thence; and sent another knight called des Reaux to Naples, to hasten the succours, which were retarded by the rigour of the season; but all his endeavours were fruitless; and one would have thought, that the winds and the sea had conspired the loss of the isle of Rhodes, and of this armament, the last supply that the besieged had any hopes of.

THE Turks, to whom some deserters had represented these succours as much stronger and nearer at hand than they were in reality, used their endeavours to prevent them. Achmet, who under Solymán's orders had the whole direction of the siege, planted a battery of seventeen cannon again the bastion of Italy, and completed the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and to secure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered these new work with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers pierced afterwards through the wall, and ran their mines as far as the intrenchments, and then digging away the earth that supported them, they made them sink, so that the knights were forced to retire farther within the town: and the grand master, who never stirred from the attacks, seeing the Infidels masters of the best part of the platform of the bastion, was forced to demolish the church of St. Pantaleon, and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire, to hinder the Turks from making lodgments there, and he employed the materials of those two churches in making new barricadoes and intrenchments to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther into the place.

THE Turkish general had the same success at the bastion of England. After his artillery had played upon it for several days, and that he had demolished the walls and ruined the fortifications, several knights proposed

posed to abandon it, but that they should first fill the mines that were under it with powder, in order to blow up the Infidels that should throw themselves into it. But it was remonstrated in the council of war, held on this subject, that in the extremity to which they were reduced, the saving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the siege, so as to allow time for the succours they expected to arrive; and that therefore there was not a foot of ground, but what was to be disputed with the enemy as long as possible. This last opinion prevailed; and though the bastion was entirely ruined by mines, and the fire of the artillery, nevertheless the chevalier Bin de Malicome, offered himself generously to defend it; and in spite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it with great glory to the very end of the siege.

THE Turks did not allow any more rest to the knights that defended the posts of Italy and Spain. They attacked the first on the 22d of November. They, as has been already observed, had seized on the best part of the platform of Italy; the knights had scarce a third of it left, and both of them were buried as it were in subterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks seeing themselves in possession of the greatest part of this platform, undertook to drive the knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the Infidels on the side next the sea mounted to the assault, whilst another body attacked their intrenchments sword in hand. But they met with the same valour and resistance in all places; and though the knights had lost abundance of men in these bloody attacks, they yet repulsed the Infidels, and obliged them to retire.

'Twas however only to return a few days afterwards in much greater numbers. The attack was preceded by a mine, which they sprung under the bastion of Spain. It made a great pannel of the wall fall down; and in order to hinder the knights from making new intrenchments behind this breach, a battery of their largest cannon played for a whole night and day without



out intermission upon this place. The Turks, upon the thirtieth of November, returned at day break to the assault, whilst Peri basha at the same time attacked the Italian platform again. But the main effort of the Infidels was made against the bastion of Spain; the Turks in great numbers, and sustained by the bravest troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithstanding all the fire of the artillery, and small shot of the besieged; their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they penetrated as far as the intrenchments, which the bailiff Martinengo had made before he was wounded; but at the sound of the bells, which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the grand master, the prior of St. Giles, the bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran from different places, with the greatest part of the knights and inhabitants; none of them observing any order but what his courage and perhaps his despair dictated; and all of them, regardless how they exposed their lives, rushed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The Infidels did not shew less courage; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to discover what the success of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes there fell a prodigious rain; floods of water fell from the skies, and washed away the earth that served as a shoulder-work to the trenches of the Infidels. This laying them open to the artillery of the post of Auvergne, it played furiously and killed a great number of them; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Cosquin, and the musketeers of the knights firing continually upon the breach, and in the midst of the enemy that was lodged there, made so horrible a slaughter of them, that such as could escape the fury of the cannon ran as fast as possible to their camp and trenches, notwithstanding all the menaces of their officers.

THE Turks were not more successful in their attack of the platform of Italy: Peri basha, who commanded at it, after losing his bravest men, and hearing of  
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the ill success of the attack on the Spanish bastion, seeing likewise his troops almost drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be sounded. Such was the success of a day, which would have been the last for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the grand master and his knights preserved it by neglecting their own preservation, and bravely exposing their lives without the least reserve.

SO LYMAN could not see his troops coming back in disorder, and in a downright flight, without falling into a passion: he had been almost six months with 200,000 men before the place, without being able to take it: the vexation he felt, and his apprehensions that the Christian princes might at last unite their forces in order to oblige him to raise the siege, made him shut himself up some days in his tent, without suffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durst offer to come into his presence: no body but Peri basha his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durst venture to speak to him. That subtle minister, in order to bring him to a better temper, represented to him, that the troops were lodged upon the principal bastions; that he was in possession of part of the place; that another assault would carry it: that they had indeed to deal with a set of desperate men, who would suffer themselves to be all killed to a man rather than surrender; but that the knights were reduced to a small number; that the inhabitants, who were most of them Greeks, had not the same courage, nor indeed the same interest to be obstinate in the defence of the place, and that he was persuaded they would not reject a composition which offered them security for their lives and fortunes; the sultan approved this advice, and ordered him to put it in execution.

PERI ordered several letters in the grand seignior's name to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to submit to his empire, and threatening them at the same time with the most cruel treatment, themselves, their wives and their children, if they should be taken by storm. The basha afterwards employed  
a Genoese

a Genoese that happened to be in Solyman's camp, who advancing near the bastion of Auvergne, desired leave to speak. This Genoese, whose name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compassion, said, that as he was a Christian, he could not bear to see the approaching loss and massacre of so many Christians his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Solyman; that their fortifications were destroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought in prudence to prevent the dismal consequences of a town's being carried by storm, and that it would not perhaps be impossible to obtain a sure and even an honourable composition from Solyman. The commander of the bastion, by the grand master's order, answered him, that the knights of St. John never treated with the Infidels but sword in hand; and for fear lest his artful discourse should make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. This cunning agent of the basha, far from being discouraged, returned two days afterwards to the same place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoese that was in the place. But the commandant ordering him to retire, he declared that he brought a packet from Solyman to the grand master: this was a new pretext for entering into a negotiation; but the grand master eluded it, by refusing to receive it, from the apprehensions he was under, that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the soldiers and inhabitants; and in order to oblige this negotiator to go off, they fired some musket shot at him. An Albanian deserter from the city, who had entered afterwards into Solyman's service, was the next to act his part, and after the usual signals, desired admittance into the place, in order to present the grand master with a letter which he was to deliver to him from the sultan; but he was not better received than the Genoese. The grand master, for fear of discouraging his troops, refused to give him audience, and declared to him, that they would for the future, without any regard to signals of parley, or the

character of envoys, fire upon all that should offer to come near the place.

NEVERTHELESS the frequent arrival of these agents, and the grand seignior's letters, which the basha had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the desired effect. The greatest part of the inhabitants being of the Greek religion begin to hold private meetings between themselves; the most mutinous, or rather the most timorous and cowardly, represented, that most of them had lost their relations and friends in the many assaults that had been given; that they themselves were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that at the very first attack they should see themselves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the Infidels; that they had for a long time been resolved to sacrifice their own lives, but could not see the dishonour and slavery of their wives and children without the most piercing affliction; that they might prevent such a terrible calamity by surrendering upon good terms; and after all, that whatever the knights might alledge, the example of so many Christian states, that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks, was a plain proof, that they might do the same, and that they, by paying a small tribute, might also save both their religion and their fortunes.

SUCH discourses as these, repeated at different meetings, determined the most considerable of the inhabitants to apply to their metropolitan: they begged him to take pity on his people, and to represent to the grand master, that if he did not immediately treat with the grand seignior, they must necessarily be the first victims of the fury of the victorious soldiers, and that he himself would see the churches prophaned, the precious relicks of the saints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of the Infidels. The prelate entered into these just considerations, and laid the remonstrances and request of his people before the grand master. The grand master at first rejected the propositions of the metropolitan with a noble disdain, and declared to him, that himself and his

his knights had, when they shut up themselves in Rhodes, resolved to be buried upon the breach, and in the last intrenchments of the place, and that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and shew the same courage.

BUT the metropolitan found them in a very different disposition. Fear on the one side, and a desire of peace on the other, had got an ascendant over them: new deputies were sent back the day following, and applied directly to the grand master: they declared to him, that unless he took some care to preserve the inhabitants, they themselves could not help taking the most proper measures to secure the lives and honour of their wives and children.

THE grand master, justly fearing that despair might occasion a fatal division that would hasten the loss of the place, referred them to the council. Whilst they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council-house: they were let in, and presented a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they besought the order to make some provision for the safety of their wives and children; insinuating at the end of the petition, that if they should have no regard thereto, they should think themselves obliged by all laws, both divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the Infidels. The grand master, before any answer was given them, ordered the knights that commanded at the several posts to be called in, in order to learn from them a true and exact account of the state and forces of the place. He addressed himself particularly to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the bailiff Martingengo, who had a few days before taken arms again, and resumed the defence of the place. These two great men, who had so many times exposed their lives on the most dangerous occasions, declared one after the other, that they thought themselves obliged, both in conscience and honour, to represent to the assembly, that the place was not any longer tenable; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards, and above thirty cross-wise into the city; that they were for-



tified there in such a manner, that they could no longer feed themselves with the hopes of driving them out, or that they themselves could retire farther back, in order to make new intrenchments ; that all the pioneers and the best of the soldiers were killed ; that they themselves could not be ignorant how many knights the order had lost ; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and provisions, and that without a speedy and powerful succour, they could see no resource, and had even reason to fear, that at the first attack the Christians would be bore down by the formidable power and vast numbers of the Infidels.

ALL the council, upon the report of two captains so brave in their persons, and so greatly skilled in the arts of war, were of opinion, that they should enter into a treaty with Solyman. The grand master was the only person that differed from them in that respect, who, without abating any thing of his usual constancy and magnanimity, represented to them, that in the whole course of so many ages, as the order had been making war upon the Infidels, the knights had in the most perilous occasions always preferred an holy and glorious death before a frail and precarious life ; that he was ready to set them an example, and begged of them, before they took so grievous a step, to reflect once more upon it in the most serious manner.

THE principal persons of the council replied, that if their own particular lives were concerned in the case, they would all follow his example and freely die by his side ; that they were ready to sacrifice their lives ; that they had devoted them to God when they took the habit ; but that the safety of the inhabitants was the business in question : that if the Infidels should carry the place by storm, and enter it sword in hand, they would force the women and children, and all weak persons to renounce the faith ; that they would make the most of the inhabitants either slaves or renegades ; and that the churches, and particularly the relicks, which had so long been the object of their veneration at Rhodes, would be prophaned by the Infidels,

dels, and be made the 'subject of their contempt and raillery. The grand master yielded at length to these pious considerations, and they resolved at the first overtures of peace that the sultan should make, to give an answer, and enter upon a negotiation.

The grand seignior, uneasy at the thoughts of succours, a report of which the knights had taken care to spread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or on the other hand to raise the siege consistent with his honour, endeavoured by new propositions to shake the resolution and constancy of the knights: they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary, and in a quarter called the Lymonitres.

THE grand master thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of Coiquin. Upon this signal two Turks, who by their dres seemed to be considerable officers, came out of the trenches, and advanced towards the gate; they were met there by the prior of St. Giles and the bailiff Martinengo, to whom they delivered only a letter from Solyman to the grand master, without speaking a word. The letter contained a summons to surrender the place, with advantageous offers, provided they should deliver it up immediately, and threats of putting all to the sword if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the sultan offered: they agreed to give hostages on both sides. The order sent as deputies to Solyman Sir Anthony Grolée called Passim, and Robert Perrucey judge of Rhodes, who both spoke the vulgar Greek with facility. The Turks on their side sent into Rhodes, a nephew of the general Achmet's, and one of Solyman's interpreters in whom that prince put an entire confidence. The chevalier de Grolée and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the grand seignior, who told them, that he was disposed to let them go quietly out of the island and the east, provided they would immediately surrender up to him Rhodes, fort St. Peter, Lango and the other little islands of the order; but that if from a resolution of

making a rash defence, they should be obstinate in attempting to hold out any longer against his formidable power, he would destroy all before him with fire and sword. The two deputies desired to return into the place to communicate his intentions to the grand master and the council; but the Turks sent back Perrucey only, with orders to bring a decisive answer immediately; and general Achmet kept the chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honourably, and owned to him at table in the heat of the entertainment, that the sultan his master had lost at that siege 44000 men that had fallen by the arms of the knights, besides almost as considerable a number that had died of sickness and cold since the beginning of the winter.

DURING these preliminaries of the negotiation, a company of young fellows, who were some of the most inconsiderable of the townsmen, and who had not been consulted in the petition which the principal inhabitants had presented to the grand master, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace, to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their consent, and that would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Christians, and that they all chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The grand master, who was used to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, answered them with great moderation, that prudence did not allow him to publish the motives of the negotiation, for fear the grand seignior should be informed of the ill condition of the place, and break it, and his troops make another assault, which he was afraid they wanted forces sufficient to sustain; but that he was exceedingly pleased to find them so well disposed to defend their country; that they should see him always at their head, and ready to shed the last drop of his blood for the preservation of the place: he desired them only to remember to bring thither on the first occasion that might offer itself the same courage,  
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and all the resolution that they boasted of in their discourse, and in the presence of their sovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the grand master and the council being informed by one of their deputies of the sultan's disposition, thought fit to dispatch two other ambassadors to him, and chose for that employment don Raimond Marquet, and don Lopes Cepas, both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the grand seignior, demanded of him a truce for three days, in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjust the several interests of the inhabitants, who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

BUT that prince, being always uneasy at the reports spread in his army of an approaching succour, rejected the proposition of a truce; and in order to determine the grand master to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general assault. He sent back at the same time one of the new envoys, but kept the other, with a design no doubt of resuming the negotiation if he did not succeed immediately in the attack.

THE batteries began to fire on both sides, but not so furiously on that of the knights, who reserved the little powder left them for the assaults they were unavoidably to stand. The grand master, seeing the attack begin again, sent for the inhabitants who had spoke to him with so much ostentation of their courage; he told them that now was the time of their giving him proofs of it: and an order was issued out in his name, and published with sound of trumpet, to all the citizens to repair immediately to the advanced posts, with a strict injunction not to quit them either day or night under pain of death. The townsmen obeyed this order for some days; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was exposed from the enemies artillery, stealing home in the night, the grand master sent to take him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the rest, and in order to keep up discipline.

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THOUGH all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and that the city was in a manner no more than an heap of stones and rubbish, yet the knights still kept their ground in the barbican or fausse-braye of the bastion of Spain, where the grand master himself lodged, in order to take the better care of its defence; the Turks attacked it on the 17th of December.

THE engagement was very bloody and obstinate; they fought almost the whole day on both sides with equal animosity; the grand master, and the few knights he had left, ran, as we may say, to meet their wounds, and rather than survive the loss of the place, went in quest of death, that seemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themselves so nobly, that after making a terrible slaughter of the enemy, they forced them to retire. But the infidels, animated by the reproaches of the sultan, returned the next day to the assault, and came on in such vast numbers, that the knights, bore down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and threw themselves into the city to defend it to the utmost extremity, and bury themselves in its ruins.

THE townsmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their posts, and retired one after another. The grand master and his knights were forced to make alone the ordinary guard of the place, and if those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had not kept upon the breach, it would have been surpris'd, and carried by assault. In fine, all the inhabitants came in a body to beseech the grand master to resume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to send along with his embassadors to the camp, two deputies of their own, to take care of their interests in the capitulation: the grand master consented to it: the body of the townsmen named Peter Singlifico and Nicholas Vergati, when the chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with general Achmet, conducted them to the camp, and desired him to present them to the grand seignior. But before they were admitted to his audience, the grand master, in some hopes, though  
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they were very uncertain, of a succour, and with design to spin out the negotiation, had directed him to shew Achmet an old treaty which sultan Bajazet had made with the grand master d'Aubuffon ; in which he lays his curse upon any of his successors that should break the peace he had concluded with the knights of St. John. The grand master gave this instrument to his ambassador, that he might feel if Solyman, who was a zealous observer of his law, could be prevailed with, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, to raise the siege. But Achmet, as soon as he cast his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the ambassador and deputies of the people from his presence : in fine, having no succour to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the grand master sent the ambassador and deputies to the camp, who, after making their compliments to the grand seignior, set themselves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation, the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches should not be prophaned, nor the inhabitants obliged to deliver up their children to be made janizaries ; that they should be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion ; that the people should be exempt from taxes for five years ; that all who would go out of the island should have leave to do so ; that if the grand master and the knights should not have vessels enough to transport them to Candia, they should be furnished with them by the Turks ; that they should be allowed twelve days time, reckoning from that of signing the treaty, to put their effects on board ; that they might carry away the reliicks of the saints, the consecrated vessels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their moveables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they used to employ on board their gallies : that all the forts of the isle of Rhodes, and the other isles belonging to the order, and that of the castle of St. Peter should be delivered up to the Turks ; that in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkish army should remove to some miles distance ; that whilst it lay at that distance,

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the sultan should send four thousand janizaries, under the command of their aga, to take possession of the place; and that the grand master, as a security of his word, should give twenty-five knights in hostage, among which were to be two grand crosses, with twenty-five of the principal burgessees of the town. This treaty being signed by the embassador and deputies on one side, and by general Achmet in the sultan's name, and ratified by the grand master, and the lords of the council, the hostages agreed on repaired to the camp, and the aga of the janizaries entered at the same time into the town with a company of his soldiers, and took possession of it.

WHILST they were employed on both sides in executing the treaty, they saw a numerous fleet off at sea, standing in for the island full sail, and with a favourable wind. The Turks, who were always uneasy on account of the succours that the Christians had so long expected, made no question but they were ships of the princes of the west coming to raise the siege. They immediately run to arms. Solyman and his generals were in great pain; but the fleet drawing near the coast, they discovered the crescent in their flags; and after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Persia, and that Solyman seeing his soldiers disheartened by so many unsuccessful attacks, had, in hopes that fresh troops might behave themselves with more ardor in the assaults, sent orders to Ferhat basha to bring them with the utmost diligence he could. 'Tis to be presumed, that if these fresh troops had landed sooner, the knights would not have made so honourable a composition with the sultan; but as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Solyman would not make any advantage of this succour, nor fail in the performance of his word.

Two days after the treaty was signed, general Achmet had a conference with the grand master in the ditch of the post of Spain; and after several discourses had passed between them in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him, that the grand seignior

or was desirous to see him, and insinuated to him, that he ought not to think of going away without taking leave of his conqueror, for fear he should provoke his anger. The grand master being apprehensive that he would be incensed at the long resistance he had made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of soldiers which that prince had lost at the siege, was not very willing to deliver himself up into his hands ; but as, on the other side, he was afraid of furnishing him, by a refusal, with a pretence, which perhaps he wished to find, of not keeping his word ; this great man, who had, during the siege, exposed himself to the greatest dangers, got over all considerations, and resolved to sacrifice himself once more for the safety of his brethren. He came early the next morning into the quarters to the entrance of the sultan's tent. The Turks, out of pride, and a barbarous kind of grandeur, suffered him to wait there almost all the whole day, without offering him to eat or drink, exposed to a severe cold, to snow and hail which fell in abundance. When the evening was drawing on, he was called in, and cloathing him and the knights that attended him with magnificent vests, they introduced him to an audience of the sultan. That prince was struck with the majesty that appeared in all the air, and over the whole person of the grand master, and told him by his interpreter, by way of consolation, " That the conquest or loss of empires were the ordinary sports of fortune." He added, in order to engage so great a captain in his service, that he had just seen by a woful experience the little stress that was to be laid on the amity and alliance of the Christian princes, who had so scandalously abandoned him ; and that if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no post or dignity in the whole extent of his empire but he was ready to gratify him with. The grand master, who was as zealous a Christian as he was a great captain, after thanking him for the good will he expressed towards him, replied, that he should be very unworthy of his favours, if he were capable of accepting them ;

them ; that so great a prince as he would be dishonoured by the services of a traitor and a renegado ; and that all he requested of Solyman was, that he would be pleased to order his officers not to give him any disturbance in his going off and imbarkation. Solyman signified to him, that he might go on with it quietly ; that his word was inviolable ; and as a token of friendship, though perhaps out of ostentation of his grandeur, he gave him his hand to kiss.

IN breach however of the treaty, and the positive promises of the grand seignior, five days after the capitulation was signed, some janizaries, under pretence of visiting their comrades, who with their aga had taken possession of the place, dispersed themselves over it, plundered the first houses they came to near the gate of Cosquin, broke into the churches which they prophaned, and ransacked the very tombs of the grand masters, where their avarice made them fancy they should find treasure : from thence they ran, like so many furies, to the infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity of the knights, drove out the sick, and carried off the plate, in which they were served, and would have carried their violence still farther, if, upon the grand master's complaints, general Achmet, who knew the grand seignior's intention, had not sent word to the aga, that his head should answer for the plunder and extravagance of his soldiers. Indeed the grand seignior, who was fond of glory, and jealous of his reputation, was desirous that the knights, when they retired into the various states of Christendom, should, with the news of the conquest of Rhodes, carry likewise with them the reputation of his clemency and his inviolable observance of his word : and this perhaps might be the motive that engaged him, when he visited his new conquest, to enter into the grand master's palace.

THIS prince received him with all the marks of respect due to so potent a monarch. Solyman in this visit, so very extraordinary in a grand seignior, accosted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear courageously

ously this change of fortune, and signified to him, by Achmet who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that if the time stipulated was not sufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired upon this, after repeating his assurances to the grand master of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation; and turning towards his general as he went out of the palace, "I can't help being concerned, says he to him, that I force this Christian at his age to go out of his house."

THE grand master was obliged to quit it even before the term agreed on was expired; for being informed, that the sultan was preparing to set out in two days for Constantinople; he did not think it proper to stay in the island, exposed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might perhaps, in the grand seignior's absence, value themselves on giving such explications to the treaty as suited their hatred and animosity against the knights. So that not thinking it safe to stay any longer among barbarians that were not over scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the knights, and such as would follow the fortune of the order, to carry immediately their most valuable effects on board the vessels of the order.

THIS dismal embarkation was made in the night, with a precipitation and disorder that can hardly be described. Nothing could be more moving, than to see the poor citizens loaded with their goods, and followed by their families, abandoning their country. There was heard on all sides a confused noise of children crying, of women bemoaning themselves, of men cursing their ill fortune, and of seamen calling out after them all. The grand master alone wisely dissembled his grief; the sentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and in this confusion he gave his orders with the same tranquillity, as if he had been only to send away a squadron of the order to cruize.

THE grand master, besides the knights, put on board above four thousand inhabitants of the island, men, wo-



men and children, who not caring to stay under the dominion of the infidels, resolved to follow the fortune of the order, and abandon their country.

PRINCE Amurath, son to the unfortunate Zizim, would gladly have followed the grand master, and had agreed with him to come on board with all his family ; but Solyman resolving to get him into his power, caused him to be watched so narrowly, that in spite of all the disguises he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himself in the ruins of some houses which the Turkish cannon had demolished. The grand master, not being able to save him, took leave of the grand seignior, and was the last man that went on board his vessel. The first day of January A. D. 1523, all the fleet, after his example, made ready for sailing ; and the few knights that survived this long and bloody siege, were reduced to the dismal necessity of quitting the isle of Rhodes, and the places and other islands that depended on the order, and in which the knights of St. John of Jerusalem had maintained themselves with so much glory for near two hundred and twenty years.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Knights Hospitallers  
O F  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,  
Called afterwards  
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,  
And at present  
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K IX.

WHILST the happy Solyman was triumphing in the calamity of the knights of Rhodes, and that prince, who never valued the loss of his soldiers, was rejoicing for a conquest that contributed so much to the glory of his arms, the grand master, before he sailed out of the port of Rhodes, pursuant to the treaty which he had just made with the sultan, dispatched some brigantines, feluccas and transports to the commander d'Airasque, governor of the castle of St. Peter, and to Perin du Pont, bailiff of Lango, with orders to abandon the several places where they commanded, and make an immediate embarkation of all the knights that were in their governments, and of all such of the

inhabitants subject to the order as should be willing to follow them, and to repair with all possible expedition to the isle of Candia, where he proposed to stop for some time to wait their coming up, and receive prince Amurath, son to Zizim, if he should be able to make his escape, with such inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes, as could not, by reason of his precipitate departure, embark at the same time with him. That prince, after this, set sail, attended by all his knights, and followed by a great number of Rhodian families. His fleet made up fifty sail, consisting of gallies, galliots, brigantines, and feluccas of different bulk : He himself went on board the great carrack, taking with him the principal commanders, and particularly those knights who were sick and wounded ; and it may be said, that this great vessel, by carrying them, carried the whole fortune of the order.

It would be difficult to draw in proper colours the affliction of the inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes, when they saw themselves forced to abandon their estates, their houses, and their country. As long as this little fleet kept within a sufficient distance, they had all of them their eyes fixed upon the island ; but as soon as they lost sight of it, their grief burst out in cries and tears ; which however was but the beginning of their sorrows.

AFTER some days sailing, they were surpris'd by a violent storm, which dispersed this little fleet among the islands of the Archipelago. The gallies especially were in great distress for want of a sufficient number of slaves and rowers. Solyman had, before the grand master's departure, taken from thence all the slaves who were either his subjects or of his religion ; and the Christians, who had voluntarily suppli'd their places, being very unequal to that employment, were rather an incumbrance to the service than of any advantage to it. Several ships lost their masts by the violence of the storm, and others that were overladen foundered. The poor Rhodians, to guard against such like accidents, threw their bales and effects

over

over board ; at last, after struggling against the fury of the storm for three days and nights together, the wind fell, the waves subsided, hope began to revive in their hearts, and the ships that were scattered, arrived one after another in different ports or bays of the island of Candia.

THE grand master, who was on board the great car-rack, stopped in sight, and came to an anchor in the road of the town of Setia ; others put at first into the ports of Spina Longa. As there were not any two vessels of the fleet that kept together, they arrived one after another. They owed indeed their preservation to this dispersion, and if they had not been separated by the violence of the winds, they would infallibly have fallen foul upon one another, and the bulging of a ship would have been as fatal as the striking against a rock.

ALL the little vessels, from the several places where they had put in for shelter, came up at last and joined the grand master. There arrived too about the same time the commander d'Airaïque, the bailiff of Lango, all the knights under their command, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of the islands and fortresses of the order, who chose to follow the fortune of their sovereigns, rather than stay behind under the government of the Turks. When all this multitude was landed, the grand master made a general review, and the total amount of all, including men, women and children, came to near five thousand. But having so lately undergone the fatigue of a terrible storm, they were most of them sick, faint and low spirited ; all of them were unprovided either of provisions or means of subsistence ; and some, whose baggage had been thrown over board, were left half naked, and utterly destitute of linen.

THE grand master, who had supported the loss of his dominions with so much resolution, could not refrain from tears at the sight of so forlorn a people. He was at the expence of procuring from the neighbouring towns provisions, stuffs, and even linen, to new clothe such as wanted them. And at the same time

enforcing these real and substantial supplies with discourses full of a spirit of charity, he assured them, that the order would always give them a share in their possessions and estates, to which, he told them, the poor had always the first claim. The people, in the fulness of their heart, made no other reply to such tender and moving sentiments, than by offering up their vows for the long continuance of so beneficent a life: Every one ran to kiss his hand; they all called him their father, and a name so dear to generous souls gave this great man a more sensible pleasure, than the title of lord and prince that was due to his dignity.

HE was no sooner landed near Setia, but he sent advice of it to the governor and regency of the island. The governor immediately dispatched the noble Pauli Justiniani, to offer him all manner of succours that he might stand in need of, and invite him to come with all his people to the capital city, where they would find great plenty of provisions. The grand master, though no way pleased with these republicans, made no scruple to go thither. The governor, attended by the noble Dominico Trevisano, general of the gallies of the republic, the magistrates and principal persons of the island, came to receive him at his landing; they saluted with great demonstrations of their concern at the loss of Rhodes; but so very unseasonably, that the grand master, in a private conversation which he had afterwards with the general of the gallies, could not forbear reflecting on the timorous policy of the senate, who, though they had above sixty gallies in the port of Candia, had yet stood still as mere lookers on, whilst Rhodes was falling into the hands of the infidels, without vouchsafing to throw the least succour into the place.

THE Venetian general could make no other reply to complaints that were so well founded, but by receiving them with a silence full of confusion; but to wave all explications on so disagreeable a subject, he invited him to stay in the island, till the winter and the severity of the season should be over. But the grand master,  
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full of the highest resentment at the insensibility which the Venetians had shew'd in standing as bare spectators whilst Rhodes was lost, told him, that as soon as he could refit his ships, which had suffered in the storm, he should continue his course; and that his design was to go immediately into Italy, to consult with the pope about a place where it would be proper to fix the great convent, and settle the residence of the order.

WHILST he was labouring with the utmost application to repair his ships, Leonard Balestrin, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, arrived in Candia with his clergy, and several of the inhabitants. Solyman had obliged them to leave the place, under pretence that they were neither Rhodians nor Greeks, and that he would not suffer any Latins within his dominions. The grand master, who had the highest esteem for the virtue of that prelate, received him very courteously, assigned him a pension upon the treasury of the order; and the archbishop afterwards taking the habit of the order, he named him prior of the church, which was at that time the first ecclesiastical dignity of the order, and indeed the very next post after the grand master; and which, therefore, had a right of sitting in the council annexed to it.

AMONG the various events that happened after the grand master's departure, the archbishop told him, that the grand seignior had given such strict orders to search for the son of Zizim, that the unfortunate prince was soon discovered and brought before Solyman, with his four children, two boys, and as many girls; that the sultan, whose interest urged him in the strongest manner to destroy this family, and who yet carefully avoided the character of a cruel prince, in order to have a plausible pretence to get rid of him, asked him, as if he had known nothing of the matter, what religion he was of? that the prince answered him with great intrepidity, that he and his children were Christians; that Solyman, under pretence of punishing him for a pretended apostacy, had ordered to be strangled with his two sons, and had caused them to be executed at  
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the head of his army, in order to prevent any future malecontent or impostor from making use of their name, and raising an insurrection; and that after this cruel execution, the sultan had sent the two young princesses to Constantinople, to be shut up in the old seraglio.

THE ships of the order being refitted, the grand master set sail about the beginning of March, and dispatched at the same time a light brigantine to carry the several ambassadors which he sent to the pope, and to most of the princes of Christendom, to acquaint them with the loss of Rhodes, and to complain of their having so universally abandoned him. This complaint was still more justly levelled against the pope than the other Christian potentates: But that pontiff was entirely taken up with the affairs and interest of the emperor, and managed them with as much application as if he had still been that prince's minister. 'Twould be impossible to relate all the reflections with which the world arraigned his conduct on this occasion: They publicly exclaimed against the little zeal he had shewn for the relief of Rhodes: And the very day that the city was surrendered to Solyman, part of the architrave of that pope's chapel falling down the very moment that he was going into it, and that piece of marble dashing out the brains of one of his guards that went before him, the people, who are very ready to interpret the intentions of heaven, did not fail upon this accident to look upon it as a judgment for his remissness, and a plain indication of the wrath of God.

THE grand master was very sensible of the great weight and influence that this pontiff's recommendation, and especially his example, would have had for the saving of Rhodes; but as he saw plainly, that he should have occasion for the pope's authority to support his own, he ordered his ambassador to explain himself in modest terms upon the want of such military succours, in order to engage him the more readily to grant him one of another nature, which was no less necessary for him in the present juncture. This prince, in losing Rhodes,

Rhodes, had thereby lost, not only a powerful and sovereign dominion, but likewise the fixed and independent residence of the order, the great convent of it, the center and bond as it were which united to considerable a number of knights of different nations in the same place, and in an immediate subjection to his authority. The fear of a general dispersion gave him a secret anxiety. He was not without apprehensions lest upon his arrival in Italy, most of the knights, finding themselves without any fixed and settled convent, should retire into their own countries. He was in the dark even as to a place where he might settle with his council, and the body of people that followed his fortune; and what made his uneasiness still greater was the want he stood in of a port for the exercise of his profession, and for the sending out his vessels to cruise. He was afraid he should scarce find any Christian prince who would give him a place or port within his territories in absolute property and dominion: And supposing there should be found one generous enough to afford him a place of refuge, he was still as uneasy for fear he should afterwards pretend to dispose of the forces of the order for his private interests; or if the order wanted a retreat, and was left without that common band of concord, that the knights should disperse and retire into their several countries, which would exceedingly weaken the discipline of the order, and end at last in its destruction and ruin. Full of these melancholy considerations, he wrote about it to the pope, and ordered his ambassador to get a bull from him, directed to all the knights of the order, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, and being degraded of their knighthood, to submit to the orders of the grand master and the council, in what place soever he should proper to fix his own residence, and that of the council.

THE ambassador upon his arrival at Rome gave the pope an account of all that had passed in the defence of Rhodes: And pursuant to his instructions represented to him the melancholy situation of the order, and the  
just

just apprehensions which the grand master had of a dispersion, which would be still of more fatal consequence than even the loss of Rhodes. The pope complied with the grand master's request; and in order to retain all the knights under his obedience, granted him a bull, wherein, after extolling with just elogiums the zeal and valour which the knights had shewn against the infidels, he commanded them, in virtue of their holy obedience, to continue in a body under the grand master's authority, and threatned such as should prove refractory with all the censures of the church. The bull being issued out, the ambassador sent it to the prior of Messina, to deliver it to the grand master, who, pursuant to his scheme, was to arrive soon in the port of that city.

He had indeed set sail from the port of Candia; but he had been only a few days at sea, when contrary winds obliged him to put in at Fraski, another port in the same island: from thence he went to that of Cerigo, formerly called Cytherea, and consecrated to Venus, which is not above five miles from the main land of the Morea. The wind appearing favourable, the two carracks and the large ships sailed before by his orders, under the conduct of Auston, commander of the language of England, kept out to sea, and arrived happily in the port of Messina. But the grand master, resolving not to quit the people of Rhodes, who were most of them sick, set out a long time afterwards, went on board a galley, and with a galliot, the brigantines, feluccas, and smaller vessels, with all that crowd of people on board, coasted it, as being less dangerous, along the shore, with extreme difficulties, entered the Adriatick gulf, and arrived at last at the port of Gallipoli, a town of the kingdom of Naples, in the gulph of Otranto.

THE great number of sick that were on board the fleet obliged him to stop for some time at this place. Whilst he was taken up with providing for their relief, the knights, who were gone before him in the great ships of the order, arrived at Messina, where they  
found

found a great number of knights of different nations, who had rendezvouzed there with the succours which they were in hopes of carrying to Rhodes. All these knights were under great uneasiness upon their receiving no manner of news of the grand master: Some were afraid, that the gallies and small vessels were lost in the stormy weather that had happened, and the bad season, which they put to sea; others were apprehensive, that the corsairs of barbary, which roved over those seas, might have had advice of the grand master's departure, and the riches which he carried with him, and might have joined together to attack him; and that that little fleet, which was but ill provided, might have fallen into the hands of those barbarians. Their apprehensions were the better grounded, in that Solymán having obliged the grand master before his departure to release all the slaves that were either born his subjects or professed his religion, there was not a galley that had half the crew necessary to row it. 'Twas indeed this want of men, as much as the severity of the season, which had occasioned the grand master's wandering so long in those seas. In fine, he came about the beginning of May with his little fleet into the port of Messina. Instead of the usual flag of the order, he hoisted on the top of the mast of the vessel that he was on board of, a standard or sort of banner, on which was represented the image of the blessed virgin, holding her dead son in her arms, with this motto, *In the extremity of my affliction, he is my only hope*; AFFLICTIS SPES MEA REBUS. Pignatelli count of Monteleon, viceroy of Sicily, the archbishop of Messina, Fabritio Pignatelli brother to the viceroy, and prior of Barletto, Charles Jesvatre, prior of St. Stephens, the prior of Messina, the commanders and whole body of the knights, the nobility, gentry, people, and all the city in a manner came out, and were present at the grand master's landing. The whole multitude had their eyes fixed on the venerable old man, whose constancy and resolution made him as illustrious under his misfortunes, as his bravery in the defence of Rhodes had made him glorious.

AFTER



AFTER the viceroy had made him his compliment, and offered him in the emperor's name the town of Messina to serve him for a retreat, and for a place of refreshment to his fleet, the archbishop and all the grandees of the kingdom, the gentry and people, by a solemn silence, very suitable to his ill fortune, expressed how much they sympathized with him in it. But who could express the real grief which all the knights felt for the loss of Rhodes, the remembrance of which was renewed by his arrival? Such as were standing upon the port, as well as those that landed, unable to speak a word, could only communicate their common affliction by tender embraces: Some tears stole from those that had the most resolution, notwithstanding all their endeavours not to shed one. L'Isle-Adam alone, always superior to his calamity, discovered plainly by his resolution, that he was worthy of a better fortune. He walked towards the prior's palace, preceded by all the knights, bare-headed, who kept a mournful silence, and discovered by these demonstrations of their respect, that tho' he had lost his territories, he yet had not lost any thing of his authority over a body of nobility and gentry, who in happier times would be able to conquer a new island of Rhodes.

THE grand master's first care after his landing, was to provide lodgings in his own palace, and the houses adjoining, for the knights that were sick and wounded: He waited on them himself, assisted by the knights that were left unhurt. 'Twas indeed a very moving sight, to see these men, who used to appear so terrible with their weapons in their hands, now animated only by a spirit of charity, devote themselves to the meanest services, carry broth to the sick, make their beds, and shew a disregard to every thing but what might contribute to their relief and recovery.

FROM these charitable offices, so agreeable to the first institution of the order, the grand master, still inconsolable for the loss of Rhodes, passed to a severe inquisition and enquiry against those who were employed to carry succours thither: He ordered them to be  
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cited before a full council, to give an account of their delay, and protested publicly, that he would without respect of persons, punish according to law, as traitors and deserters, all such as should be convicted of remissness and negligence in the execution of those orders which had been prescribed them.

ALL those that were cited, and particularly pointed at by these menaces, presented themselves before that tribunal with a confidence which truth and innocence alone can inspire. The priors of Barletto and St. Stephens were the first that appeared, who represented, that besides a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions which they had prepared, pursuant to the grand master's orders, they had likewise voluntarily, and at their own expence, listed two thousand old soldiers, and engaged a considerable body of volunteers and young noblemen to go to Rhodes; but that for the two last months the winds had held so perpetually contrary, and the weather had been so tempestuous, that no body had been imprudently bold enough to put to sea; and that it was well enough known, that the chevalier de Nieupoit, of the language of England, an old sea captain, who buoyed himself up with the hopes of mastering the waves by his skill, going on board at that time, was driven back by the violence of the wind against the point of a desert promontory, where his ship with all his crew were lost.

ANTONIO DI SAN MARTINO, prior of Catalonia, represented on his side to the council, that at the first news of the siege, he had fitted out a gallion at his own expence, and went on board it at the head of the knights of Arragon, Navarre, Valentia and Majorica, to go to the relief of Rhodes; that they were attack'd near the island of Corsica by a squadron of the grand seignior's galleys, which ply'd him with their cannon shot, and coming up close with him, threw showers of grenado's and firepots without ceasing into his ship; that they made several attempts to board him, and were as often repulsi'd; but that after an engagement of six hour, they prepared to burn him with a fire-ship; but

a fresh gale of wind springing up in the night, he made a shift to save his vessel, which was terribly torn with the cannon shot, and got to the port of San Bonifacio in the isle of Sardinia, from whence with great difficulty and danger he had made his way to Messina.

THE chevalier d'Albi, son to the duke of that name, setting sail from Carthagenæ with the knights of Castile and Portugal, had much the same fate. He was invested by a squadron of Algerine corsairs, who poured in their broad-sides upon him from every quarter. His main-mast was shot by the board, his sails and tackling torn to pieces, he received several shot between wind and water, without being brought to strike, and was resolved to blow up the ship, rather than let the flag of the order fall into the hands of the infidels. By good fortune he with his last broadside sunk the admiral of the corsairs: And the Barbarians launching out all their long-boats to save their general and the soldiers that were aboard him, the Spanish captain, improving the little interval which that advantage afforded him, made off, and got to the isle of Busa or Ivica, one of the Baleares, where he mended his sail and tackling, but could not get from thence to the port of Messina till the beginning of December. The knights of Tuscany and Lombardy represented in their turn, that they were to have embarked in some ships which the commander de Tournebon, prior of Pisa, and of an illustrious family in Florence, had hired upon his own credit; but that knight, who was to fit them out at his own expence, happening to die suddenly, they were left unprovided of the necessary funds to go on with that armament; that indeed they had applied to the receivers of Pisa, Venice and Lombardy, but they were so long in raising the money necessary to defray the charges of this equipment, that they could not help being the last who arrived in the port of Messina.

IN fine, the chevalier d'Auffonville, or de Villiers, who had been sent ambassador to the kings of France and England, declared, that upon his arrival at the court of Francis I. he had represented to him in the warmest

warmest manner the pressing need that Rhodes had of his succour; to which that gallant prince replied, that though he was attacked on all sides by the sea and land forces of the emperor and the king of England, he yet would send orders forthwith to Andrew Doria, then general of his gallies, to supply him with three of those that were the best provided, and also that he might take up in his dominions what provisions and ammunition he had occasion for: That continuing his road afterwards towards London, to wait upon Henry VIII. he had met that prince at Calais, who received him coldly, and that he could not get from him the least encouragement that might give him room to hope for succours: That he returned thereupon to Marseilles; and Doria pursuant to the king's orders, delivered him three gallies, viz. the Ferrara, la Trimouille and the Doria, upon which above 300 knights of the three languages of France embarked, carrying with them eight hundred men, all gallant soldiers and warriors: That he had, with the money of the order, freighted three merchant ships which he found in the port of Marseilles; and after loading them with ammunition and provisions, set sail for Messina, the place of rendezvous; but a terrible storm, which had been at the same time so fatal to other vessels of the order, had dispersed this little fleet: That in all likelihood the transport vessels had foundered; that the Ferrara galley was likewise lost; that the Doria had stranded on the coast of Sardinia; and that none but the Trimouille had arrived safe in the port of Messina.

ALL these facts being clearly proved by the concurrent testimony and oaths of the knights, as well as of the crew of those vessels, "God be for ever praised," cried the grand master, "who in our common misfortune has given me the satisfaction of knowing that no one can ascribe the cause of it to the negligence of any of my brethren of the order." Then calling about him the priors and grand crosses, who had been brought before the council of war, he embraced them in a very affectionate manner; " 'Twas necessary,"

said he to them, “ for the honour of the order, as well  
 “ as for your own, that I should make this examina-  
 “ tion, which will justify to all princes living, as well  
 “ as to the latest posterity, that if Rhodes could have  
 “ been saved by the single forces of the order, that  
 “ bulwark of Christendom had not now been in the  
 “ hands of the infidels.”

HOWEVER just these reasons might be, they yet did not allay the secret resentment of the knights, on account of the informations and criminal prosecution carried on against them by the grand master. Most of them designed to retire immediately to their priories and commandries; and several private knights, after their example, who had nothing to live upon, resolved to return into their respective countries, and try to mend their circumstances at the courts of their sovereigns.

THE grand master getting notice of this kind of conspiracy, called a general assembly of all the knights that were at Messina, in which he caused the pope's brief to be read, which had been delivered to him by the prior of Messina, and contained a prohibition to all the knights, under grievous penalties, to leave the grand master without his express leave first obtained. He told them afterwards, that since the loss of Rhodes, they alone might be said to form the representative body of the order; and if they did not keep together in this melancholy juncture, the order would dwindle insensibly, and perhaps be at last slighted by the sovereign princes of Christendom. He added, that after having exposed their lives so often on various occasions against the infidels, particularly in the defence of Rhodes, he might justly expect from the obedience they had vowed at the altar, that they would practice the patience necessary to procure them, before their separation a settlement that might repair their loss; and which might be declared the head convent of the order, and the residence of all the knights.

He insinuated very moving exhortations in this discourse, which, with his representation of the pope's orders,



orders, and the influence of his own authority, brought them to temper, and appeas'd the discontented. All their thoughts were now taken up in finding out a port where the order, agreeable to its institution, might continue the succours it had given for so many ages to the Christians that sail'd in those seas.

THE grand master's design was to go himself immediately to Rome to confer about it with the pope; but this great man was not yet at the end of his troubles and fatigues. A dreadful plague broke out at Messina; when he, in order to avoid the contagion, caus'd his knights, the wounded as well as the sound, and all the Rhodians that had follow'd him, to re-imbark. This new embarkation was made with as much precipitation as that from Rhodes: They were to avoid an enemy much more terrible than the Turks; but in spite of this precaution, the plague got into the vessels of the order: Several knights<sup>a</sup> died of it, and amongst others Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, who had signalized himself at the siege of Rhodes, and the chevaliers de St. Martin Grimault, and Avogadre. The grand master, alike unfortunate by sea and land, and carrying as it were, his enemy about him in his bosom, resolv'd, in order to the recovery of the sick, to go in quest of a more healthy air; and with leave from the viceroy of Naples, he landed his colony in the gulph of Baiæ. After taking<sup>b</sup> a view of the country, he mark'd out a camp near the ruins of the old town of Cumæ; here they built cabins and barracks by his orders for lodging the knights and Rhodians: And for fear of being surpris'd by the corsairs of Barbary, who roved all along those coasts, he made broad ditches and intrenchments about his little camp, fortifying them with palisadoes and artillery, which he took out of his ships. This change of air was followed with immediate success; most of the sick recover'd; and after a month's stay in that mild and temperate climate, the grand master being impatient to confer with the pope about a

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, t. 3. l. 1.<sup>b</sup> Id. p. 16.

proper place for the settlement of his order, after giving him advice of his setting out, reembarked with his colony, and arrived a few days afterwards at Civita-Vecchia. He immediately dispatched the chevalier de Cheviere for Rome to compliment the pope in his name, and at the same time to desire an audience of him concerning the dismal revolution which had just happened in his order. The holy father dispatched the bishop of Cuença, a Spanish prelate, of his own family, to congratulate him upon his safe arrival in his territories. But instead of gratifying his eagerness, he let him know by the bishop, that he could not advise him by any means to go upon his journey so soon, especially in the dog-days: That he should have patience to continue with his colony at Civita-Vecchia, and that after some time he would acquaint him with the day when he could give him audience: a pretence which the pontiff made use of to prevent the grand master's being witness of a declaration of war, which he was going to publish in great form against France.

To understand rightly this point of history we must observe, that Adrian, as soon as he was seated in St. Peter's chair, had, agreeably to the example of his predecessors, notified it to the grand master, and declared expressly in the same brief, that nothing made that new dignity agreeable to him but the desire he had of employing all the credit it gave him with the Christian princes, to unite them in an holy league against the infidels: a protestation which he afterwards renewed in all his letters. But as if this declaration had been but a mere apostolical form of words, he, instead of forming a crusade against the Turks, had just concluded a league between himself, the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan, by which they were to attack the dominions of his most Christian majesty, whilst the constable de Bourbon, under pretence of a private grievance, was to raise an insurrection within the kingdom. The league being signed, the pope went to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore the day of the assumption; he there said mass pontifically, assisted

sisted by all the sacred college; and afterwards published with great solemnity, a declaration of war against France. Most of the cardinals were of opinion, that the pope ought not to quit the character of the common father of the faithful; and several of them represented to him, that he ought to reserve to himself the acting the part of a mediator between the emperor and the king of France; but his passion for the house of Austria made him deaf to such reasonable advice; and the pope, though otherways a very good and disinterested man, devoted himself blindly to the ambition of a prince who was minded to invade France. A passage which plainly shews, that private virtues do not sufficiently qualify a man for government, and that great places must be filled up with great qualities and great talents. But whether God had a mind to punish the pontiff in this world for that spirit of party which prevailed in him, or, which is more probable, that the length of the ceremony had fatigued him too much, he was not able to go to a great entertainment which cardinal Pompeo Colonna gave, when church was over, to all the sacred college, and the ambassadors of the princes that had engaged in the league. An ague seized him as he came back to his palace; he was afflicted with it above a fortnight, so that it was only about the twenty-fifth of the same month, during an interval which his distemper gave him, that he notified to the grand master his being ready to receive him at Rome, and give him audience.

THE grand master set out immediately, attended by all his knights. Anne de Montmorency marshal of France, his great nephew, was then at 1523. Rome. The king his master<sup>a</sup> had sent him thither, either because he was not yet acquainted with the step the pope had made, or else in order to engage him to quit the league. This French nobleman came to meet his uncle with a magnificent train, and went a considerable distance from Rome to receive him; and when the grand master drew near that capital of the  
Christian

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, l. 2.

Christian world, he was met by the auditor of the pope's chamber, the steward of his household, and the first prelates of his family, who came to compliment him in his name. They were followed by the light horse and Swiss guards of the pontiff, and these by the families and equipages of the cardinals; the duke of Sessa, the emperor's ambassador, met him at the field of Flora, and accompanied him to the palace. The grand master, as he passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and in the piazza di San Pietro, was saluted several times by all the artillery of the city and castle. The nobility, gentry, and people in general, crowded to see this great man, who had filled not only Rome, but also the whole world with his reputation, and the valour he had shewn in the defence of Rhodes. With this numerous and magnificent retinue, he entered the pope's palace and apartment. The pontiff, tho' much weakened by his illness, when he saw him enter his chamber, rose from his chair, advanced several steps to meet him; when the grand master prostrating himself to kiss his feet, he embraced him with great tenderness. He made him afterwards sit down in the midst of the cardinals who were present at the audience: and after having said several obliging things about the greatness of his courage, and the valour of his knights, he assured him, that he would not omit any thing that could be done to preserve an order so useful to all Christendom. He then took leave of him, calling him the hero<sup>a</sup> of the Christian religion, and the brave defender of the faith; titles which he justly deserved, but which put the pope to much less expence than the succours would have done, for which they had so often applied to him, tho' always to no purpose.

THE grand master never saw him after, the pope relapsed; and the fever was so violent, that perceiving himself near his end, he sent for the holy viaticum: And calling all the cardinals into his chamber, he exhorted

<sup>a</sup> Magnus Christi athleta, et fidei catholicæ acerrimus propugnator. Eosio, l. 2. p. 20.

horted them in the most moving terms, and with great humility, to chuse one for his successor, who would redress the faults he might have committed in the government of the church. He died on the 14th 1523. of September, being sixty-four years of age.

As soon as his funeral was over, the cardinals, who were thirty-six in number, shut themselves up in the conclave, and were soon after encreased to thirty-nine. The grand master and his knights were entrusted with the guard of the conclave. Among the several aspirers to the papacy, Pompeo Colonna and Julio de Medicis seemed to have the fairest pretensions. The illustrious birth and riches of Colonna, his splendid and expensive way of living, his great liberalities, and his genius, so proper for the managing an intrigue, had procured him a great number of partisans among the cardinals; and he had been subtle enough to persuade them, that they would all make their private fortunes by contributing to his promotion. Moreover, his strict attachment to the emperor, an attachment that was hereditary in his family, secured him the cardinals of that prince's faction. It is said, that when he entered the conclave, he wanted only two votes to ratify his election; and he flattered himself, that he should gain them by his intrigues among the contrary party. Medicis however balanced these advantages by the remembrance of the late pope Leo X. his cousin-german, whose memory was still recent, and very dear to most of the cardinals, and those especially of his creation.

JULIO DE MEDICIS had always passed for the natural son of Julian de Medicis, till the pontificate of Leo X. That pope, who had nothing so much at heart as the grandeur of his family, declared him to be legitimate, upon the deposition of his mother's brother, and the information of some monks, who certified, that there was a promise of marriage between his father and mother; a testimony that looks a little suspicious in so delicate an affair. He entered at first into the order of the knights of Rhodes, and by the pope's credit he soon  
obtained



obtained rich commandries, and rose to the first dignities of it : But finding that nature had formed him better for court intrigues than for war, he took holy orders, and Leo X. created him cardinal in 1513. He afterwards made him legate of Bologna, and collated him to the archbishopricks of Florence, Ambrun, and Narbonne, and the bishoprick of Marseilles. That pontiff, who was desirous of making him the support of his family, loaded him with riches and preferments; but notwithstanding the supreme power he had in the church, his ambition was still unsatisfied. During his pontificate, Medicis, in quality of cardinal nephew, had a great share in the government ; and whilst Leo seemed entirely taken up with his pleasures, he seemed to support the whole weight of affairs on his own shoulders. 'Tis however certain, that the pope had much greater views than his nephew, a better knowledge of his true interests, and a much greater constancy and resolution. 'Twas he alone who formed in secret the schemes of all his enterprises ; but in order to give the greater credit to the cardinal nephew, and probably out of laziness, he left the execution of them to him.

THE cardinal disposed of the posts and dignities of the court ; no promotion was made, but by his advice, and at his recommendation : He was a sort of a second pope ; and after Adrian's death, he entered the conclave, followed by sixteen cardinals, all of them his uncle's creatures, who, before they went to a scrutiny, always received his orders how they should give their votes. Their design was to raise him to the pontificate : but the faction of Colonna threw an invincible obstacle in the way. The two competitors, in order to know what they had to rely upon, and to make trial of their strength, proposed each of them several cardinals of their party. Colonna put up Jacobaccio, a cardinal of shallow parts, but one who was closely attached to him. The party of Medicis immediately threw him out, and Colonna played the same game with regard to those that were named by Medicis.

cis. This dispute lasted several days before either of them would yield to the other. The two parties, animated by their principals, pretended equally to have the glory of creating them popes, or at least to have the sovereign pontiff taken only out of their faction. Notwithstanding the seeming calm, secret negotiations were carried on with vigour: Colonna and Medicis, either by themselves or by their emissaries, were continually busy in getting over some votes, and making conquests in the opposite party; but the cardinals of each faction were so faithful to their principals, that there were no deserters on either side.

CARDINAL DE MEDICIS, as if he was out of hopes of being pope himself, and in order to over-reach Colonna, brought cardinal Ursini upon the stage, a person fitly qualified for the papacy, by reason of his great age, his learning, and especially his capacity in affairs of government; but he was of a family that bore an hereditary hatred to that of Colonna, as himself was a declared enemy to cardinal Colonna. All the cardinals of the faction of Medicis by his direction gave him one day their votes; upon this, Colonna was as one who had been thunder-struck; he was sensible, that Ursini, besides the creatures of Medicis, had even some particular friends in his own faction, who might perhaps quit his party to raise Ursini<sup>a</sup> to the popedom. He was frightened, and dreaded seeing the papal diadem on the head of a man of his capacity, who would probably employ all the authority of it to ruin his family. In the fear therefore of falling under his subjection, and in order to secure his being set aside, he, after having tried several expedients to no purpose, was at last forced to declare in favour of the election of his rival; he offered to give him his own vote, and all the rest that were at his disposal. The two heads of the parties<sup>b</sup> had a conference together, and entered into several negotiations, in which Colonna did not neglect his own interest. Medicis gave him a promise in writing of the  
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<sup>a</sup> Hist. des Conclaves, t. I. p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> Guicciardin l. 15.

post of vice-chancellor of the church, and a grant of his own palace, which was one of the noblest buildings in Rome. Colonna, after taking all the security that that could be given him, at the next scrutiny gave him his own vote, and procured him all the suffrages of his faction. By the union of these two parties, an end was put to all disputes; and after the conclave had held two months and four days, 1523. Nov. 19. cardinal de Medicis was unanimously elected, and took the name of Clement VII.

SUCH cardinals as were the creatures of Leo X. and the people especially, who remembered with pleasure the grandeur and magnificence with which that pope had lived, made great rejoicings at the first news of his nephew's election. They said, that Rome must needs be happy under the pontificate of a prince, who had himself been witness to his uncle's great qualities, and also formed by him for government. But no body was more pleased with his promotion than the grand master and his knights: he was the first religious of the order that had been raised to the papacy, and in the unhappy condition the order was in, wandering about without a convent or fixed habitation, or without any port for their fleet to put in at, they looked upon the election of one of their knights as a particular act of providence, which, by so distinguishing a favour, was pleased to soften the anguish of their calamities. The loss of Rhodes began to sit lighter on the grand master, who imagined, that under the pontificate of a knight of his order, and by the assistance of his protection, he should soon find a proper place of retreat, and even a new territory, where, agreeable to their institution, and for the common advantage of the Christian princes, the order might continue to send out their fleets as usual. against the infidels.

Nor was he deceived of his just expectation; for there never had been, since the foundation of the order, a pope that expressed so high an esteem, or shewed so tender an affection to the knights of St. John. The grand master, after a cardinal had proclaimed the election

tion of Clement VII. opened the conclave, and was the first that made his compliments to that pontiff, who made him publick acknowledgments for the good order and exactness he had kept with regard to the conclave; and the clergy of St. Peter de Lateran coming in to carry the new pope to the church, whither he went, attended by all the cardinals, Sir Julian Ridolfi prior of Capua, and embassador of the order, went immediately before him, compleatly armed, and finely mounted, carrying the great standard of the order; a function which this very pontiff had formerly exercised in quality of knight of St. John, at the election of Leo X. his cousin.

No sooner was the pope rid of that numberless multitude of ceremonies, which are inseparable from an accession to the papacy, but he, at the grand master's request, gave him audience in a full consistory. That prince had desired it, in order to lay before him an account of the siege of Rhodes, and set furth in the first city of the Christian world all that had passed in the defence of that place. The vice-chancellor of the order, who was the speaker on this occasion, related to them how six hundred knights that were shut up in Rhodes, had defended it for six months compleatly against two hundred thousand Turks that attacked it. He went on representing the thunder and continual fire of the artillery, the ruin of the fortifications, the lodgement of the enemy under the walls, the frequent assaults, the continual engagements which the knights had day and night with the infidels; notwithstanding all which, they did not abandon the place till after they had lost almost all their brother companions, their soldiers, the bravest of the inhabitants, and till such time as the enemy had carried on their works to the very heart of the place, and that they had no ground left to intrench themselves and fight upon.

THIS relation excited at once the admiration and compassion of all the sacred college; several cardinals, at the relation of the death  
1524:  
of so many knights as had sacrificed their  
lives in the defence of Rhodes, could not refrain

from tears; and the pope, in concert with all the consistory, in order to preserve an order and body of illustrious warriors, who were all of such eminent service to Christendom, and provide for them till such time as they should meet with an island or port for continuing their military functions, assigned them Viterbo for their residence; a town seated about forty miles from Rome, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and permitted their ships and galleys to stay in the port of Civita-Vecchia.<sup>a</sup>

To this favour, the holy father added another, which indeed was very honourable both for the order and its head; and by a particular act, Jan. 15th, 1524, ordered, that when he should go to chappel, the grand master should have the first place on the right hand of the throne, and that in all cavalcades he should march alone, immediately before his holiness:<sup>b</sup> The pope would have this regulation inserted in the registers of the master of the ceremonies. The grand master, sensibly affected with these testimonies of his good will, went, before he set out for Viterbo, to the palace to, return him thanks for them, and had afterwards several audiences of him, wherein he acquainted him with the various proposals made him in relation to a fixed settlement for his order, which might compensate for the loss of the isle of Rhodes. He told him, that during the vacancy of the holy see, various places on the continent had been mentioned to him, which he might have treated about; but that he had rejected the proposal, because the situation did not suit their institution, whose profession was to serve as convoys to those pilgrims who should embark out of devotion to visit the holy places, and for a guard at the same time to all such Christians as should go by sea: That Andrea Vendramino, an old religious of the order, and Archbishop of Corfu, had advised him to cast his eyes upon the port of Suda in Candia, or upon the isle of Cerigo, which belonged to the republic of Venice: but that his holiness could not but be sensible how that com-

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<sup>a</sup> Bosio, l. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ib. p. 24.



monwealth, like some women who are used to bear with every thing flowing from the violence and extravagance of their lovers, frequently dissembled the insults of the Turk, and through a fear of incurring his resentment, did not dare receive into their dominions a military order, which the grand seignior looked upon as his eternal enemy: That he had been likewise spoke to about the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany; but the king of Spain and the prince of Piombino being masters of the principal places of the island, it did not suit either the dignity of the order, or the common good of Christendom, to have the grand master and supreme council of the order dependant on any particular prince. He added, that some Spanish knights, who were of the greatest quality of that nation, probably in concert with the ministers that the emperor had in Italy, had proposed to him the islands of Malta and Goza, with the town of Tripoli on the coast of Africa, which belonged to that prince, in quality of king of Sicily. That this last proposal, on account of the various ports that were in the isle of Malta, was not disagreeable to him; but then the emperor had such subtle and secret views, that he was afraid lest this project, which seemed to be only owing to a pious motive, might at last produce some sort of subjection; and though they were to suppose, that the emperor would make them an absolute conveyance, and grant them the isles of Malta and Goza in fee simple, yet they could not, without great reluctance, take into their hands the administration of so weak a place as Tripoli; which was surrounded on all sides with barbarians and infidels, so that the putting knights there in garrison, would be no other than sending them to the slaughter.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding these considerations, which were not altogether without some foundation, the pope, after having maturely weighed these different proposals, resolved upon the last. But as he knew very well, that the emperor was no slave to his word, he, without explaining himself further to the grand

master, advised him to take his measures in such a manner as not to be caught by any secret designs of his ministers, who might perhaps have no other view but to increase his master's subjects in the persons of the knights. L'Isle-Adam, upon his arrival at Viterbo, sent an embassy to that prince. The ambassadors were the prior of Castile, the chevalier de Martinengo, that excellent engineer, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, and the commander Bosio, chaplain of the order, one who had distinguished himself by his skill in negotiations. These ambassadors, upon their arrival at Madrid, where the emperor then was, applied to him in the name of the whole order, and desired him to be pleased to grant them the isles of Malta and Goza by an absolute feofment, free from all manner of subjection and dependence; and they made this proposal without mentioning Tripoli, pursuant to their instructions. The ambassadors did not fail to represent to him, that he, by a grant so suitable to the generosity of a great prince, would be the restorer, and as it were the second founder of an order, which had for many ages been dedicated to the defence of the Christians; and that the knights by their settlement in those islands, would put a stop to the ravages of the corsairs of Barbary, and secure the isles of Sicily and Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and all the coasts of Italy, from their incursions.

THIS was just what the emperor had in view; and his communicating this project to the grand master did not perhaps flow so much from a motive of generosity as from self-interest. Besides, the considerable expences he was forced to be at in maintaining garrisons in those islands, and in Tripoli, which he, by that means, would be eased of, he was of opinion, that the knights, who were the terror of the infidels, would keep them in awe by their valour; and that the squadrons of the order would serve for an invincible rampart against the enterprizes of the grand seignior, who, after the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might perhaps be tempted to attack Sicily.

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THESE several motives were more than sufficient to determine him to conclude the treaty: But this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who frequently reaped greater advantages by his negotiations than he did even by his arms, told the ambassadors, that he was no way averſe to the propoſitions which they were come to make him; but that he yet could not reſolve to alienate Malta and Goza, unleſs Tripoli was alſo comprehended in the ſame treaty. That he inſiſted likeways, that the body of the order ſhould take an oath of fidelity to him in quality of its ſovereign; that a new creation ſhould be made of a ſecond bailiff of the language of Caſtile; that in the admiral's abſence, none but a knight of the language of Italy ſhould command the gallies: and as he very much doubted whether the order would ever ſubmit to take an oath of fealty to him, he added, that he had no intention of engaging himſelf to ſupply Malta with corn for the future. By this reſervation he ſecured to himſelf an abſolute dominion over the knights, 1524. who could never ſubſiſt without ſuch a ſupply.

THE prior of Caſtile and Martinengo ſtayed at the emperor's court, and Boſio, by agreement with them,\* returned to Italy, and came to Viterbo to the grand maſter, to whom he gave an account of the emperor's intentions. Had they come from any other ſovereign, they would not have been ſo much as heard; but moſt of the commandries of the order lying within the vaſt extent of that prince's dominions, they reſolved to wait, and ſee if time would afford them any relief, and if the pope's good offices could produce any moderation of ſuch hard conditions; and in the mean while, to keep the negotiation ſtill on foot, they prevailed with the emperor, before they gave him a deciſive anſwer, to allow the order to ſend eight commiſſaries to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, viz. one of each language, to viſit thoſe places, and afterwards make their report of them to the council.

\* Boſio, l. 2. p. 26.

THE grand master was the less eager to conclude the treaty, because he had a new project at that time on foot, which was much more glorious and advantageous for the order; and this was to recover Rhodes, and drive out the Turks. The proposer of this enterprise was Achmet Bassa, the very same that had contributed most to the taking of the place. The reader may have observed in the foregoing book, that Solyman being displeas'd with Mustapha, who command'd under him at the siege of Rhodes, had turn'd him out of his post, and given it to Achmet: but at the request of his sister, whom Mustapha had married, that prince had sent him into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey. He had no better success in that government than he had at the siege of Rhodes: whether it was owing to his unskilfulness in the arts of government, or to his avarice, or that he tyranniz'd over that people, who had been lately brought into subjection to the Turkish empire, a general insurrection arose in the provinces, and a prodigious army of Arabians and Egyptians came to besiege him in Grand Cairo itself, whose inhabitants, from the same motive, held secret correspondence with the rebels.

MUSTAPHA'S wife, alarmed at the dangers to which both herself and her husband were expos'd, had recourse to the grand seignior her brother. That prince, whose interest engag'd him to stifle this rebellion immediately, sent Achmet into Egypt at the head of a mighty army, to bring off his brother-in-law, and take the government of those great provinces in his stead.

THE new general, in a little time, beat the rebels on several occasions.\* But after he had established the reputation of his valour, and the terror of his arms, he set himself to gain the malecontents by a conduct that was entirely the reverse of that of Mustapha. The taxes were, by his order, considerably diminished; and as he secretly aspir'd to make himself independent, and absolute master of the kingdom, he removed the Turkish  
officers,

\* Hist. de Chalcondile, Tom. 1. l. 14. p. 489.

officers who were odious to the Egyptians, filling their posts at the same time with noblemen of that nation; and in order to engage a body of troops in his interest, that should be independent on any one but himself, he got together all the Mamelukes that were left in Egypt, and who, ever since the Turks subdued the country, had been dispersed up and down in the remotest provinces. He made them his guards, increased their usual pay; and then, being imposed on by their expressions of affection and attachment to him, which was not so much the result of his merit as his fortune, and fancying himself master of their hearts, because he was so of the country by his dignity, he was daring enough to assume openly the name and ornaments of a sovereign. As he did not question but Solyman, who was infinitely jealous of his authority, would send an army against him, he endeavoured to get himself a support, and an alliance with the princes of Christendom. Accordingly he sent one of his partizans to the pope and the grand master, to propose to them a joint league against Solyman. This agent waited on them both, and presented his master's letters, wherein he assured them, that if the knights came before Rhodes with a body of troops, they might depend, by the help of the intelligence which he had within the place, upon making themselves masters of it; or at least that one of his creatures, who commanded in the two towers of the port, should receive them there, upon the first sight of any order from him.

THE grand master heard these proposals with more joy than he was willing to discover. He answered the envoy, that he could not engage in this enterprize without first communicating it to most of the princes of Christendom, but that the Begler-bey his master should soon hear from him; and then making him a considerable present, he dismissed him, and found a way to send him back safe into Egypt. While the grand master's thoughts were entirely taken up with this important project, the commander de la Roche Aimon was just landed, bringing at the same time some Rhodians



dians along with him, who determined him entirely to attempt that enterprife.

IN order to form a juſt idea of this point of hiſtory, we are to obſerve, that the grand maſter, notwithstanding all the miſfortunes that had happened to his order, frequently ſent veſſels out a cruizing, to keep the arms of the knights continually employed againſt the corſairs. One of theſe veſſels commanded by la Roche-Aimon, was met by ſome Rhodian merchants, who were ſailing in the mediterranean. They knew the flag of the order, and longing to pay their reſpects once again to one of their old maſters, they came up with him, and went aboard the knight's veſſel, who received them with reciprocal joy, and entertained them in a ſplendid manner. In the miſt of the entertainment, the Rhodians being in a place of freedom and ſecurity, made grievous complaints againſt the tyranny of the Turks, and regreted the loſs of the equitable government of the knights; theſe expreſſions of their regret ſoon grew up to earneſt wiſhes for the reſtoration of the order, and its recovering poſſeſſion of their iſland. As theſe merchants were ſome of the principal inhabitants of Rhodes, he began to conſult with them about the various methods that might be made uſe of in order to drive out the Turks, and found ſo much facility in it, that he engaged them to come with him into Italy; and landing at Civita-Vecchia, he brought them to Viterbo, and preſented them privately to the grand maſter, who received them with the utmoſt candor and civility.

THESE merchants, whom la Roche-Aimon had taken care to diſguiſe, had a ſecret conference with the grand maſter, and repreſented to him, that the walls and fortifications of Rhodes were not yet repaired; that there was but a weak garrifon in the place; and that the Aga before-mentioned, who commanded in the two towers of the port, had been a Chriſtian, but had turned renegado purely out of weakneſs, and for fear of torments, who ſtill retained a ſecret inclination for the religion of his anceſtors; that he was, as far

as his abilities would allow him, without prejudicing himself, a protector to all the Christians of the island, and that the people, as soon as they should see the standards of the order, would, provided they brought them arms, turn them with pleasure against their tyrants, and those who were enemies to their religion.

THE grand master, like an able politician, was delighted to think, that for the better succeeding in his designs, he should have more than one intelligence within the place. He exhorted the merchants to persevere in their good intentions for the order; and after bestowing the greatest civilities upon them, and loading them with presents, he caused them to be conducted back with the same secrecy that they came, to the place where their ship waited for them.

THAT prince, in concert with the pope, sent afterwards the commander Bosio, who was very skilful in negotiations, over to Rhodes. He got into the city disguised like a merchant, and was an eye-witness to the condition of the place; the strength of the garrison, and the disposition, as well as the number of Greek inhabitants that were left. He made a still greater progress in his negotiation, and talked with the aga, by the assistance of the Greek metropolitan, who was that officer's friend. Before he came to this interview, he had taken the precaution to fill one of the blank signatures, which the grand master had confided to him, with a letter for the Aga, in which he offered him great rewards, provided he would make good what Achmet had promised in his name; and at the same time shewed him the letter which the Begler-bey had written concerning him, and the two towers of Rhodes. The Aga, after having stood some time without returning Bosio any answer, made a resolution at once, and told him, that he had been long wishing for an opportunity of returning into the bosom of the church, and gave his word to the grand master's agent, that he would receive the knights into the towers where he commanded, provided that besides the troops necessary to defend them, and form the siege of the city, they would immediately

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ly send a quantity of victuals, provisions and ammunition, with arms for the inhabitants of the island. Every thing seemed to bid fair for the good success of this enterprize, when news came that the grand seignior had defeated Achmet's designs, and got him dispatched. That prince, upon advice of his rebellion, had sent a mighty army against him, under the conduct of his favourite Ibrahim, a native of Albania, and who was both a skilful general and an artful courtier.

ACHMET had flattered himself, that the enterprize of Rhodes would cause a powerful diversion in his favour; but the unhappy revolution that happened in the affair of the knights, prevented their making any attempts, so that Ibrahim's entering Egypt caused a general consternation among the partisans of Achmet. Nevertheless he, like a man of courage, began to make preparations to carry on the war. He sent orders into all parts for the troops to march out of the most distant provinces to join him: But little deference was paid to his orders: An usurper's authority is never fixed with any solidity in the beginning of a change of government: Several of his principal commanders, under different pretences, kept off declaring openly against their lawful sovereign. Ibrahim hearing that things were in this disposition, promised them a full and general pardon, and even rewards, provided they would dispatch the rebel. These traitors stifled him in the bath, opened the gates of Grand Cairo to Ibrahim, and made their submission to him. That general sent Achmet's head immediately to the grand seignior, who, by this quick dispatch, was eased of the trouble of maintaining a war in a distant country, and in a nation too that had ever been at enmity with the Turks, and in which his power was not as yet well settled upon any solid foundation.

THIS rebel's death frightened the Aga of Rhodes; the fear of being discovered, and of meeting with the like fate, made him press the execution of the enterprize, in which he had engaged himself; and the very same motive made the grand master, who had no hopes  
left

left of any succour or diversion from Egypt, resolve, before he engaged further in it, to see how the Christian princes stood affected, and what forces he could obtain from them.

WHILST these revolutions happened in Egypt, the commissaries which the grand master and council had sent to visit Malta, Goza and Tripoli, being returned back, made their report of the condition in which they found those islands, and the town of Tripoli. They said, that the isle of Malta was only one continued rock of sandy stone, and might be about six or seven leagues long, three or four broad at most, and about twenty in circumference; that upon the surface of this rock, there was not at most above three or four foot of earth, and that too all stony, a soil altogether unfit to produce wheat and other corn; but that it abounded in figs, melons, and other fruits, which were very plenty there, and that the principal commerce of the island consisted in honey, cotton and cummin, which the inhabitants bartered for corn: That if they excepted a few springs, which they met with in the farther part of the island, there was no such thing as spring water, nor indeed any well, so that the inhabitants were forced to supply that defect by cisterns: That there was the like scarcity of wood; that they sold it by the pound; and that the inhabitants were forced to make use of cowdung dried in the sun, or else of wild thistles, to dress their meat: That the capital city of the island, called *the* <sup>a</sup> *notable city*, was seated upon a hill in the midst of the island, and was of difficult access, by reason of the rocks which covered all the plain about it; that the place was only walled about without any other fortifications, except some towers which were erected over the gates of the city: That upon the south-side of the island, there were neither ports, nor bays, nor roads, and that all the shore in that part was lined with vast rocks, against which ships, when caught in a storm, were often drove by the violence of the wind, and dash'd to pieces; but that they discovered several points

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<sup>a</sup> Or considerable city.

or capes on the opposite side, and places that formed a sort of bays and roads very proper to anchor in. They continued to relate that they had put in at the great port, which was defended by a fort called the castle of St. Angelo; and that below it there was a little town, commonly called la Cita del Borgo: That this port was divided from another called the Porto di Musetto, only by a narrow slip or point of rock: That besides the capital, the castle, and the town, there were about forty hamlets or villages, consisting of several dwellings; scattered up and down the country, and about 12000 inhabitants, including the men, women and children, who were most of them poor and miserable, by reason of the barrenness of the soil.

THE commissaries presented likeways to the grand master and council a plan of the island, in which they had taken care to describe with great exactness several little bays and roads, which served as a shelter to fishermen, and where the corsairs sometimes put into. They added, that the convenience of so many ports, so convenient for the armadoes of the order, made them be of opinion, that the emperor's proposals ought not to be rejected, provided he did not by his grant pretend to oblige them to turn their arms against his particular enemies.

As for the isle of Goza, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, they said it was separated from that of Malta only by a narrow channel, which went by the name of Freo, of a league and a half, or two leagues in breadth, in the middle of which lay the little isles or rocks called Comin and Corniot: That Goza was about eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad; that they could not find any port in it; that it was all surrounded with craggy rocks and shelves, so that there was no landing but with great difficulty: That however, the soil seemed to be very fruitful; that there were about five thousand persons in it, including men, women and children, who were dispersed up and down in different villages; who, for their security against the corsairs, had built a castle situated on a hill;

but



but that in their opinion it was ill fortified, and of very little consequence: that notwithstanding its being so weak, they did not think the council would act prudently were they to accept the offer which was made them of the isle of Malta, separately from that of Goza, which lay too near it, and which might some time or other serve for a retreat to their enemies.

THE commissaries did not form the same judgment with respect to the town and castle of Tripoli. They represented to the council, that the place, which was seated on the coast of Barbary, near eighty leagues from Malta, had no fortifications about it, and that it was almost impossible to raise any there in a sandy soil, and bottom full of water; that the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough; the port and castle being commanded by a hill adjoining: and in a word, that the place was surrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would not suffer the Christians to continue there long; and that the great distance of it from Malta would not allow them, in case it was attacked, to throw in seasonable succours; that corn was still scarcer at Tripoli than at Malta, by reason of the barrenness of its soil, which bore nothing but dates. From all which they concluded, that if they undertook the defence of the place, they should be exposed to lose all the knights they might afterwards put in garrison there.

THE grand master acquainted the pope with this relation, and desired him to use his good offices with the emperor, to engage him to excuse the order from the defence of Tripoli, and remit the other heavy conditions he was for annexing to the fief of Malta: but, at that juncture, it would have been impossible for him to have pitched on a mediator with Charles V.<sup>a</sup> who was less agreeable to that monarch, or more suspected by him than Clement VII. There was actually at that time a league on foot between that pontiff, the king of England,

land, and the Venetians, in order to maintain the liberty of Italy, which was threatened with an entire subversion, since the loss of the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. king of France had been taken prisoner by the emperor's generals.

1525.  
Feb. 24.

THAT prince, whose personal qualities merited a better fortune, had invaded the dutchy of Milan, which he pretended belonged to him and queen Claude his wife, in right of Valenia Visconti, wife to Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. The Sforzas had seized on it in prejudice of the princes of the house of Orleans. Francis Sforza was actually in possession of it. The emperor, under pretence of supporting him as his vassal, had sent a strong army into the Milanese, and, after the battle of Pavia, his generals behaved more like conquerors than protectors and commanders of auxiliary troops. They put garrisons, in the emperor's name, into the principal towns of the dutchy, under pretence that the new duke had not yet received the investiture of it. The pope and Italian princes, who, in the beginning of the war, were equally afraid of the neighbourhood of two such powerful princes, could have wished, that the French had not disturbed Sforza in the possession of the Milanese.

THE king's being taken prisoner, brought not only the Italian princes, but also the king of England over to the party of France. Sforza himself, who had now no reason of being under any further apprehensions from a prince, who was both a prisoner and oppressed by the imperialists, who continued to plunder him of his dominions, negotiated a league against a potentate who was for swallowing up all Europe, and aspired to an universal monarchy.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, and the occasion or pretence of a war, which in reality had no other source than the ambition of Charles V. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, that prince and Francis I. were rivals in the election for the empire. This rivalry of rights and pretensions, which monarchs are scarce ever at a loss for, when they do not want forces,

ces, and their personal qualities, which were excellent indeed, but directly opposite in both; all these circumstances, I say, inspired those two great princes with an emulation of glory, which, after the election of Charles V. was succeeded by an animosity, that was not to be appeased by the blood of so many thousands of their subjects. All mankind beheld with admiration in the person of Francis I. a courage that was proof against the greatest dangers of war, a noble frankness worthy of a better age, an inviolable faith in his treaties, and goodness and clemency towards his subjects: but it would have been happy had this prince been less devoted to his pleasures, had been more secret in his affairs, had used a closer attention and pursuit in the execution of his designs, and had never employed his favourites as his ministers and generals. Charles V. on the contrary, had all the qualities of a great politician, but few of those virtues which have their seat in the heart, and that shine with lustre in a private man. He was puffed up with an insatiable ambition, interest was the sole motive of all his actions, was impenetrable in his designs, always attentive to the different dispositions of all the princes of Europe, had a superior capacity to all his ministers, was happy in the choice of his generals, had no relish for the pomp and luxury of entertainments, and if he was not so chaste as the precepts of Christianity might require, he yet, at least, in order to avoid scandal, was as careful to conceal his gallantries from the penetrating eye of the courtier, as other princes of his time were to publish theirs. In a word he was in reality without faith, probity, honour, or even gratitude; and he yet used his utmost endeavours, by his behaviour, to persuade the world that he possessed all those virtues.

It was scarce possible for two princes, endowed with such great qualities, both of them ambitious, brave, powerful, and neighbours to one another, to remain long in peace, or leave the rest of Europe so. From the pictures of these two monarchs, of which we have only given the reader a sketch, he will easily judge,

that fortune must be obliged to declare for the abler of the two: and indeed Francis I. became the prey of his enemy, so that the business at that time was to negotiate a peace, and the recovery of his liberty. Charles V. rated them both at so high a price, that the king, greatly disgusted at the hardness of the conditions, protested openly, that he would sooner resign the crown to the dauphin his son, than tear off one of its finest flowers.

BUT the regent his mother, not minding a design which the uneasiness of his imprisonment had occasioned, resolved to send the dutchess of Alençon her daughter and the king's sister, into Spain; she was a princess adorned with all the graces of nature, brought up in the intrigues of a court, and of as complying a temper as if she had not been born with that pride and empire, which are almost inseparable from a multitude of charms, especially when supported by so illustrious a birth. The regent was in hopes, that she would prevail with the emperor to set the king her brother at liberty, upon less hateful conditions. To assist her in this important negotiation, she named the archbishop of Ambrun, known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Tournon, the bishop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal de Grammont, and de Selue first president of the parliament of Paris. The writer of the annals of the order of St. John of Jerusalem relates, that the regent, thoroughly persuaded of the grand master's affection for the person and service of the king her son, sent him an express to desire him to convey the princess her daughter to Spain, on board the galleys of the order: that the marshal de Montmorency his great nephew wrote to him about it, by the regent's order, in the most pressing terms, and that nobleman, in order to determine him by motives, drawn from his own interest, to undertake the voyage, represented to him, that as his order stood in need of a sure and fixed settlement, he, by his presence, and treating in person with the emperor, would be able to get over that infinite number of difficulties,\* which that prince's

\* Eosio, t. 3. l. 2 p. 33.

princes's ministers in Italy started, with regard to the seofment of the isles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli.

THE grand master acquainted the pope with these dispatches of the regent : Clement, who was actually engaged in measures with that princefs, highly approved the voyage ; he was desirous of the king's liberty, perhaps not so much out of regard for him, as for fear of the formidable power of his enemy ; he flattered himself, that if they could once get Francis I out of prison, that prince, to revenge the severity of his treatment, would not fail to open a new war, which, should it but once break out between two such implacable enemies, would be the security of the other sovereigns, and maintain a peace in the rest of Europe. The grand master, upon his holiness's answer, embarked on board the gallies of the order at Civita-Vecchia, and went to Marfeilles, where he waited upon the regent, and had several conferences with her, during the time he waited for the dutchefs of Alençon. 1525. June 25.

THE emperor's ministers, alarmed and jealous of this voyage, the motive of which they were utter strangers to, seized immediately on all the revenues of the order in Italy : the emperor did not fail to approve their conduct ; that prince was displeas'd with the grand master and council on other accounts. We have already observed, that he had offered them the isles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, for their residence ; the order's retarding to give him a positive answer, made him resolve to write in particular to the languages of Castile and Arragon, the knights whereof were born his subjects ; and he dispatched away a Spanish knight to the council, Peter Fernandez Heredia, or Errera by name, who, upon his arrival at Viterbo, represented, in the emperor's name, to the lords of the council, that from a persuasion that the order would accept of so considerable a settlement with great satisfaction, as well as acknowledgement, he had for eighteen months past delayed providing for the fortifi-



cation of those islands, and desired, that the council would tell him their sentiments plainly upon those points. The envoy added, in a very arrogant manner, that if there was any language who should oppose them, the emperor his master would take his measures accordingly.

THAT prince, dazzled by a constant series of prosperity, and grown more haughty by the king's imprisonment, imagined himself able to give laws to all the powers of Europe; and this domineering spirit had diffused itself into the languages of those who were born in his dominions. The Spanish knights were for governing in the council, and would have the emperor's offers accepted immediately, and the dependence and subjection he annexed to them submitted to: nay, some of them went so far as to insinuate, that if the French would not comply with their sentiments, they would divide from them; that they would settle themselves at Malta, independent even on the grand master, and that they were in hopes of prevailing with the emperor to unite the order of Monteza, a Spanish foundation, to their particular congregation, that they might indemnify the order for what they might lose in France, by the withdrawing of the French knights and commanders.

BUT the council, as well as discreetest of the Spanish knights, who abhorred a schism, answered the envoy, that the whole order was very sensible of the generous offers of his imperial majesty; but that, in an affair of such importance, they could not take any decisive resolution without the grand master's presence, and the pope's express consent; that they would write immediately to them both; that they understood the grand master was gone to the emperor's court, in order to learn from his own mouth what were his intentions with respect to the isle of Malta, and that they were in hopes, that that great prince would, for the general good and honour of the order, moderate some of the conditions which he was for annexing to that feofment.

THE council immediately dispatched away the commander Bosio for France, to give the grand master advice of the sequestration which the emperor's ministers had made of the estates which belonged to the order in Italy, and the proposals which the chevalier Errera had made before all the council. The grand master deferred answering the council, till he had seen the emperor; he ordered Bosio to follow him, and set out for Spain with the dukes of Alençon, for whom the king of England had got a safe conduct.

As soon as this princess was arrived at Madrid, and that the emperor had discharged the ceremonial, and paid the first honours that were due to her quality, he gave a private audience to the grand master, who first gave him an account of 1525. all that had passed at the siege<sup>a</sup> and surrender of Rhodes. That great man afterwards represented to him the losses which the order had sustained in that place, and the deplorable condition the whole body was in at that time; and finding the emperor was moved and affected with such a number of calamities, he complained in the softest terms of the seizure which his ministers had made of the estates of the Italian commanderies, under pretence, that in his way to Spain, he had passed through France, before he came to his court. To prevent the designs which the emperor, in granting the isle of Malta to the knights, might have of making them his vassals, he wittily insinuated to him, that though they were all born subjects of different sovereigns, yet the order in general, by its profession, was independent from any of them; that a knight, who was a Frenchman by nation, was no more devoted to the king of France than he was to his imperial majesty; that the only view of their institution was to defend all Christians alike against the incursions of the infidels; that for so many ages as the order had existed with some kind of glory, it had never been yet known to engage against any Christian prince in favour of another. He entered afterwards into the affair of  
Malta,

<sup>a</sup> Guicciardin, l. 16.

Malta, and omitting the hard conditions which the emperor was for tying them down to, he told him in general, that the order would have long before reaped the advantages of his imperial majesty's beneficence, if they had not been withheld by hopes of recovering Rhodes; that there was a party formed for the execution of that enterprize; upon which he, with the emperor's leave, brought the commander Bosio into his chamber, who gave him a very particular account of all the measures he had taken on that account with the principal inhabitants. He added, that the order wanted nothing but a sum of money necessary to raise three or four thousand men, and carry at the same time arms for the inhabitants, whom the Turks had disarmed with the utmost strictness.

THE emperor entered into the grand master's views: however, before he engaged further in the project, he advised him to confer with the duke of Alva, his ablest general, about it. He added further, that in case that nobleman should find the execution of it practicable, he himself would freely give 25000 crowns to facilitate its success; that he wished the other potentates of Christendom would likewise contribute to it; but that if, after all, the project should not happen to succeed, the order might nevertheless depend upon having the isle of Malta for their settlement; and, as an earnest of his friendship, he immediately ordered a full and entire restitution to be made of all the revenues which his ministers had sequestered in Italy. The grand master, who was very sensible that monarchs will never own themselves to be in the wrong, thanked him for that act of his justice, in as handsome and grateful a manner, as if he had received a favour from him. He begged leave, before he left him, to wait upon the king of France; which the emperor readily granted him, in hopes that the grand master might contribute to the negotiation of a peace.

AN officer of his guards, by his order, conducted him to the apartment of Francis I. That prince was not guarded like a prisoner of war, but rather like a state-criminal.

criminal. Charles V. although the king's vassal, in order to extort an immense ransom, and the exorbitant conditions from his lord, did his utmost to make his imprisonment insupportable to him. Such harsh and unworthy usage threw Francis I. into a deep melancholy, which was succeeded by a violent fever. The arrival of the princess his sister, who was very dear to him, gave him the first emotions of joy ever since his misfortune. His health grew better, and the grand master being introduced into his room at this juncture, he embraced him very affectionately, extolled the brave defence he had made at Rhodes, and ordered the ministers who accompanied the princess his sister, not to treat of any article in their negotiations with the emperor's ministers, without first communicating it to the grand master. He was admitted into all their conferences, where he acted as a mediator. His dignity and great reputation, his prudence and excellent capacity, greatly enforced his remonstrances; and he left no expedient untried in order to reconcile the interests of those two princes, and engage them, by a solid peace, to unite their arms against the common enemy of the Christians. The dutchess of Alençon, on her side, employed all the charms of her wit, in order to conquer the emperor's harshness and obstinacy; but that prince, who was regardless of every thing but his interest, and who fancied, that as the king was his prisoner, he might soon make himself master of a part of France; besides the renunciations which the king offered to make of his rights to the Milanese and kingdom of Naples, as well as to the homage of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and also an immense sum of money, insisted likewise on the dutchy of Burgundy, in order to enable himself, in case the war should break out again, to fall with his troops into France, and march up to the gates of Paris. The king, who was highly sensible of the importance of this alienation, rejected the proposition with great resolution; and to shew the emperor that he would rather renounce his liberty than so considerable a branch of his crown, he resolved.

resolved to part with the princess his sister, and deprive himself of her company, though it was the only comfort he had left. He made her set out on her return for France, and she was likewise obliged to it upon some private advices which she received, that the emperor sought nothing but a pretence to give orders for her being arrested.

CHARLES V. the most artful prince of his time, had purposely spun out the negotiations, in order that the safe conduct which he had granted her might be expired. He was surprised at the princess's departure, and he sent orders to the frontiers of Spain to stop her the very day that the term of her safe conduct should be at an end; but the princess being well informed of this trick which he designed to play her, travelled as many miles in one day upon the same road in her return, as she had done in four at her coming into Spain. This expedition, and Clermont de Lodeve's arrival on the frontier, with a large convoy, on the last day of the safe conduct, hindered the emperor's officers from making any attempt to seize her person; so that the emperor could not gain any advantage by his artifice.

THE departure of the princess did not any way cool the grand master's zeal and good offices in promoting a peace. He frequently represented the necessity of it to the emperor and his ministers; declaring, that whilst that prince's arms were employed against France, Solyman was pushing his conquests in Hungary, and opening himself a way to penetrate into Austria and the hereditary countries. On the other side, when he was got with the king, he made him sensible how necessary his presence was in his kingdom, but proved to him at the same time, that the emperor would never give him his liberty, unless he made a resignation of the dutchy of Burgundy. In fine, he managed both those princes so successfully, that he brought them to agree to a treaty of peace. Francis I. persuaded that he could not alienate the demesne of his crown, and that conditions extorted during a severe captivity



captivity were never valid, made a secret protest against the violence offered him by his vassal, and signed every thing they presented to him. 'Twas agreed, that the king should be conducted back into his kingdom on the tenth of February, and that for a sure guaranty of the treaty, he should give the two princes his sons in hostage; and also several other articles which are foreign to this work. The grand master, who was ever vigilant to promote the interests of religion, got an article inserted in it, which was, that the emperor, and king of France, should join in soliciting the pope to set on foot a crusade against the infidels, and should themselves contribute to it to the utmost of their power.

AFTER the treaty was signed, the emperor and the king had several interviews; but their visits were like those of reconciled enemies, and 1526. were made with more politeness than sincerity. The first time that the emperor went to see the king, he would needs take the grand master, whom he called his father, along with him. We meet with a remarkable circumstance, viz. that those two great princes being out together, the emperor, as they were to pass through a door, offered the king the precedence, which that prince refused; whereupon they called the grand master to decide it. "I pray God," said the venerable old man, that there may never be any difference of greater consequence between your Majesties:" and then directing his discourse to the king of France, "No body," says he to him, Sir, disputes but that the emperor is the first prince in Christendom; but as you are in his dominions, and in his palace, you ought not, in my opinion, decline the honours which he thinks himself obliged to shew to the greatest monarch in Europe." This answer, which was as subtle as it was judicious, satisfied both parties; the emperor especially was exceedingly pleased with it: He honoured him afterwards with several marks of distinction, and whenever he was giving audiences from his throne, he would make the grand master

\* Bosio, t. 3. l. 3. p. 42.

master sit under the same canopy with himself. In fine, when the grand master, after the king's departure, took leave of him to return into Italy to Viterbo, he made him fresh promises of the island of Malta, and likewise assured him, that he would leave that affair to the pope, who should be arbitrator of the conditions and terms of the feoffment.

BUT before the grand master left Spain, he, by his prudence, put an end to a dispute that was risen in Portugal, relating to the great priory of Crato. Since the loss of Rhodes, and retreat of the convent to Viterbo, several European princes, not well affected to the order, and under pretence that it did not send any more squadrons out, as its institution required, against the infidels, seized on the revenues of the commanderies; or else, in violation of the statutes of the order, and the rights of seniority, disposed of them in favour of such knights as were most agreeable to them. The priory of Crato falling vacant by the death of John de Meneses, the king of Portugal, in prejudice of the chevalier Gonsalvo de Piementel, bestowed it upon prince Lewis his brother; and to make Piementel some amends, offered him a yearly pension of 9000 livres. The Portugueze knights, unwilling to bear with such an infringement of their rights, refused to own Don Lewis; the king, incensed at their opposition, threatened to seize all the estates belonging to the order within his dominions; and, pretending that they staid at Viterbo in a state of inactivity, contrary to what their statutes obliged them to, he declared that he would employ the revenues in a holy war against the moors of Barbary.

THE grand master judiciously supposing, that such a procedure, though very unjust, might yet be a dangerous precedent with respect to other princes, made up the affair. He thought that it was best, at such an unhappy juncture, to dissemble an injustice which he had not the power to redress: He consented that Don Lewis should keep the administration of the priory, by way of commendam; but he, in exchange, obtained of  
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the king an authentic confirmation of all the rights and privileges of his order. That prince engaged solemnly that he would never trouble the knights again in the enjoyment of the commanderies, which should fall to every one according to his rank of seniority. And as the enterprize of Rhodes was the only end and view in which all the grand master's designs centered, it was stipulated in the same treaty, that, for carrying on that holy war, the king should furnish the order with fifteen thousand crusados, a sort of silver money, worth at that time about four livres and an half.

SCARCE was the grand master returned into France, when news came that Henry VIII. king of England, on the very same pretence that the king of Portugal had made use of, and as if the order had been entirely extirpated by the loss of Rhodes, had prevented the commander Weston from taking possession of the grand priory of that kingdom; and even pretended to unite the revenues of all the commanderies to the crown, or oblige all the English knights to serve as a garrison to Calais. These odious pretensions were a sensible affliction to the grand master; he saw, with grief, that the estates of his order, notwithstanding his indefatigable endeavours to the contrary, were going insensibly to be made a prey to princes and their courtiers. The popes, under colour of being its sovereigns, had some time before assumed to themselves the power of nominating to the grand priory of Rome, and to the commanderies that fell vacant within the patrimony of St. Peter, and their other territories: and, on the other side, the emperor's ministers in Italy seized on the richest benefices, without any manner of scruple; and fancied they did a favour to the order, by putting on its cross, as a mark that they enjoyed them only by virtue of the title of knights. In this general pillage and desolation, the grand master applied himself to the king of France, the only prince of Christendom, as we may say, who, amidst all the misfortunes that had happened to the order of St. John, treated it with

the same esteem and affection with which he had always distinguished it.

THE grand master, when he sent the prior of St. Giles, and the commander de Bourbon, obliged them to take the French court in their way. These deputies, or, if you please, embassadors, besought that prince, in his name, to employ his interest with Henry VIII. in behalf of the order. Accordingly the king wrote to him about it in the most pressing terms, and observed, in his letter, that the reason why the order had not, since the loss of Rhodes, been able to continue making war upon the infidels, was only for want of ports to fit out their ships; that they were actually treating for the isle of Malta, and he intreated him, in the most pressing terms, to contribute to their settlement in that place; that as soon as the head convent and place of arms for the order should be fixed there, the knights would immediately be out at sea according to their profession; and that the English merchants, his subjects, might perhaps be the first who would experience how useful that military body was to all Christendom in general, tho' independent on any particular Christian prince.

But these considerations, which were so very reasonable in themselves, and all the offices of that great prince, had little influence on the king of England: he had no manner of regard to the memorials which the two embassadors presented to him; nay, he proceeded further, and forbid them to carry either money or effects, arising from the estates of the order, out of his dominions; and dismissed the envoys pretty abruptly, without any great regard to their character. These ministers, upon their return, giving the grand master an account of the ill success of their negotiation, told him, they fancied they had discovered the true source of this shameful injustice, and that it arose from the resentment of that prince, the proudest monarch of his age, who was offended that the grand master had visited the emperor, and the king of France, without paying him the same complement; nor was this conjecture altogether groundless. Though the domini-

ons of Henry VIII. were not so large as those of Charles V. and Francis I. he was not less formidable to those two princes upon that account, whose power he balanced by turns, always falling in with that party, which his interest led him to take in their disputes. This subtle conduct was the reason of his being courted by both those princes, who were very careful to treat him with great respect. The important part he acted in the affairs of Europe, the absolute authority he had acquired in his own dominions, though the laws are more respected there than the sovereign, and his skill in always bringing the parliaments into his measures; all this, I say, made him consider himself, and expect to be considered by others, as the arbiter of Christendom. The grand master could hardly at first persuade himself, that the omission of a formality, and of a ceremony which he was not obliged to, could possibly raise that prince's resentment, and put him upon treating the order in so harsh a manner. But, after all, as the most powerful princes, especially such as reign with despotic sway, are bred up in flattery, and seldom breathe any air, but what is swelled with pride and vanity, the grand master thought he should come off at an easy rate enough, provided he could but get, by so slight a condescension, the estates of his order restored. The venerable old man therefore, without regarding either his age, or the severity of the season, set out for England, sending the commander Bosio before, the ablest negotiator at that time in the order, and perhaps in all Christendom. The commander applied himself first to Cardinal Wolsey, the king of England's first minister, to whom he delivered a letter from the grand master, intreating him to present Bosio to the king, and use his credit with that prince to promote the interests of the order. The cardinal procured him an audience; Bosio presented the grand master's letter to Henry VIII. telling him, at the same time, that he was coming on purpose from Italy to pay his respects to him, but thought it his du-



ty not to enter his dominions, without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to him.

1524. Henry, pacified by this step, answered, that  
Jan. 1. he had the utmost veneration for the grand master's person; that he should be delighted to see so great a captain, but that he was sorry he had set out in so sharp a season; that however, he should at all times be received in his dominions with all the respect that was due to his dignity and merit. The king sent Bosio back to the grand master, whom he found at the court of France, and delivered him two letters, one from the king, the other from his minister, dated Feb. 25th. both of them in very obliging terms, and inviting him to come as soon as possible into England. He immediately went thither, and after having rested himself for some days in the commandery or priory of St. John, he set out for the court, attended by the great crosses, commanders, and knights of England and Scotland, who were come from different places to wait upon him.

THIS retinue was numerous and magnificent, and to make its splendor still greater, the king sent some of the most considerable lords of his court a great way before to meet him on the way. With this noble convoy he was introduced into the palace: Henry gave him a very gracious reception, and the spectators observed that he beheld him with an earnestness and attention, which the sight of a prince, whose valour and conduct had made him equally famous in Europe and Asia, may naturally inspire. The grand master paid him all the civilities which he thought due to so powerful a monarch, but did not think it proper to enter into any detail of the affairs which had brought him into England; he went no further than to desire of that prince in general terms his protection for the order. All that the king said, consisted only in elogiums on the defence of Rhodes, which, he said, was more glorious than the conquest of an entire province; and when the grand master was for withdrawing, the king ordered his officers to lodge him in his palace, where  
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he was served with a magnificence suitable to his rank, and the esteem the king had for so illustrious a guest.

THEY afterwards had several private conferences together, concerning the siege of Rhodes, and a proper place for fixing the convent. The grand master declared to him, that, notwithstanding the formidable power of Solyman, the order would have been still mistress of Rhodes, had the Christian princes vouchsafed to send the least succour thither. He continued to relate how, being in want of provisions and ammunition, particularly of powder, and after having seen the greatest part of his knights, and also of the inhabitants, fall in the defence of the place, and that the Turks had pushed their works to the very middle of the city, he had found himself reduced to the last extremity, and was forced to abandon them the little ground that was left him; how he had embarked with the poor remains of his fortune, and had been attacked with terrible storms in his voyage; how, thinking to find a place of refuge in the port of Messina, he had been driven thence by the plague; how pope Clement had allowed him to retire to Viterbo, till he might meet with a fixed and secure place for his residence; how the plague had driven them thence a second time; how part of the knights of the convent had been received in the town of Nice, by the duke of Savoy's consent, and the vessels and galleys of the order put into the port of Villa-Franca; how the rest of the knights were, by his permission, dispersed over the several provinces of Christendom, where the order had any commanderies; how the plague being abated at Viterbo, they had assembled there again, under the protection of the holy see; and how, in this uncertain and deplorable situation, the emperor made him a generous offer of the islands of Malta and Goza; but that his ministers were clogging this donation with conditions that were incompatible with the independence so necessary to be preserved in his order; for the knights could not own any one particular prince for their sovereign, without rendering themselves suspected to the rest. He more-

over added, that he had not lost all hopes of recovering Rhodes; that a party was actually formed there for driving out the Turks; that the principal inhabitants of the island, as well as some officers of the garrison, were engaged in the conspiracy; that the order wanted nothing to make the attempt, but the necessary funds for levying troops, and fitting out the ships of the order; that in case the project should not succeed, he would accept of Malta, and that he hoped the emperor's generosity would extend so far, as not to insist upon a subjection from the order, which would give a fatal stroke to their liberty, and that spirit of neutrality which the knights professed.

THE king of England thought the design of reconquering Rhodes, was a project highly worthy of the grand master's courage and valour; and he, in order to have some share in so noble an enterprize, promised him 20,000 crowns, the value of which he paid afterwards in artillery and fire arms. They no longer talked of seizing or sequestering the estates of the order, much less of disposing of the priories and commanderies; all that the king desired of the grand master was, to confer the grand priory of Ireland upon the Turcopilier brother, John Ranson by name, who had been very serviceable to that prince in the government of that island, whose gentle administration had been very instrumental in polishing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above savages.

THE grand master, in order to shew his complaisance to a king, with whom the order was so much obliged, for interest sake, to keep due measures, engaged the chevalier Babington to resign the priory of Ireland to Ranson, who, by way of exchange, made a resignation to him of the commandery of Dinemor, and the dignity of Turcopilier. The grand master brought them likewise to a further agreement, viz. that if Babington should come to be grand prior of England, he should be obliged to pay Ranson a pension of 1800 livres. The king seemed extremely pleased at the grand  
master's

master's readiness and exactness in executing what he had required of him: he returned him thanks for it, confirmed all the privileges of his order, and when that prince took leave of him, to return into Italy, he sent him, in his own and the queen's name, a bason and cup of massy gold, set with precious stones, which the grand master afterwards lodged in the treasury of the order.

THE grand master returned into Italy with the satisfaction of having maintained the rights and privileges of his order in France, Spain, Portugal, and England; and in hopes of getting from the respective sovereigns of those countries, particularly from the pope, a body of troops sufficient to carry his point in the enterprise of Rhodes. But whilst the illustrious old man was passing through the principal courts of Europe, various revolutions happened at Rome, which would not allow him to depend any longer on the succours which the pope had promised him. We have before observed that Clement, in order to balance the power of Charles V. who was grown formidable since his gaining the battle of Pavia, had made a league with the kings of France and England, the Venetians, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the security and liberty of Italy. They called it *the holy league*, because the pope was at the head of it. That pontiff, like most of his predecessors, was afraid of nothing so much as of the re-establishment of the imperial authority in Italy. But the exploits of this league, through the different interests of the allies, were noways answerable to the ardor with which it was formed.

THE emperor, by the assistance of the Colonna's, his partisans, raised a civil war in the pope's territories; and that pontiff, who was afraid of the expence which it would necessarily put him to, suffering himself to be amused by a treaty which he made with the emperor's ministers and the Colonna's, disbanded the troops which he had in Romagna. His enemies seeing him disarmed, not having the least regard to their faith, or the treaty they had just signed, entered Rome in an  
hostile

hostile manner. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, the most inveterate of all the pope's enemies, was at the head of the rebels: some have pretended that his design was against the pontiff's life,<sup>a</sup> flattering himself that, by his death, and by force of arms, he should get himself placed in the pontifical chair. The pope had only

just time enough to fly to the castle of St. 1526. Angelo: but as there were not provisions within

the place sufficient to hold out for any considerable time, he was forced to submit to his enemies terms. They obliged him to sign a truce for four months with the emperor, to pardon the Colonna's, and to give hostages for the performance of his promise. But he was no slave to it; and, as soon as he had received a supply from the king of England, he took up arms again: he broke the truce, under pretence that they had made him sign it, with a dagger as it were at his throat; and that the Colonna's in particular, who were vassals of the holy see, could not oblige their sovereign to capitulate. To revenge the insult which they had offered him, he began to shew his resentment by a solemn deprivation of Pompeo Colonna from the dignity of cardinal, and caused likewise the troops, which he had just levied for his security, to march against the lords of that family. Vitelli his general ravaged their lands, plundered the towns and castles belonging to that house, demolished their walls, and left the most dreadful marks of their master's resentment wherever they came.

ALL Italy was a prey to the several armies of the emperor and the confederates: 'twould be impossible to describe the plunderings, the violences, and the inhumanities, which such a multitude of soldiers, of different nations, exercised in those provinces, where each party was the strongest. The soldiers frequently had nothing but licentiousness and impunity for their pay; and the generals did not so much consult the orders they received from their respective sovereigns, as they did

<sup>a</sup> Guicciardin l. 17.



did the several methods of procuring subsistence for their troops.

THE constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood of France, who, enraged at finding himself persecuted by the mother of Francis I. had gone over to the emperor's party, not being in a condition to pay the body of troops which he commanded; he, in order to put a stop to the clamours of his soldiers, promised them the plunder of one of the richest cities in Italy, without making any further declaration of the enterprize he had in view. We have heard but of few generals who, like him, gain'd the entire confidence, and an absolute authority over their soldiers, without having any money to pay them with; but a certain air of grandeur, which flows from an illustrious birth, and which never fails to command respect; his surprizing valour; his skill in the art of war; and his easy and familiar behaviour, which yet was never derogatory to his dignity, had gained him the affection of his soldiers, who loved him even to adoration: so that they all swore, says Brantome, to follow him wherever he should lead the way, *tho' it were to the devil.*

THE march of this army, which advanced with great diligence towards Tuscany, terrified the pope, and he relaps'd into his usual uncertainties. The emperor's ministers made their advantage of it, and endeavoured to persuade him that he would find no solid advantages, nor indeed any kind of security, but in a strict alliance with their master.

CLEMENT, though he had been already tricked by those very ministers, as was just now seen, was nevertheless very fond of believing them, and glad to disburthen his mind of those irresolutions which shewed him the danger he was in, without shewing  
 March 15. him, at the same time, how he should prevent it; he signed a new truce. Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, whom he treated with, assured him that he had no occasion to be under any further apprehensions from Bourbon and the rest of the emperor's generals. He flattered himself with this hope, and looked upon this  
 treaty

treaty as an invincible barrier, which the imperial troops could never break through, in order to fall upon the lands of the church. But Bourbon, whether in concert with Lannoy, or contrary to the sentiments of that minister, is uncertain, continued his march, and appeared soon at the gates of Rome. He began by a scalado, and as he himself was clapping a ladder to the wall, he was shot by a musket-ball, and died two hours after. His soldiers, enraged at the death of their general, forced the defendants to quit the wall, threw themselves into the city sword in hand, and killed all that came in their way. They then dispersed themselves into the several quarters of it, broke into the houses, and without regarding either dignity, age or sex, they committed such cruelties and outrages as the most barbarous nations could hardly have been thought to perpetrate. What is still more deplorable, is, that this dreadful scene lasted not only twenty four hours, as usually happens to places taken by storm, but the imperialists daily repeated the same violences for upwards of two months afterwards, and did not stick to commit sacrilege, rapes, nor murders in cold blood, in order to gratify their avarice and sensuality.

THE pope with thirteencardinals took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was soon invested; he held out however a month with the troops he had, but afterwards provisions failing him, he was obliged to capitulate a second time with his enemies.

THE conditions of this new treaty would have been scandalous, had they not been necessary: the imperialists insisted that he should engage to pay the sum of 400,000 ducats, in order to pay the army; requiring moreover, that he should continue a prisoner, till he had paid the third part of the sum; that he should afterwards be carried to the castle of Naples, to wait till the emperor's pleasure was known, with relation to the disposing of his person; and that he should deliver up the castles of St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Castelana,

Castelana, and the towns of Parma, Placencia and Modena.

CHARLES V. was greatly delighted to see one of his greatest enemies fall a second time into his hands ; but he, far from discovering any thing that might betray the real sentiments of his mind, did, from a regard to religion, conceal them under the specious appearances of a sensible affliction : so that at the first news he had of the pope's imprisonment, he, as if he had been taken captive by the Turks or Corsairs, put on mourning in a public manner, and ordered solemn processions to be made over all Spain, to pray to God for his liberty : an affectation which he carried to too great lengths, and which imposed on nobody, even among his own subjects, unless it were the common people.

WHILST this comedy was acting in Spain, in a manner so unbecoming the character of a great emperor, he, for fear his prisoner should make his escape, sent orders to Rome, to have him put under the guard of an old Spanish officer, Alarçon by name, who had been entrusted with that of Francis I. at Madrid. This officer behaved himself in as surly a manner towards the pope, as he had done towards the king of France ; and carried himself towards a prisoner of his consequence, not like a soldier or an officer, but rather like a goaler of criminals, or a commander of gally-slaves. But what gave the pontiff still more concern than the plundering of Rome, and his imprisonment, was the news he heard, that the Florentines, upon the first account of what passed at Rome, had just before drove all the house of Medicis, not only out of the city, but also out of the whole state of Florence, under pretence that it had too unlimited a power and authority in that place.

NAY, to such lengths did the spirit of party proceed, as to tear down the arms of this family, in all places where they had been set up : all which was done at the instigation of the emperor's ministers. The pope also was afraid lest his goaler should have had private orders to dispatch him ; but we must do him justice to say,  
that

that he was not capable of committing so great a crime, and that though he kept the pope very closely shut up, without allowing him the least indulgence in his imprisonment, yet that this was no more than the result of his own rough and distrustful temper. An historian has indeed told us, that cardinal Colonna pressed him several times to make away with the pontiff: that cardinal, who was all on fire for revenge, had also another motive for it, by hoping to make that act of vengeance a step towards his own promotion. But whether this officer might have been justly shock'd at the dreadful villainy of the proposal, or that he was afraid, that by the pope's death he should lose his part of his ransom; be that, I say, as it will, 'tis certain that he always rejected that bloody cardinal's infamous solicitations with an invincible constancy and resolution, and that all the time the pope remained in his custody, he was as careful of preserving his life, as he was to prevent his making an escape.

THE grand master, who was the pope's particular friend, and had both a great affection for his person, and the warmest for his interest, was sensibly concerned at his misfortunes: Moreover the open enmity between him and the emperor, his imprisonment, the breaking out of the war in all the provinces of Italy, the share that most of the sovereigns of Europe had in it, the leagues and treaties which were negotiating at the same time on all sides, scarce left the knights of St. John any room to hope that the emperor would, in the hurry of these affairs and the tumults of war, suffer the affair of Malta to come upon the carpet; or particularly, that a prince of his ambition, and insatiably thirsting after dominion, could be prevailed with to give up any thing of that kind of vassalship which he was for annexing to the fief of the island. The greatest part of the knights, especially the French, for fear of falling under the power of Charles V. shewed as much aversion for Malta as the Spaniards did eagerness for their settling there. The grand master justly considered that no body was able but the pope, by his good offices, to obtain a pure and absolute grant of it from the emperor

emperor ; but then, so long as that pontiff should be at variance with the emperor, he either would not intermeddle with it at all, or if he did, it would be to no manner of purpose. 'Twas resolv'd therefore in the council of the order, to wait and see what time might produce in their favour, in what manner the affairs of Europe would clear up, what fate would attend the pope, and what resolution would be proper for them finally to take with respect to Rhodes or Malta.

NOT to mention the great disparity there was between these two islands with respect to largeness, the extent of their dominion, and intrinsic riches, the grand master, uneasy at being a melancholy witness of the continual wars that raged between the Christian princes, wish'd himself far removed into the farthest parts of Asia, and his heart was entirely fix'd upon the affair of Rhodes ; nor was it long before he had news of it.

EUTIMIUS the Greek metropolitan of the Island, the *primum mobile* of the enterprize, was as uneasy as any head of a party could possibly be, at the dilatoriness of the affair ; and fearing to be discovered, had sent express after express to the grand master, in order to procure intelligence, and hasten the execution of it. The grand master wrote back to him, that the order not being able of itself to defray the expence of so great an armament as was necessary for such an attempt. he himself had been oblig'd to go into France, Spain and England to solicit succours ; that they were actually fitting out the two great carracks of the order ; that they had likewise three gallees upon the stocks ; that France had supplied him with galley-slaves, and England with cannon and artillery ; that he was oblig'd to be present at a general chapter of his order which he had call'd at Viterbo, but that he hop'd to be soon able to appear before Rhodes with a fleet and body of troops strong enough to drive out the infidels. He sent this letter by the commander Bosio ambassador and negotiator general of all the affairs of the order, and order'd him to go a second time into the east, to learn the disposition of the people, and also to take, in con-



cert with the principal inhabitants of the island, the last measures for the execution of that important project. The continual wars that infested all Europe prevented the knights that lay at the greatest distance from Italy, from coming to the chapter. The grand master opened it with a discourse which was equally solemn and pathetic. He put the assembly in mind of the loss of Rhodes, and took notice of the disposition of most of the knights, the storms they had passed through, the plague and sickness that had harassed the convent, the greediness of the seculars, to grasp at, and seize on the estates of the order; and the fear of worse evils for the future, if they did not prevent them by a fixed residence in some sea-port, by the convenience of which, the knights might again carry on war against the infidels, and thereby take away from all those princes, who were ill affected to their body, all manner of pretence to seize on their revenues. He next took occasion to mention his old age, the cruifings and voyages he had made, the long and tedious fatigues and labours that he had undergone, the calamities of the time, and the public miseries: "Must I, cried this great man, survive the loss of Rhodes, for no other end than to be a witness, and that at the period of my life, of the scattering and perhaps the utter ruin of an order, whose institution is of so sacred a nature, and whose government is confided to me?" And at last, directing his discourse to all the knights, he besought them in the most pressing terms, in the name of their predecessors, the founders of the order, and by the blood which they themselves and their brethren had so lately shed in the defence of Rhodes, to put an end to their divisions, which could not but be very fatal to the order; and to be unanimous in their choice of a port for the future residence of the convent.

THIS moving discourse, his hair grown white in war, his perfect disinterestedness, his unbounded zeal and affection for the preservation of the order, melted the hearts of the whole assembly: and as the affair of Rhodes had been communicated only to two or three

of the principal of the council, all the voices of the several nations united for applying to the emperor for a grant of the isle of Malta, free from all subjection, and on condition only of having a solemn mass said every year in memory of that benefaction on the day that the donation should be made, and of sending a falcon to the viceroy of Sicily, but without any deputation, and by any messenger they should think proper.

UPON this, deputies were immediately dispatched to the court of Madrid, with orders to treat with the emperor's ministers on these conditions: but they found them much colder and stiffer than they had been told they would be. Whatever inclination the emperor had at first shewed to establish the order of St. John in the isle of Malta, to make use of it as a bulwark to secure Sicily and the sea-coast of the kingdom of Naples from the incursions of the infidels; they had since filled him with apprehensions, that as in the present juncture, he was at war with France, the grand master being a Frenchman born, would receive the fleets of Francis I. and his confederates, into his ports, and favour their enterprizes. Besides, the emperor had as strong suspicions of the attachment of the knights to the interest of the holy see. On the other side, the principal deputy of the order, who was entrusted with the secret of the affair, and who knew that the grand-master was still in hopes of recovering Rhodes, was not very pressing in the negotiation; so that by the different views of those that managed it, it was spun out a great while longer, and every body saw plainly, that this great affair would not be adjusted till such time as a general peace should be concluded, or at least till the pope should have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor.

THIS however was thought as yet to be at a very great distance; but the French army commanded by the marshal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, hastened the conclusion of it. This army consisted of 26000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without

including the light horse. On the other side, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spanish and German troops that had sacked that great city : the plunder and booty which the soldiers had got there made a great number of them desert ; nor had they lost a less number by excessive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious distempers, which infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, compleated the ruin of this army.

THE emperor therefore, seeing that he could not hinder the French from setting the pope at liberty, was desirous of having the honour of doing it himself. But as his interest was far superior to any private views of generosity, he ordered his ministers in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to set him at liberty ; and to give him some little earnest of it, his confinement was less strict. The first thing he insisted on, was, that he should disengage himself from the league, and act, as became him, the part of the common father of all Christians. There was little difficulty on this article : the pope, who was not very scrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himself out of those difficulties under which he laboured, have signed new treaties every day of his life. But they likewise demanded Hypolito and Alessandro de Medicis as hostages, by way of surety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial minister went further, and declared, that it was impossible for him to compleat his liberty, tho' his master was so very much desirous of it, till he had paid down the 400,000 ducats stipulated in the former treaty ; and that without this previous condition he was afraid least the emperor's soldiers, who were most of them Lutherans, and a set of ungovernable fellows, should make an attempt on his holiness's person.

THAT pontiff understood his meaning very well ; but he was more afraid of Moncada himself, than of his soldiers. He therefore, in order to get as soon as possible

sible out of their hands, promised to pay 95000 ducats down, to give the like sum a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the rest in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that he, in order to raise this sum, was forced, before he went out of the Castle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to sell, as it were by auction, three cardinal's hats to persons unworthy of such an honour; and all this, says the historian, in order to furnish pay to hereticks<sup>a</sup>, at the expence and with the consent of the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was likewise oblig'd to give not only his nephews as hostages, but also several cardinals who were the most devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promise.

DECEMBER the ninth was the day fixed for setting him at liberty; but as there was still, notwithstanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both sides, the pope fearing lest Moncada should not be so good as his word, took his opportunity, whilst he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the castle, disguis'd like a merchant; and mounting on a Spanish horse, made the best of his way to the castle of Orvieto, where he chose to retreat.

THE pope, entirely persuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakness of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that subject to the marshal de Lautrec<sup>b</sup>; and as if he had fully answered his first engagements by that slight complement, observed a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wished, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war however between the emperor and confederates, lasted near two years more with various success; but with the same fury and animosity.

DURING that interval, the commander Bosio, who (as we have observed) had been sent by the grand master to Rhodes, returned thence with very ill news. The grand master's project had been communicated to

<sup>a</sup> Guicciardin. l. 18.<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

too many persons, and the execution of it delayed too long, to be still kept a secret. The Turks had some suspicion of it; the grand seignior immediately changed the garison, and put several Christians of the Greek religion to death, and also some Mahometans; and 'twas with infinite difficulties, and through a thousand dangers, that the commander Bosio found means to escape the strict search which had been made by order of the governor of Rhodes. As a consolation for this ill success, that knight, who had a very penetrating genius, ever fruitful of new resources, proposed to the grand master a project for seizing on the town of Modon, and making it the seat and residence of the order.

THIS city, which is situated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians A. D. 1124\*. Bajazet the second took it in 1498. A Rhodian named Lomelino Del-Campo, who after the loss of Rhodes had retired to Messina, shewed Bosio in his passage to that island, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon by the assistance of two Turks, originally Christians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a constant correspondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorse for having renounced the faith, and their sincere desire of returning into the bosom of the church, as soon as a favourable occasion should offer itself, that one of these renegadoes, Calojan by name, had the command of the port; and that the other, whose name was Scandali, was, by his post of supreme director of the customs, master of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprize, that should put so important a place into the hands of the Christians. Bosio, who was ever warm and enterprising in those things in which the interests of his order were concerned, was resolved to go and view the place in person; and discourse, if possible, with the two Turks. With this design he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he passed near the island of Sapienza, which lies off the southern coast of Morea,

over

\* Bosio, t. 3. l. 5. & 6.



over against Modon, he put into a bay, where he lay snug, and sent a Rhodian that attended him, named Stefi Marquet, in a fisherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and resolved to atone for it, tho' at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble resolution, and after having consulted together about the several methods of putting their project in execution, the result of it was, that they, by the help of this intelligence, should conceal a certain number of knights in some merchant vessels; that part of those knights should in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port, and that the rest should seize on the gate of the mole; that thereupon a cannon-shot should be fired for a signal, and that the Christian fleet, which was to lie concealed behind the island of Sapienza, should advance, and land the troops on board it; which should afterwards enter by the gate of the mole, throw themselves into the place, and carry it.

Bosio finding this enterprize might be very easily effected, highly commended the two renegadoes; exhorted them to persevere with constancy and resolution in the design with which heaven had inspired them for their salvation; moreover, promising them great rewards, if they should contribute to the conquest of Modon. He, after this, kept on his voyage, and at his return into Italy gave the grand master an account of this new negotiation; represented to him that Modon was situated in a fruitful and plentiful country, where they might extend their conquest, if the enterprize should meet with success; that there was no rising ground near enough the place that might command it; that it was surrounded by the sea on two sides, and was divided from the main land by a ditch, which they might make broader if they thought proper; that the port was spacious and secure, by means of a great mole, and several rocks that defended the entrance of it; and that as the island of Sapienza lay off it, they might  
build

build a citadel in that place, which might serve as an advanced fortification to the town of Modon.

THE grand master did not reject the proposal; but being a man of solid judgment, and seeing that the affair of Rhodes had absolutely miscarried, he preferred a certain settlement at Malta, before the uncertain hopes of the conquest of Modon. However, as he saw no great difficulty in this last project, he put off the execution of it, till after he had taken possession of the isles of Malta and Goza; and he sent Bosio to the pope, to solicit him, in his and the order's name, to use his mediation in the treaty proposed about Malta, and employ his credit to get the rigour of the conditions moderated.

THE pope being kept away from Rome, bare of money, and disheartened by the misfortunes of the war, was then endeavouring to repair his losses by a new treaty with the emperor; and that prince, if he could have depended on his word, would not have been averse to it: nay, he would have been glad of a public reconciliation, to blot out from the minds of Christians the scandal which he had given, by the imprisonment of that pontiff, and the horrible sacking of the city of Rome.

THERE was but one consideration only, that could affect Clement's heart, and that was the restoring of his family in Florence. Charles V. plied him on that side: he offered him Margaret of Austria,<sup>a</sup> his natural daughter, for Alexander de Medicis, that pontiff's great nephew, or, as others say, his son.<sup>b</sup> The managers of the negotiation said further, that the emperor would engage himself to make him sovereign of the city and state of Florence, and that he should, after the ceremony of his coronation, and before the year 1530 was expired, see a mighty army before Florence, under the command of his ablest generals, in order to oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance to young Alexander, his nephew.

<sup>a</sup> Guicciardin. l. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Paulo Jovio, l. 27.

nephew. These advantageous proposals, such, indeed, as the pope could never have expected, tho' the league had been victorious, made him forget his own disasters, and the emperor's insults; and in order to contribute to a conquest of such importance to him, he thereupon engaged to maintain 8000 men, for this enterprize, at his own expence. He promised, at the same time, to give the emperor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, without any other annual acknowledgment but a white genet; and agreed with the emperor's agents to be at Bologna the next January at farthest, in order to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation. This treaty was signed June 29th 1529. The Duchess Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, and Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, governess of the low countries, signed likewise another at Cambray, in the king's and emperor's names, to which they gave the name of the Ladies treaty.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in Europe, when Bosio arrived at the pope's court: and though the affair of Rhodes had not succeeded, the pontiff was yet so well satisfied with the manner in which he gave him an account of his negotiation, and of that which he had begun at Modon, that, as he himself was very skilful at negotiations; or, to speak more properly, had a taste for them, though, at the same time, without having any talents or capacity requisite for that purpose, he would needs keep him near his person, in quality of his privy chamberlain; and ordered him to write to the grand master, to tell him, that he was in hopes of prevailing with the emperor, at their interview at Bologna, to make a grant of the isle of Malta to the order, with an entire exemption from all the burthensome conditions which his ministers were for clogging it with. About the latter end of the year, the emperor went from Spain into Italy, and came to Bologna, where the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation; and in their interview, they adjusted matters for establishing young Medicis as sovereign in Florence.

THE pope, seeing this happy prospect for the restoration of his family, recommended the interests of the order of St. John to the emperor in the most pressing terms; the pope having been bred up in it, and considering it, in a manner, as his second family. Though the emperor was not easily caught with solicitations, in which his interest was not concerned, yet, in this juncture of his reconciliation with the pope, it was impossible for him to refuse him any thing and we may affirm, that the house of Medicis, and the order of St. John, owe their re-establishment to that pontiff. The treaty concerning the knights was signed on March 24th, at Castel-Franco, a little town in the territory of Bologna; by which, the emperor declares, that in consideration of the particular affection which he had always bore to the order, and the important services which it had done for many ages to the Christian world, and to enable it to continue the same against the enemies of the faith, he had given and granted for ever, as well in his own name, as for his heirs and successors, to the most reverend the grand master of the said order, and to the said order of St. John, as a fief-noble, free and franc, the castles, places, and isles of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, with all their territories and jurisdictions, authority of judging in all pleas whatever, and power of life and death, with all other houses, appurtenances, exemptions, privileges, rents, and other rights and immunities; provided, that, for the future, the grand master and the knights should hold those places of him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble, free, and franc-fiefs, without being obliged to any service, or acknowledgment, but that of a falcon every year on All-saints day; and that in the vacancy of the bishoprick of Malta, the grand master, and the convent, should be obliged to present to him and his successors, three learned and pious persons, in order for his making choice of one of them to succeed to that dignity; and that the person so promoted, shall be honoured with the grand cross of the order; and in that quality, should have the privilege of sitting in the council.

WHEN

WHEN he had signed this deed, the emperor delivered it to the commander Bosio, to carry it to the grand master. That zealous minister set out immediately: but as the coachman, to satisfy his impatience, and make the greater haste, drove very hard, the coach overturned, and the ambassador was considerably hurt. What aggravated the misfortune, was, that an unskilful surgeon being sent for to bleed him, instead of opening a vein, ignorantly pricked him in an artery; when the blood extravasating cross the flesh and muscles of the arm, caused a swelling, which was soon followed by a gangrene that put a period to this excellent man's life. But before he expired, he gave the emperor's packet to a Rhodian gentleman, Statigogulo by name, his intimate friend and companion, to deliver into the grand master's hands; and charged him likewise, from him, to urge him to keep up the correspondence of Modon, from which, he said, he was persuaded the order would, some time or other, reap great advantages. The Rhodian discharged his commission with great exactness. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at the news of Bosio's death. However, in order to pursue his schemes, he sent afterwards the same Rhodian to Modon, with rich presents to the two renegadoes. He was ordered to inquire into their character, the disposition they were in, and whether they had not changed their mind; and in case he found them resolved and qualified to go through with the enterprize for the service of the order, he was then to draw a plan of the city, and the parts adjacent, that so they might be able to concert before hand the order of the attacks.

THIS gentleman landed at Modon, disguised like a Greek merchant, and found the two Turks firm and unshaken in their resolution. They shewed him the facility of the enterprize, by means of the authority which one of them had in the tower of the port, and the other by the keys of the gate of the mole, which were in their disposal. They told him, that the enterprize could not fail of success, provided the knights would



would but come with a body of troops, sufficient to beat the garrison and the inhabitants. When, after several conferences, they agreed to put off the execution of the project till the latter end of the next summer; in order that, if it should meet with favourable success, as they had all the reason in the world to hope it would, the news of it might not reach Constantinople till autumn; and the Turks, not being able to put to sea in the winter, the knights might, by that means, have time sufficient to fortify themselves in their new conquest.

THE grand master and council, as soon as they had received and examined the deed containing the donation of Malta, dispatched two of the principal commanders to thank the emperor, in the name of the whole order. They also sent, at the same time, an authentic copy of that important instrument to the prior Salviati, their ambassador at Rome, and nephew to the pope, in order that he might obtain a confirmation of it from the sovereign pontif, who was the first superior of the order. Clement, with the greatest joy imaginable, granted it in a full consistory; and to make this deed still more binding and solemn, he caused a bull to be drawn up to that purpose, and published April 25th. Not long after this, the grand master sent, as from the order, into Sicily, Hugh de Copones, general of its galleys, and John Boniface, bailif of Manosque, of the language of Provence in quality of ambassador, to take an oath of fidelity, in presence of Hector Pignatelli, duke of Montaleon, and viceroy of Sicily. The ambassadors acquitted themselves of this duty in the church of Palermo; when, the ceremonies being performed as usual in ho'e cases, he received the deed of investiture, which the viceroy gave up into their hands, in the name of the emperor. This nobleman named afterwards six commissioners, who went on board the same galleys of the order as had brought the ambassadors to Sicily; after which, they, in concert, went together to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, of which they were put in possession by those commissioners. These, by virtue of  
the

the power which they had received from the grand master and council, took an oath, in their name, to maintain the inhabitants and people of those islands in their rights, customs, and privileges; and left, by the grand master's order, the commander Aurelio Botigella, as governor and captain of arms of Malta, and the chevalier Augustine Vintioville as his lieutenant.

A SPANISH officer, Alvarez de Nava by name, who commanded in the castle of St. Angelo, having delivered up that fort to them, they delivered it up to the commander Peter Piton, who accordingly took possession of it, at the head of a company of foot. Not long after this, the grand master sent two gallies and a galion, with a considerable number of knights on board, to Tripoli, whereof he named governor, Gaspar of Sanguessèa, commander of Aliagne. The commissioners, after having provided for the defence of these several places, returned on board, and arrived at Saragossa or Syracuse in Sicily, where the council, for the better conveniency of their passage to Malta, had been already assembled for some time.

THE grand master, before his setting out, sent a great number of workmen and materials to Malta, to rebuild the lodgment of the castle of St. Angelo, which was entirely ruined, and shipped off powder and ammunition in the same vessels. But when he was for shipping off corn, the viceroy of Sicily insisted upon the duties of exportation; and the master of the mint acquainted the council, that the emperor would not suffer any money but what bore his impress to be coined at Malta, and that by his officers only. These difficulties, thus started, retarded the departure of all the knights. The grand master and council were very sensible, that Malta could not possibly subsist without receiving corn from Sicily, and they looked upon these duties of exportation, from which the inhabitants of Malta, as denizens of Sicily, had been always exempted, as an indirect duty and tribute, to which the order was going to be subjected.

NOR did they less resent their pretending to deprive an order that was sovereign and independent, of the right of coining money. These several circumstances made them apprehensive, lest the emperor, a prince who was ever to be guarded against in his treaties, and whose words, though in outward appearance clear and free from ambiguity, nevertheless concealed equivocal meanings, should one day make use of these pretensions as a right, and employ them in keeping the order in an absolute dependence. Reflections of this nature alarmed the greatest part of the knights: There were many of them who maintained, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve its liberty in the neighbourhood of so powerful and ambitious a prince; others of a warmer temper, and who were for straining of every thing, insisted openly that they must absolutely break the treaty; that Malta was a barren island, or rather rock, where the inhabitants would die of hunger; that the two elements of man's food, viz. bread and water, were wanting in it; and that the present which Charles V. had made them, was not worth the parchment they had employed in writing the deed of gift. But the grand master and council, more prudent and circumspect in their views, as well as words, thought proper to inform themselves of the emperor's real inclinations from himself only; for which purpose they dispatched two ambassadors to him, with orders to represent, that his imperial majesty was very sensible, that so far from drawing any advantage from the isles of Malta and Goza, and the city of Tripoli, he was at the yearly expence of 340,000 livres for the maintaining the garrisons in the several strong holds and castles; that it would have been impossible for the inhabitants to subsist in them, had they not ever been considered as denizens of Sicily, and as such, had not enjoyed the privilege of receiving corn from thence, free from any duty of exportation; that the order had been surpris'd he should be for rendering their condition worse than that of the present inhabitants; nor were they less surpris'd that, by the deed of gift, though they were

to be acknowledged as sovereign and independent, yet nevertheless, they should be debarred from coining money, and by that means be deprived of one of the choicest of its royal prerogatives, and which the grand prior of Germany enjoyed in all its latitude, in the empire. The ambassadors were ordered not to abate a title in these articles; and, at the same time, by a particular one, were expressly commanded, in case the emperor should absolutely insist upon the pretensions of his ministers, to give him back immediately his deed of gift, to take their leave of him, and to return back forthwith.

THESE two ministers were no sooner arrived at his court, and admitted to an audience, but they, instead of opening with the design for which they had chiefly been sent, told him, that their superiors had sent them to thank his imperial majesty for the great exactness, as well as little trouble, which his commissioners had given the order, in putting them in possession of the islands and strong holds, of which he had been so gracious as to make a cession in their favour; and that the grand master was just upon the point of transporting himself thither, and all the convent. They added, that he should even have been set out by this time for that purpose, had not some difficulties arose, which the viceroy of Sicily had started, only from the great zeal he had for his service; but that the whole order hoped, that his majesty, out of his wonted goodness, would come to a resolution, and determine that affair. After having told him, in a few words, what the viceroy's pretensions were, as if the emperor had known nothing of the matter, they artfully insinuated to him, that although the grand master and council were highly sensible of the importance and value of the gift which he had made them of Malta, that nevertheless, it had not yet been accepted by the unanimous consent of all the knights; that the French in particular, who had been brought up at Rhodes, and in an independence that naturally results from an unlimited sovereignty, appeared to be least satisfied with it; that they had just rea-

sions to apprehend, they should make the several pretensions of the viceroy serve as a handle to oppose the translation of the council; that his imperial majesty knew very well, that the superiors of a free republic, composed of knights of various nations, and educated in a certain pomp of courage, were not to exert their authority, but with the utmost circumspection, and particularly in an affair, wherein each private man imagined he had as great an interest as his superiors; for which reason, the grand master and council conjured him to finish this work of his own creation himself, and to employ his sovereign authority for the removing of the obstacles which his ministers formed. They concluded with assuring him, that the free and voluntary acknowledgments and gratitude of the knights, and their zeal in defending his territories against the infidels, would greatly compensate all the viceroy's pretensions.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the emperor's design in making over Malta to the order of St. John, was to make it serve as a bulwark to cover his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples; nevertheless this monarch never gave up the most inconsiderable of his interests, but in the view of gaining a more considerable one by such a cession. He insisted strongly on the viceroy's pretensions, imagining that the order, after having brought matters thus far, would not break the treaty for the sake of those two articles. In order therefore to increase the duties of exportation, he declared that he could not consent to allow the order to fetch corn from Sicily, unless they would agree to pay a certain sum *per tun*, as should afterwards be agreed upon; and to procure to himself a kind of right of sovereignty over the order, he added, that he absolutely would not allow the order to coin money, or any other to be current all the island over, but what was coined in his own mints.

If these two ministers had acted directly as they were ordered by their instructions, all the treaty would have been at an end; but they thought it important  
enough



enough to merit their sending for new orders from the council how to act. Accordingly they wrote with the utmost expedition to the grand master, who immediately sent advice of it to the pope, the protector of the order. The pontiff dispatched to the emperor the prior Salviati his nephew, who was at his holiness's court in quality of resident of the grand master and the whole order; and this minister made so good an advantage of the credit which the pope had then with the emperor, that he obtained from him a new treaty, in which the two articles relating to the exportation of corn, and the coining of money, were inserted in favour of the order.

NOTHING was now wanting for the entire establishment of the knights at Malta, but the transportation of the grand master, of the council, and all the knights into that island. They first put on board five galleys, two great carracks, and several transport ships, the inhabitants of Rhodes, who being resolved to share the fortune of the order, had continued with the knights ever since they had quitted that island. They also shipped on board these vessels the effects and records of the order, as likewise various moveables, together with ammunition and provisions. A great number of knights and soldiers in their pay, went over in this little fleet, which, before its arrival, met with a dreadful storm, in which one of their galleys was dashed to pieces against a rock; one of the carracks had also like to have been lost; she was already got into the port at Malta, when immediately there arose such mighty winds, that notwithstanding her being fastened with three anchors, she broke all her cables, and after twice running a-ground, at last sunk in the sand. They thought her lost, when a contrary wind springing up, raised her; after which they set her a-float, and found that her hull had received no manner of damage. Such as are for drawing predictions from every thing, did not fail to give out, that heaven seemed by that incident to point out the fate of the order, which, after having suffered so great

a variety of dangers and storms, should at last fix itself happily in Malta.

THIS island is situated in the 46th degree of longitude, and the 35th degree 10 minutes of northern latitude; it has the Mediterranean to the East, looking towards Candia; to the north Sicily, which is but fifteen leagues distant from it, Tripoli in Barbary to the south, and the islands of Pantalarea, Linosa, and Lampadusa to the West, and that part of the sea which separates that island from Sicily, generally goes by the name of the channel of Malta. This country, according to a tradition of its inhabitants, had been antiently governed by an African prince called Battus. It was since in the hands of the Carthaginians; and at the time that the knights of St. John took possession of it, they met with several inscriptions in the Punic tongue, engraved on pieces of marble and broken pillars. The Romans, during the wars of Sicily, drove the Carthaginians from thence; and the Arabians, about the 9th century, and after the ruin of the empire, made themselves masters of it. About anno 1190, Roger, the Norman count of Sicily, won this island from the Barbarians; since which time, it has been always annexed to the kingdom of Sicily, whose fortune it had ever followed.

THE grand master, the council, and chief commanders got into the great port on the 26th  
26. Oct. of October; and, as soon as they were land-  
1530. ed, they went directly to the parochial church  
of St. Lawrence, where, having paid their first homage to him whom the order acknowledge for its only sovereign, they went to the town, which is situated at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. The grand master could hardly meet with a house for himself to lodge in, they being no more than so many fishermen's huts, in which the commanders and knights dispersed themselves. The grand master took up his quarters in the castle; and some days after his entry, he went and took possession of the capital, that lay further up the country, and about the middle of the island.

'Tis called by Ptolemy *Melita*, after the name of the whole island; others give it the name of the *notable city*. We are told that it was not then 1200 paces in circumference: 'twas the usual residence of the bishop. The grand master, after his authority had been acknowledged by all the inhabitants, went through the whole island to find out a place that might be late, as well as commodious, for the settling of the council and the whole body of knights.

WE have already observed, that the two greatest ports were separated from one another by a neck of land or rock, called *Mount Scerberras*, which commanded them both. This place appeared to him to be very commodiously situated for the raising of a new city. The grand master would have been very desirous, in case the order could subsist in the island, to settle the convent in that place; but as the circumstances of the order at that time would not allow them to execute such a design, though judged to be so very useful, the grand master and council were obliged, in that infancy of things, to settle themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, the only place of defence that was in the island, and the knights dispersed themselves up and down the town, which is situated at the foot of the fort: this was their first residence. This town had no fortifications, and was commanded on all sides. The grand master built a wall round it, to prevent his being surprised by the corsairs: they have since added flanks to it, with recesses at certain distances, agreeable to the unevenness and declivity of the ground. The grand master did not intend to continue long in that place, but was resolved, before he settled himself entirely there, to make an attempt upon Modon, a rich and populous city; and a circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction, was its little distance from Rhodes, which the order might be able to surprise, in case a civil war should break out among the Turks, or even attack openly in other conjunctures. He designed, in case the affair of Modon should miscarry, and that the order should be obliged to continue at Malta, to build

a new city upon that point of rock above mentioned, which went by the name of Mount Sceberras. But the immense sums the order had spent for eight years together, for the subsistence of the knights and Rhodians in Italy; the different translations from Candia to Messina, from Messina to Civita-Vecchia, from thence to Viterbo, from Viterbo to Nice, to Villa Franca, and other places in Italy; and even Sicily, where the knights, for their easier subsistence, were dispersed up and down, with the grand master's leave; so many cruifings, voyages, journeys, transigrations of a whole body of people, of which that colony was composed, had quite drained the treasury of the order, and would not allow the grand master to execute so great a project. He was even distasted with every thing he saw in Malta; the barrenness of the soil; their bread, which they were obliged to seek, as it were, as far as Sicily; the poverty of the inhabitants; their rustic and savage behaviour; no place of defence in case of an attack: such gloomy reflections as these afflicted him very sensibly, and awak'd, with the utmost grief in his mind, the remembrance of Rhodes, so fruitful in corn, so rich by its fleets and armaments; and moreover, the capital of five or six other islands or strong holds, the most inconsiderable of which was much better fortified than Malta. But as l'Isle-Adam was informed with a spirit of bravery, and a greatness of soul, superior even to the most unhappy accidents of life, he generously took his resolutions at once; and without forgetting the enterprize of Modon, devoted all his cares to the building some houses for the knights to dwell in, in order to make their residence in the island more supportable. 'Twas from this last establishment that they borrowed the name of Malta, instead of that of the knights of Rhodes, which they had made illustrious by a continual series of great actions during upwards of 200 years.

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Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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B O O K X.

**T**HE grand master had no sooner given the necessary orders for the defence of the island of Malta, but he crossed to that of Goza: he went all over it, visited those places where the corsairs might make descents, gave orders for the building of retrenchments, brought several pieces of cannon, and ammunition and provisions into the castle, left a company of foot in it; and, after having exhorted the inhabitants to be inviolably true to the order, he returned back to Malta, and immediately turned all his thoughts upon Tripoli: that city of Africa,<sup>a</sup> which,

VILLIERS DE  
L'ISLE-ADAM.  
1530.

VOL. IV.

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as

<sup>a</sup> Fazellius de rebus Siculis, l. 1.

as has been already seen, the order was so unwilling to meddle with, by reason of its weakness and distance.

WE before observed,<sup>a</sup> that the chevalier Sanguesse had been appointed governor of it by the commissioners, who took possession of it in the name of the order. The grand master, at the same time that he sent him a new reinforcement, confirmed him in that post, which could hardly have been filled up by a more worthy personage: he was an ancient knight, who had signalized himself in the last siege of Rhodes, by a great number of heroic actions, and who, by fighting under the orders of the grand master, during so long and bloody a siege, had acquired the art of preserving such places as he should be intrusted with. This commander, seeing himself greatly straitned in Tripoli, by other neighbouring cities and towns, all of them inhabited by infidels, and people that had been formerly subject to the king of Tunis, often sent different parties against these Africans, who made incursions into their territories, and ravaged the country.

AMONG these several cities, inhabited by Mahometans, Gienzor and Tachiro, or Tachora, had withdrawn themselves for some years from the dominion of the kings of Tunis: the garrison of Tripoli used frequently to take several prisoners, and make a considerable booty, even to the very gates of those cities. The inhabitants of Gienzor, wearied out with the continual attempts of these troublesome neighbours, made a treaty with them; and Sanguesse, with the grand master's consent, and in consideration of a certain sum, agreed upon between them, granted them a peace, and opened a free trade on that side.

THE lord of Tachora, being more powerful than those of Gienzor, and master of a good port, would not so much as hear a word mentioned of a tribute. The territory of this *check*, or lord, of Tachora, on that side which lay towards Tripoli, consisted in a large plain, which extended itself within four leagues of that city towards the east. This spacious plain was full of vil-  
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<sup>a</sup> Bosio, t. 3. l. 5.

lages, which furnished their lord with a pretty considerable number of very brave horsemen and musketeers, whose chief business was robbing : these often engaged with the Maltese, and each party laid ambuscades for his neighbours. Things passed in this manner at first, with little loss on either side, if we except the death of the chevalier de Harlai, of the language of France, occasioned by an excess of courage, and too little caution ; he being cut to pieces, with all the soldiers under his command, by the Tachorizins, who had lain in ambush for him.

WE should not have been so particular in our account of these inroads, so common between people that border upon one another, and who are of a different religion, had not these petty wars afterwards given rise to others, of much greater consequence, and in which the reader will observe, that the arms of the knights of St. John were no less serviceable to the princes of Christendom in Africa, than they had been before in Asia, and during the time that the order resided in Palestine, and afterwards at Rhodes.

TWAS now some time since the civil wars being kindled in the territories of Algiers and Tunis, the Ottoman Turks, or rather the corsairs, under their name, in order to make their advantage of these divisions, had seized upon several places situated upon the coasts of Barbary ; several knights, and those even who had discovered the greatest disinclination for taking upon themselves the defence of Malta, proposed, at that time, to the grand master, to turn all the efforts of the arms of the order on that side ; and they represented to him, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve so weak a place as Tripoli was, and particularly as it had no ground belonging to it, unless they covered it with new conquests, and an extent of ground that might furnish subsistence for the garrison. This project was not without some foundation ; but not to mention, that the grand master, before engaging himself in this war, was very desirous of letting these infidels weaken and destroy one another ; he, besides,

had devoted all his thoughts to a design which had been formed for many years, and from the success of which, he promised himself, that the order would draw advantages that were much more considerable.

MODON, at this time, engrossed all his thoughts; it was the sole object of his desires, and every thing that might bring him nearer to Rhodes, appeared like another Rhodes in his eyes, or, at least, as a means that might one day make it a more easy conquest: so that he resolved, before he would absolutely fix his residence in Malta, or engage his order to lay out those immense sums that must necessarily be employed, before that island, which was open on all sides, could be put in a state of defence, to endeavour to surprisè Modon, by the help of the intelligence he had in that place.

In this view,<sup>a</sup> he took into the order's pay a good number of soldiers, who had lately served at the siege of Florence. This siege the pope and emperor had undertaken in concert; and these princes, after having made themselves masters of that great city, had restored the Medicis to their authority in it. The chevalier Salviati, who was related to that pope, and prior of Rome, by the grand master's command, brought these forces to Malta, on board six gallies, well armed, three of which belonged to the order; the viceroy of Sicily had lent the fourth; and James Grimaldi, a Genoese lord, and an excellent seaman, had hired two others, which belonged to him, at the rate of 1000 crowns per month, and they agreed that he should command them in person, as long as this expedition should last.

THE grand master, not being able to leave Malta, as its chief strength lay in his presence, named the prior of Rome general of the enterprise; and the chevalier de Boniface, bailif of Manosque, was to command the fleet, during the time that the general should be ashore, and employed in besieging Modon. These gallies were to be accompanied with brigantines of a different bulk, with men and ammunition on board; and two trading vessels,

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, t. 3. l. 6.



vessels, loaded with planks, which they intended to employ for the execution of the enterprize, were entrusted to John Scandali, a Greek Christian, of the island of Zante, and son to one of the two renegadoes; and to Janni Necolo, who was also a Greek Christian; both of whom were well known at Modon, by the daily traffic which they carried on to that place.

BESIDES a great number of knights, who went on board for this expedition, the viscount Cigale, a famous privateer, and brother to the cardinal of that name, offered his service to the grand master; and accordingly joined the fleet of the order with two gallees well armed, that were his own, and which he commanded in person.

BEFORE this armament set sail from the ports, several councils were held upon the execution of this enterprize; when, after a variety of projects, the grand master concluded upon this, that the gallees, brigantines, and other small vessels, should lie hid along the coasts of the little island of Sapienza, which lay over against Modon; that towards the close of the evening, they should bring up two trading vessels, freighted, in outward appearance, with timber and planks, under which a considerable number of knights, and brave soldiers should lie concealed; that young Scandali, under pretence of desiring to come with his ship to an anchor, and trading there, and in concert with his father, should advance to the foot of the tower of the mole, which was about 500 paces from the place, and that he should seize upon it: that young Scandali's associate should go to another side, at the entrance of the harbour, when, after having been visited, for form's sake, by Quir Calojan, the other renegado, the director of the customs, he should retire in the dark to his house; that the next day at the opening of the gate, the soldiers, which lay concealed in the two brigantines, should unite in a body, in order to make themselves masters of that gate; that a cannon should immediately be fired, to give notice of it to the general, who should leave the island of Sapienza that very moment,

should put his forces on board, and throw himself into the place through that gate which should be seized.

THE prior of Rome, who was at the head of this expedition, set sail from the port of Malta on the 1531. 17th of August; and after having sailed pro-17. Aug. pitiously for several days together, would not put in at the isle of Sapienza, but in the night time. He hid his little fleet in the safest road of the whole island, and which was least exposed; when, having taken down the flags and masts of his gallies, he sent Statigogulo and Marquet, the two Rhodians above mentioned, to Modon, to see whether or no the two renegadoes had not changed their inclinations, and whether they were still masters of their posts, and capable of keeping their word. The two Rhodians went into Modon disguised like merchants, saw the two renegadoes; when, having found them fixed and resolved, immoveable, and even impatient to signalize themselves in the execution of that enterprize, they engaged them to go over with them into the island of Sapienza, to confer with the prior of Rome upon that subject. This general gave them a very civil reception, and after having confirmed to them, in the grand master's name, the promises of a splendid reward, which the two Rhodians had made to them, he started several difficulties, to all which they returned very satisfactory answers. They added, that all lay in the dispatch that should be made in the execution; and in order to make Salviati resolve upon it at once, they represented to him, that the sole reason of the order's failing in its attempt upon Rhodes, was owing to its dilatoriness and excess of caution: but this general, fearing a double intelligence, and lest those Greeks, after having renounced the faith, should not scruple to betray and deliver him up to the Turks, he required them, before he engaged himself further in that affair, to carry to Modon the commander Sciatese, a Roman; the chevalier de Broc, a Frenchman, of the language of Provence; and signior James Grimaldi; in order, that as they would be upon the spot, they would all three be able to judge whether  
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the enterprize might be undertaken with safety, and afterwards agree among themselves upon the final measures for the landing of the troops and the attacking the place.

THESE two renegadoes, in company with the knights, disguised like merchants, arrived in the port of Modon in the evening, as if they were returned from the island of Sapienza, upon some affairs relating to their traffic. Scandali, the father, who commanded in the tower of the mole, under pretence of giving these pretended merchants a supper there, shewed them how easily they might make themselves masters of it; and, with the same view, they went and lay at the other renegadoes house, which was near the city-gate, and of which he had entrance free, in quality of director of the customs. The knights appeared satisfied with the disposition of the two Greeks; and then the son of Scandali, a Christian, and who, as was already observed, would not apostatise as his father had done, brought them back the next day to the island of Sapienza.

THE knights, at their return, declared to the general, that their opinion was, the two renegadoes were sincere in the affair; but that after all, a man could not be too cautious and circumspect, when he had to deal with traitors; that they even met with great difficulties in the execution of that enterprize; that notwithstanding Scandali commanded in the tower of the mole, yet the janizaries, who were upon guard there, would not fail, upon the least stir that should be made, to take up arms against them; that upon the noise, which is unavoidable in occasions of that nature, and on the notice which the governor of Modon would receive of it, he would immediately order all the city gates to be shut; and that the garrison and the inhabitants would soon be able to repulse all such as should attack them. These difficulties, and even those which in such like occasions can scarce ever be foreseen, suspended for some time the desire the general had of attempting this enterprize. Young Scandali, who saw through part of the general's suspicions, told him that the only reason  
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of his father's sending for him from Zante, and making him privy to that design, was to put him into his hands by way of hostage, till such time as he should have performed his promise, and that he desired no other than to continue on board his gallies; that as for the Janizaries in the tower of the mole, who were very few in number, his father would find a method to send them at a distance, under various pretences, and that he resolved to make them drunk, and by that means prevent their being able to oppose the entrance of the knights into the tower; moreover, that his father and his associate never intended to carry the place by open force; that it would be impossible for them to succeed any other way than by surprise; that his only fear was, that the suspicion of the general had been owing to the great ease with which it might be executed. In fine, this young man, whose breast glowed with zeal and bravery, shewed them how easy, as well as advantageous it would be to make their conquest sure, so that the whole council resolved to continue no longer in suspense; and accordingly sent young Scandali to his father, to assure him that they would make their attempt that very evening.

WITH this view, the general embarked several knights, and a considerable number of soldiers on board two feluccas, who were hid under the planks, with which those vessels seemed to be freighted, and which were designed to assist the troops that were on board the gallies in their landing. Stefi Marquet the Rhodian, who had been so serviceable to Bosio in drawing up the plan of that conspiracy, was on board the first brigantine, which, in those days was called a *grips*, and advanced to the entrance of the port in the evening. Calojan, who had the guard of it, in quality of director of the customs, pretending not to know him, went on board his ship; when, after having visited it for form's sake, and to prevent all suspicion, he made his report thereof to the governor, telling him that it was a small vessel loaded with planks, which he said a merchant

chant was coming to sell to some workmen in the city; upon which the governor gave him leave to admit her in.

THE men who were hid in this felucca, in the disguise of sailors, befriended by the darkneis, and under the pretence of their being obliged to set out very early the next morning, put ashore these planks, and other pieces of wood, with which they formed a kind of bridge opposite to that gate of the city which they intended to surprisè, in order to assist the landing of the forces that were on board the gallies; after which they retired into the house of the renegado, where they spent the rest of the night.

YOUNG Scandali, who was in the other felucca, came much about the same time, and cast anchor at the point of the tower; and as his father commanded in it, and he himself came frequently thither from the isle of Zante, where he inhabited; the Janizaries of the tower, with whom he was very familiar, made no scruple to admit him, and accordingly he entered into this tower in company with eight other Greeks in a Turkish dress, who spoke that language fluently, and who pretended to be soldiers belonging to the garrisons of Lepanto and Patras. His father, as had been concerted, dispersed some of his guards upon different commissions, and invited the rest to supper. In the midst of their gaiety and good cheer, they gave them an excellent Greek wine to drink, which, he said, his son had brought him in his felucca. The real Turks, who thirsted after that liquor with greater eagerness, as they were prohibited to drink it by their law, poured it down in great quantities, and were soon drunk. The Greek Christians, disguised like Janizaries, taking their advantage of that lethargic drowsiness that usually attends upon drunkenness, let into the tower all those knights and soldiers that lay concealed in the brigantine; when they cut the throats of some of the Turks, bound others, made themselves masters of the tower, all which was done during the silence of the night, without the least noise, insomuch that the governor, whose



whose house was about five hundred paces from the tower, had not the least notice of it.

ON the other side, the renegado Calojan, at day-break, and at the opening of the gate, presented himself at it with some knights, disguised like sailors, and who had spent the night in his house; they made a halt at the gate, in order to give time to the other soldiers, who were hid in the two brigantines, to advance forwards; when immediately the two companies joined in a body, making in all about 300 men. Upon their approach, the pretended sailors, who stood at the entry of the port, drew their swords, fell upon the guards, cut some of them to pieces; when the main body advancing up, seized on the gate, and imagined the city was their own. Immediately a cannon was fired by way of signal to the general, that he should advance immediately with his galleys; during which, the Christian forces, instead of marching directly up to the castle, where the governor had withdrawn himself, leaving only a guard at the city gate, they threw themselves into those houses that stood nearest to it, in order to plunder them; they here committed all the outrages usual on such like occasions, and in places taken by surprise, or carried by storm and sword in hand. The inhabitants, in order to shun the first fury of the soldiers, fled for shelter into the castle, when the governor put weapons into their hands; and having advice that there was but a very small number of the Christians, and that the greatest part of them were roving up and down in search of plunder, he made a sally at the head of his garrison, and of the inhabitants, charged briskly these plunderers, who were dispersed, and killed several at the first onset: when their common danger uniting them again in one body, they rallied, made head, and endeavoured to maintain themselves in their several posts, till such time as the galleys should come up. Both parties fought with equal fury; the knights, who saw every moment the bravest of their troops drop, gave themselves over for lost, when no reinforcement came: but they did not know that a very high and contrary  
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wind had hindered the general from hearing the signal; insomuch that it was noon before he had notice, by a bark, which young Scandali dispatched to him, that the knights were got into the city, and engaged with the garrison of the castle. Immediately he hastened to the place, and with as much speed as the crew of his galleys could possibly make, landed without the least obstacle; and after having, according to the rules of war, left a body of men under the command of the chevalier d'Humieres to guard the galleys, and in the tower of the mole, he advanced at the head of the body under his command, joined those who were fighting with the governor and the garrison; when immediately his bravery and the superior number of his forces, soon obliged him to take refuge in the castle. As it would be impossible to force him there without artillery, he sent for several pieces of cannon from on board his galleys; but whilst they were employing themselves in fetching it from thence, the governor was succoured: for no sooner had he seen the first body of knights in the place, but he dispatched couriers to the neighbouring cities, and to the governor of the province, to give him notice of the descent and attack of the Christians. Happily for the governor of the castle, the sangiac of the province was at the head of a considerable body of troops, which, by Solyman's order, he was immediately to march to the frontiers of Hungary, where the grand seignior was then making war. The sangiac, who was encamped not far from Modon, at the first news he heard of the enterprise of the knights, drew out some troops of horse for that place, where they arrived with the utmost diligence, and were let into the castle by a gate that lay towards the country, at the same time that the Turkish general advanced himself at the head of 6000 foot. The governor of the place having ordered his cavalry to dismount, in order to bring them sooner to an engagement, sallied out at their head, and charged the knights with his whole garrison. Though the prior of Rome saw that the infidels were reinforced, he nevertheless stood their attack with the greatest courage; when cutting to  
pieces

pieces the bravest of his horsemen, and taking several of them prisoners, he forced the rest to shelter themselves behind the fortifications of the castle. Nevertheless, being informed by the prisoners he had taken, that the sangiac would infallibly be at Modon before sun set, and not having forces enough to make head against him, and besiege the place in form, and as he had not expected success in his enterprise but from the advantage of a surprise, he saw himself, so contrary to his desires, reduced to the necessity of returning on board his ships, which gave him the greatest uneasiness.

BUT before he commanded a retreat to be sounded, he, after having blocked up the ports of the castle by a good retrenchment, abandoned the whole city to be plundered by the soldiers. The richest houses in it were now become their prey; nay, the knights themselves, and the principal officers, had a hand in this not over honourable, though profitable employment. There is no expressing the riches they carried off out of this city; but that which gave the inhabitants still greater pain, was their transporting on board their galleys or ships, upwards of 800 married women and maidens, whom they made prisoners and slaves. Among these ladies of Modon, chance having thrown a young Turkish woman of exquisite beauty into the hands of the viscount of Cicala, he carried her to Messina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a son by her, Scipio Cicala by name, whom a variety of adventures brought afterwards to Constantinople, when turning Mahometan, and signalizing himself by his bravery, he attained to the dignity of general, when he revenged the Turks for the sack of Modon. The knights abandoned the city a little before sun-set, and embarked with all the forces, without meeting with the least opposition, or sustaining the least loss, if we do not look upon the expence of that armament as a very considerable one; which was not any way compensated by the plunder of the city of Modon, that fell only into private hands.

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THE grand master, upon the return of his gallies, was informed of the ill success of the enterprize, which gave him great uneasiness; but as his courage had been always superior to the most unhappy revolutions of fortune, he from that time judged, that providence had decreed that his order should settle at Malta, and thereupon turned all his thoughts to the fortifying of that island, and to put it in a condition to brave the insults and incursions of the corsairs.

WHILST he was entirely taken up with these cares, so worthy a sovereign prince, there happened another accident, which put his patience and resolution to a fresh trial. Baltazar Waltkirk, bishop of Malta, being dead, the emperor was to name the person who was to fill that dignity; and the order, pursuant to the treaty made with that prince, was to propose three ecclesiasticks to him, one of which at least was to be chosen from among his subjects. The grand master and council presented to the viceroy of Sicily, brother Pontus Laurencin, of the language of Auvergne; brother Thomas Bosio, an Italian, and vice chancellor of the order; and brother Dominic Cubelle of the language of Arragon, and and the emperor's vassal. The grand master, to recompence in the person of Thomas Bosio the great merit and important services which the commander his brother had done to the order, would have been very well pleased that the emperor's choice had fallen upon him; and accordingly acquainted the pope with his views. This pontiff, to whom the commander in his lifetime had been one of his privy chamberlains, and of whose services he had always retained a grateful remembrance, wrote to this prince upon that subject; and not only told his ambassador, that he should think himself very much obliged to the emperor, if he would declare in Bosio's favour, but also gave orders to signior Salviati, who was his relation, and the prior of Rome's father, to write in his name to cardinal Campejus, who was at that time in the emperor's court, in quality of legate *à latere*, to be very earnest in soliciting for that nomination. The emperor gave a very agree-

able reception to these good offices of his holiness, and ordered his ambassador, who resided at Rome, to assure him, that he would give him in a little time all the satisfaction he could wish for, with respect to the bishoprick of Malta: but this prince, who never bestowed his favours but with the utmost circumspection, whether it were that he intended to obtain several others from the pope, or that he had not time to attend to this affair, he deferred the nomination of Bosio. But at last, after he had engaged the pope and the order in a league against the Turks, he then, and not before, declared publickly the nomination of Bosio to the bishoprick of Malta; when he gave the instrument of it to the ambassador of the order, who resided at that time at his court.

THIS minister being very sensible that this nomination would give the grand master no small satisfaction, dispatched a courier with the instrument of it. The grand master received it with great demonstrations of joy, which he divided with the bishop elect, to whom he gave the first account he had received of his nomination to that dignity. All the knights that were at that time in the island, congratulated one another; and as the priesthood and the empire had equally conspired in this election, they looked upon that affair as happily ended. The grand master, in order to have it sealed as it were, and completely concluded, would have Bosio take out his bulls himself, and get himself consecrated at Rome. He likewise had him accompanied by an ambassador extraordinary, whom he dispatched to the pope, to thank him for the continuation of his favour and kindness to the order; and the ambassador was moreover ordered at the same time to present the bishop elect to his holiness.

BOTH of these being arrived at Rome desired to be admitted to an audience of the pope, which they obtained. The ambassador, when he presented Bosio to him, told him, that he was ordered by the grand master and council to thank him for all his good offices with the emperor, and for his having engaged that  
 prince



prince to prefer Bosio to one of his subjects: But how greatly was this minister, and he who accompanied him, surpris'd, when he heard the pope utter the following words: That the church of Malta was already provided with a pastor; that he had already named cardinal Ghinucci to that bishoprick; that he could not possibly have given a more illustrious testimony of his constant and unalterable affection to the order, than by filling that dignity with one of the most worthy men in the church, and a cardinal of so great merit; that his eminency was going to send a grand vicar to Malta, to take possession of that dignity in his name, and that he hoped he would not meet with the least obstacle or opposition in it.

THOUGH the ambassador was thunder-struck, as it were, with a discourse which he so little expected, he nevertheless answered him, that the grand master and council would ever pay the highest deference and submission to his orders; but, continued he, the only difficulty in this affair is with respect to the emperor, whom alone it concerns, and the manner in which he may take so surpris'ing a change. Upon which the pope, raising his voice, replied, "The right of providing for that church, ever since the property of that island devolved to other owners, has been lodged in us, and not in Charles." And thereupon dismissed the ambassador and Bosio, who accordingly withdrew in the deepest vexation of mind, and covered with shame and confusion.

THE grand master himself was not less surpris'd and afflicted. His constancy wanted, as it were, no more than this last trial; but he bore it with his usual steadiness and resolution. In order to get clear of so ticklish an affair, and to hold the scales even between two powers, with both whom his interest oblig'd him to keep equal measures, he thought proper, before he himself took notice of the affair, to see how the emperor would act in it. He indeed could not possibly have taken a more judicious step; for Charles V. who found that his honour and dignity were struck at by the pope's

conduct, made Bosio's affair his own. This prince, though so guarded in all his expressions, was not master enough of himself to prevent his resentments from breaking out. Sangro, one of his historians, pretends, that in the first emotions of his rage and indignation, he was heard to say, that he had never reposed any confidence in that pope, and that because he had observed there was always some latent craft in all his actions; and that the emperor added, he then owned to his shame, that he had been over-reached in that affair, which was owing to his not having sufficiently mistrusted the eager and importunate manner, in outward appearance, in which he himself solicited for the nomination of Bosio. 'Tis probable, that the uneasiness Charles V. felt to find himself bubbled by the pope, in an art wherein he imagined he was so greatly his superior, might have drawn those bitter complaints from him. But whatever he might say, which perhaps might be to soothe his resentments, it appears by the testimonies of all historians, that the pope in his offices acted at first with great sincerity. His change of mind was not the result of any premeditated design; but 'tis pretended, that the only reason of the pope's supplanting the emperor, was to revenge himself for his deferring so long to nominate Bosio: and that in the uneasiness it gave him, he could not forbear crying out, with relation to that affair, at a time when he was complaining about it to some cardinals, "That when  
 " a sovereign pontiff stooped so low as to sue and  
 " intreat, his intreaties and offices ought to be received as commands." Others maintain, that without seeking in this change for such a refinement of vengeance, of which his genius was not over capable, this pope had reflected, or that his ministers had made him take notice, that in consideration of the great esteem and credit which most of the knights had in all the courts of Europe, and above all, of that great height of power to which that military order had raised itself, it no ways suited the interests of the holy see, that the emperor, and the kings of Sicily, his successors, should  
 reserve

reserve to themselves the right of nominating to the bishopric of Malta, which gave the persons so nominated a privilege of entering into the council, and even the first seat in it after that of the grand-master; that a cunning and intriguing bishop, taking his advantage of the troubles which frequently disturbed Italy, might engage the knights in parties opposite to those of the pope. In a word, that they ought never to suffer a religious order, that was continually in arms, that lay so near Italy, and which had forces and a fleet at its command, should be dependent on any other power than that of the holy see.

WHATEVER might have been his motive, which was not without some foundation; and whatever instances the emperor might make to oblige the pope to desist from the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci; this pontiff was fixed and immoveable upon that article, at the same time that he appeared to be in the most perfect intelligence with regard to Charles V. and that which might induce us to believe, that his steadiness was not the result of resentment, is, that lying at the point of death, and in those precious moments which decide our fate to all eternity, and in which all the passions vanish and disappear, he sent for cardinal Caraffa, whom he knew to be a zealous adherer to the interests of the holy see, and charged him to represent to his successor, that he was obliged in conscience to maintain strenuously the nomination he had made of Ghinucci. But as the last desires and intentions of even the most absolute monarchs are generally buried with them in their graves, Paul III. who succeeded Clement, having received letters from the emperor, written in the most urgent terms; and being moreover desirous, for the sake of his own private interest with respect to his family, to keep in favour with so powerful a prince, he resolved to give him satisfaction. Accordingly they began to treat of the affair, when an expedient was found out to reconcile the interests of the two competitors. Bosio, after having prosecuted his affair for three years together, and spent immense sums in the court of Rome, and in suing for the emperor's

favour, at last obtained his bulls ; but upon condition of paying the cardinal an annual pension of 9000 livres : and the emperor, who imagined he was obliged in honour to make Bosio enjoy the bishoprick of Malta in all its latitude, since he had procured it for him, in order to indemnify him for the pension, gave him an abbey in Sicily of the like value. Notwithstanding that this affair was not ended till the pontificate of

Paul III. I imagined myself obliged to anticipate the conclusion of it, for the sake of the reader, to prevent our being obliged to return to the same incident by digressions, which often confound and interrupt the thread of the narration.

In the mean time, the steadiness and resolution which Clement had discovered in maintaining the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, had not any way cooled the zeal he had discovered against the infidels. Accordingly he joined a good number of his gallies to those of the emperor ; and writing a brief, couched in the most urgent terms, to the grand master, this prince immediately put to sea the great carrack, with the gallies and ships of the order for his quota. We may justly affirm, that the order did not want these exhortations from the pontiff to induce it to put to sea these armaments : for the knights, agreeable to the spirit of their institution, and out of gratitude for the favours they had received from Charles V. were always ready to furnish him with the most powerful succours, whenever war was to be made against the infidels. There were few engagements, as will be seen in the sequel, either in Asia or Africa, wherein the standards of St. John were not seen waving in the emperor's army.

AUGUST the 8th, this squadron join'd the emperor's fleet commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi. That of the Turks, consisting of 70 sail, was at that time in the gulph of Larta, or de la Prevesa. Doria, in his course, met with 60 Venetian gallies near Zante ; when he proposed to Vincent Cappello,

pello, a noble Venetian, who was general of them, the joining of their fleets, after which they should force Gallipoli, and carry their arms as far as Constantinople, which they would find drain'd of its ordinary garrison; Solyman, he said, having drawn it from thence to reinforce the army which he commanded in person upon the frontiers of Hungary. But the Venetians, who were so very careful not to give any umbrage to the Turks, that they often suffered themselves to be insulted, without daring so much as to resent it, excused themselves from sharing in this enterprize, by saying, that they had promised the grand seignior to be neuter in this war. The Christian fleet being at that time between the island of Sapienza and Modon, they proposed the besieging of the latter. The prior of Rome and the knights declared themselves for that opinion, who would have been very glad to attempt by open force, the conquest of a place which they had failed to surprize the year before. But the soldiers, who had little else for their pay but what they might get by plunder, discovered the utmost reluctance for that enterprize; and did not scruple to say, and that publickly enough, that they would not expose their lives in attacking so strong a place which the knights had glean'd so thoroughly the year before that they had left nothing to indemnify the victorious for all their toil. The council of war thought themselves obliged to wink at discourses which they would have punished, had the soldiers been duly paid; and thereupon resolv'd upon the siege of Coron, a place, whose fortifications were much weaker than those of Modon, and which was not above twelve miles distant from it by land.

CORON, or Corona, the antient *Chæronea*, the country of Plutarch, that great philosopher, and celebrated historian, is situated to the left of cape Gallo, and is in the shape of a scalene triangle, or that whose sides are unequal: one of the angles looks towards a craggy rock; the other two are seen from the gulph of Coron, which servés almost as a port to the tower; but these angles are not washed by the waves, and one may easily,



ly, by coasting along them, go round this fortress; which was surrounded with a wall built after the antique fashion, of no great strength, but flanked with six towers of antient structure.

DORIA having taken a view of its situation, landed his troops, after which he brought up his galleys, and placed them behind his high built ships, and particularly the great carrack of the order, which, firing over the galleys, beat down most of the fortifications of the place. All the artillery of those ships, and two batteries which they had raised on shore, having made a wide breach, the count of Sarno, and Mendoza colonel of a Spanish regiment, were commanded to attempt a storm, which they accordingly did with the utmost bravery; nor did they meet with less courage in the Turks, who killed three hundred of their soldiers, with several officers, and wounded a much greater number. The priors of Rome and of Auvergne, who advanced to their succour, took their places; they were both come from on board the great carrack, at the head of two hundred knights, and five hundred soldiers in the order's pay. This second assault was full as bloody as the first. Unhappily for the besiegers, their ladders were too short for the height of the walls, so that the knights were forced, in order to gain the top of the breach, to catch hold of the wall, and to climb it by main strength of their hands and feet.

IN this disadvantageous situation, they found themselves exposed to the fire of the small arms, and annoyed by the cross-bows; nor were stones, fire-works, and scalding oil spared on this occasion. Great numbers of them lost their lives by these different weapons; but as they had all taken a resolution of being cut to pieces at the foot of the walls, rather than give over the storm, they, after having called upon the name of St. John, which was their watch-word, pushed forward with so much fury, and crowded so fast one upon another, that they at last lifted up the foremost to the top of the breach, when they made themselves masters of it, and planted the great standard of the order upon it.

The

The armies, both of sea and land, shouted for joy at the sight of this signal of victory. These acclamations made the besieged believe that the Christians were masters of the place; upon which, such of the inhabitants as were still intrenched in different parts of the city, and the garrison of the castle, set up a white flag, which was soon followed by a capitulation. The native Turks and their houses were spared, but those of the Jews were abandoned to the soldiers. Doria, after this, went and besieged Patras, which he took; at the same time that the galleys of the order made themselves masters of the castle of Ardinel, and other forts situated along the coast, which made but very little resistance. After this expedition, as the winter was drawing near, the different squadrons, of which the Christian fleet was composed, separated, and retired into their respective ports.

THE year following, the Turks, who did not care to be losers, made a powerful armament to recover Coron; and as soon as the season permitted them to keep the sea, a famous corsair, named the Moor, by Solyman's order, blocked up that place with four great galleys, at the same time that another Turkish general besieged it by land.

DORIA was no sooner informed of their designs, but he immediately put to sea, and was reinforced by the pope's galleys, and those of the order, commanded by the prior of Rome. The Christian fleet advanced in good order against the infidels; the soldiers called out aloud for battle, but Doria, who had as much bravery as experience, whether it were from prudential motives, or in order to perpetuate himself in the command, ever avoided coming to a decisive battle; and used to say frequently, that he never loved to be in those engagements wherein fortune had a greater share than the conduct of the general. All he designed was to throw succours into the place, and afterwards retire: in this view, he placed the great carrack of Malta at the head of his fleet, from whence, as from a fort and a citadel, he mauled the Turks prodigiously. He then  
gave

gave orders to the captains under his immediate command, to take their advantage, during the fire and smoke of the cannon, to run several barks full of soldiers and ammunition into the place. This design was so ill executed, that these small vessels were suddenly surrounded with the Turkish gallies. Upon this the Christians are seized with a panic; some throw themselves into the main body of the army; others, who were got ashore, imagined they should more easily avoid the fury of the infidels, by throwing themselves into their boats; but they crowded in such great numbers, and with such great precipitation, that they sunk to the bottom, and thus hastened their death by endeavouring to fly from it.

THE Turks being thus masters of part of the convoy, fell afterwards upon the great ships. The combat was now become general; gallies attacked gallies, and ships engage with ships. Doria on one side, and the prior of Rome on the other, come to the assistance of such as were most briskly attacked; their presence inspires the soldiers with fresh courage, and restores order in the fleet. Fortune soon shifts sides; the Christians recover their small vessels, take several from the Turks; and moreover, those infidels having thrown themselves sword in hand into a ship belonging to the order, and being already masters of the upper deck, another Maltese ship comes up, which disengages that belonging to the order, and makes the assailants prisoners, whom they load with the very chains which they had designed for those knights.

IN fine, this great croud of masts begins to thin by degrees; the great noise is less stunning, by the death of some, and the flight of others. The victorious Doria throws provisions into Coron, sets sail again, pursues the infidels, and seeks for fresh opportunities to immortalize his name.

THE squadron of the order being recalled by the grand master, separates from the body of the Christian fleet, and returns into the ports; Malta, Tripoli, the coasts of Naples and Sicily being equally threatened by

Barbarossa, captain of the corsairs of Barbary, who, with 82 gallies, scoured those seas, and carried terror and dread into all those places, without any one's being able to know where the storm would fall. As the old city of Malta was but poorly fortified; and the town, where the convent resided, was commanded from several places; and as the castle of St. Angelo was the only place it could retire to; the council was of opinion, that they should leave only three hundred knights to defend it; that the grand master should retire into Sicily, and transport thither the convent, the relicks, the church ornaments, and the records and treasures of the order. But this generous old man bravely rejected this advice, with saying, "I have never yet fled from the enemies of the cross, and the world shall never see me set so bad an example to all my religious, only for the sake of preserving the remains of a languishing life." Upon which he immediately sent an hundred knights, with some companies of foot, into that tower, which went by the name of the Notable city; and raised, as quick as possible, and as well as the time would allow, several advanced works to the tower of the town. All the inhabitants of the island, by the grand master's orders, took up arms; and that the relicks and records of the order might be out of danger, he sent them over into Sicily, where that precious charge was preserved with the greatest care. After having thus taken all these prudent measures, he waited the arrival of the Barbarians with the utmost resolution; but their general took another course; he returned to Africa, where he made some attempts, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

THE grand master, who attended as much to the preservation of strict discipline, as to the defence of the state, took the advantage of summoning a general chapter, during this interval, which the infidels allowed him. Since the loss of Rhodes, and during the space of eight years, that the order, without having any settled habitation, had wandered up and down in different places, several abuses had crept into the order, which he

he thought fit to remedy. The knights, at their first arrival at Malta, had made shift with taking up their abodes in separate houses, in different quarters of the town, and other places in the island, in opposition to the custom of the order, and what had been observed at Rhodes, where there was one quarter of the city called Collachio, which was inhabited by the knights only, none of the laity being allowed to dwell there. The grand master, in concert with the chapter, restored so prudent a regulation in Malta; so that all the knights were obliged to have their dwellings near his, and under the eye as it were of so exact and vigilant a superior. 'Twas from the same spirit of religion, that they forbid the wearing of too pompous habits, so opposite to that modesty and simplicity which shines with so much lustre in a religious; and so far did they carry the severity of this regulation against every thing that had the least air of a vain and ostentatious distinction, as to forbid all such commanders as were grand crosses to wear it out of Malta; and they were not allowed to adorn themselves with it, but on that day only when they set out from their respective countries and commanderies, to return to the capital of the order.

FROM these particular regulations they proceeded to the most important affairs of government. The chapter in a body had the treaty made with the emperor, relating to the establishment of the order in the island of Malta, represented to them, and confirmed it by a solemn act. They admit the appeals from the common council to a full council, that is to say, into which they admitted, besides the great crosses, two of the most antient knights of each language; but it was agreed, that the appeal from this last council should have no suspensive effect, and that the sentences, which should be pronounced from this tribunal, should be executed but by patent only, notwithstanding the appeal to the general chapter.

As the order was engaged in very great expences; as it maintained six or seven gallies, without reckoning the high built ships and brigantines; as it kept for-



ces in the islands of Malta, of Goza and Tripoli in its pay; as they were obliged to support the people who were come with them from Rhodes, and to build a city and an infirmary; the chapter thought proper to augment the responsions upon the commanderies of the order: and they besought the grand master, whom they knew to be entirely disinterested, to continue the care he took of the administration of the revenue.

THE chapter ended with this last regulation, the assembly of which would have been very advantageous to the order, had not a disorder broke out towards the conclusion of it, or a little after, in which some of the languages, engaging themselves, came to blows, and raised a tumult and a scandal, which gave the highest uneasiness to the grand master, and to the whole body of the order.

The subject of this quarrel arose from a private dispute which happened between a Florentine gentleman, a layman, one of the prior of Rome's domestics, and a young French knight, nephew to the commander Servier, of the language of Provence. They fought, and the French knight was slain. The uncle of the deceased, who pretended that the Florentine had used foul play in the duel, put himself at the head of his friends, and went in search of him; when having met him, attended in like manner with some other gentlemen of the prior's dependents, they fell upon them, wounded several, and obliged them to fly for their lives, and take sanctuary in the palace of their patron.

THIS nobleman, who was immensely rich, a kinsman, and, as others say, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies, and those of the order, had no less than threescore persons, who were either lay-gentlemen or Italian knights, in his service. These immediately armed themselves, and rushed out to revenge their countryman; and without making any distinction between the languages of France, fell with the utmost fury upon all such Frenchmen as they met: they killed some, wounded several others, and raised a private quarrel to an open and declared war between the two

nations. The knights of the languages of Auvergne, and of France, surpris'd and enraged at such an insult, joined themselves to those of Provence. The whole nation met, and united themselves at the house of the chevalier de Bleville, in order to take vengeance for that outrage. But the assembly, before they carried their resentments to a greater height, sent deputies to the grand master to sue for justice from his hands. Accordingly the grand master informed the prior of Rome of their complaints, and ordered him at the same time to punish the guilty.

SALVIATI, proud of his being related to the reigning pontiff, and who looked upon himself as another grand master, contented himself with putting the most criminal of his gentlemen under an arrest on board his admiral galley, and sent word to the injured languages to acquaint them that he would do them justice, after he had enquired into the affair, thinking this sufficient satisfaction. This haughty manner of proceeding, so opposite to the genius of so noble a republic, the several members of which, thought themselves upon the same level, raised again the resentments of the French knights. The prior's answer appeared to them to be no more than a mere sham, and purposely calculated to elude their just complaints; and they did not so much consider the seizing of the criminals as a confinement, as a means which that prior made use of to screen them from the authority of the laws, the jurisdiction of the council, and the judges of the order. Inasmuch, that without consulting either themselves, the order, or the duties of true religious, they rush out well armed, throw themselves into the prior's galley, make themselves masters of it, and, in their fury and resentment, stab four of such of the prior's gentlemen who were under an arrest, who had either killed or wounded their companions; and proud of the shameful honour of a revenge, so unworthy of their profession, they, after this bloody execution, come from on board the admiral galley, as it were in triumph, and retire to their respective inns.

THE prior, exasperated at the massacre of his gentlemen, calls all the knights of the language of Italy about him, and by his emissaries, gains over to his interest the two languages of Spain, viz. Arragon and Castile, who declare in his favour, and come armed to his assistance. The French, who were still in a body, hearing of this confederacy, issue out afresh from their inns, and advance up to the prior's house in search of their enemies; these ply them with their musket-shot, and were answered by as brisk a fire. A disorder like this had never happened in the order ever since its foundation; there was a dreadful tumult in that quarter of the city; in vain the grand master ordered them to retire; no command was obeyed; no obedience was shewn; discord reigned in each quarter of the city; each party obeyed no orders, but such as fury, or the transports of a mad passion, inspired. They continued to fire on all sides; and the prior having sent for some pieces of artillery from on board his galleys, the French on their side brought a cannon, which they levelled against his palace gate, in order to beat it to pieces: and night, which was coming on, heightned the disorder and confusion. The grand master, vexed to the soul to see his knights fighting against one another, was for going out, and trying whether his presence might not have the power to check the mutineers. But the council, fearing lest this venerable old man, in the darkness of the night, and in the midst of so dreadful a tumult, should happen to be wounded, conjured him to keep in his palace, and sent in his stead, and at the head of the garrison of the castle, the bailiff of Manosque, an antient knight, who was revered by both parties, and that more for his wisdom than his dignity. This nobleman, artfully intermixing just reproaches with the softest and most engaging expressions, brought both parties to hear him; after which, he obliged them both to lay down their arms. They all now dispersed severally; the night calmed their fury and animosity; and shame and repentance rose with the dawn: But the grand master did not think proper to suffer the

authors of a tumult, that gave so ill a precedent, to go unpunished; accordingly he deprived twelve of the habit; and, if Bosio is to be credited, they threw into the sea some of the most headstrong and stubborn, who refused to own their crime, and were capable at the same time of perpetrating fresh ones, and renewing the sedition.

How just soever this chastisement might be, the grand master was as much concerned at the punishment he had been obliged to inflict, as at the crime. This threw him into a fit of sickness, when he bewailed himself, as of the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen him, for having survived the loss of Rhodes, only to be a melancholy witness of the violence and rebellion of his religious. The fear of worse still to come, the pride and haughtiness of his knights, disguised under the name of courage; and the luxury and effeminacy of others, the unhappy fruits of the most criminal passions, which, in spite of his example, and the severity of his discipline, had already crept into the order: all these several circumstances united, threw this great man into a deep melancholy; he now only languished away the poor remains of life; and the melancholy news he continually received from England, the consequences of which he foresaw would be fatal to the order, brought him insensibly to his grave.

HENRY VIII. as was already observed in the 9th book, was then reigning in that island. This  
 1534. prince had married Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur prince of Wales, having obtained a dispensation from pope Julius II. to that purpose, and had now lived eighteen years with the queen his wife, in the sweetest union and most perfect harmony; when an inordinate passion for a young English lady, raised some scruples in his mind with respect to the validity of his marriage; and as if, in the midst of the transports of his passion, his conscience had been touched, he at last made use of it as a handle to justify his divorce with the queen.

THIS

THIS princess, who had very few charms, and the too dangerous ones of Anna Bullen, easily persuaded him that his dispensation was not valid; he was a king, and, as such, did not want either servile courtiers, or mercenary learned men, who flattered him in his error.

THE affair was carried to Rome, and at the pope's tribunal; the steady refusal of Clement VII. to approve the pretences for his divorce, made this imperious and passionate prince rebel against the authority of the holy see. As he found he should never obtain the favour he so earnestly sued for, he resolved to do without it, and he imagined that he should soonest effect it by abolishing the authority of the pontiffs in his dominions. He went farther; for, in concert with the parliament, which he had cunningly made a party in this affair, he invested himself with that spiritual power, and was not ashamed to make himself be declared the supreme head of the church of England by act of parliament, to free himself from the obligation of submitting to the judgment of the visible head of the universal church, which refused to disunite what God had joined together.

HENRY, once so wise and understanding a prince, but now hurried away by the transports of his passion, persecuted with the utmost cruelty all such of his subjects as refused to adore the vain phantom of his supremacy. Prelates, ecclesiastics, religious, laymen, all lost their lives for refusing to subscribe to the double divorce he had just made with the catholic church, and Catherine of Arragon his lawful wife. The crime of high treason, which, under evil princes, is often the crime of the innocent, supplied all those pretences which were wanting to bring them to destruction. The parliament, which Henry had artfully prevailed upon to be the minister of his passions, proscribed the illustrious Pool, a man more distinguished by his piety and his profound erudition, than by his royal extraction, which he drew from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.



THE king of England had eagerly sought his approbation, and would fain have obliged him to write in favour of his errors; but he was not to be moved either by the promises or menaces of this prince: he represented to him with the greatest steadiness and intrepidity, the injustice of his new pretensions. This prince, who would fain have had the reputation of being a lover of truth, and the satisfaction of never hearing it, could not pardon him this liberty. Pool, that he might not be exposed to his resentments, withdrew to Rome, when the pope took him under his protection, and honoured the sacred college, by raising him to the dignity of a cardinal.

HENRY imputed this eminent title to him as a crime; he set a price upon his head; and it is pretended that he would infallibly have been assassinated by certain banditti, whom the king of England had hired for that purpose, had not the pope, who revered the shining qualities of the English cardinal, given him guards to prevent any such attempt. Pool's disgrace was fatal to his whole house: Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, his mother; Henry Pool, lord Montacute his brother; Henry Courtney, marquis of Exeter, his cousin, being accused of holding a correspondence with the new cardinal, lost their lives upon a scaffold. The king, ever extreme in his revenge, made young Courtney, who was son to Henry, feel the effects of it. He indeed, was ashamed to put a young child to death; but then he threw him into the tower, where he buried him in prison, for fear he should one day attempt to revenge his father's death.

In the midst of all these executions, the protestants, though they disowned the authority of the see of Rome, did not meet with a better treatment. Henry, who was an enemy to every kind of novelty that was not of his own creation, from an unparalleled and whimsical kind of cruelty, burnt all such heretics, and hanged all such catholics, as dared to adhere publicly to the holy see. The major part of the courtiers, being doubtful of the prince's religion, had none themselves

selfes but his will. Both catholics, as well as protestants, concealed their religion as a crime; so that nothing but a rebellion against the see of Rome could be openly discovered with impunity. This was the idol of the court, and the only means of maintaining one's self in it. The king, to revenge himself upon the religious, who persevered in the obedience that was due to the holy see, gave up their possessions as a prey to his courtiers: but these very possessions, which had been so very unjustly acquired, plunged them insensibly from Schism into heresy. Many, in the reign of Edward his son, in order to obviate the making of so necessary a restitution, embraced the opinions of Luther and Calvin; and at last the most useful opinion appeared to them the truest and most genuine.

THE commanders and knights of Malta, devoted in a particular manner to the see of Rome, and who acknowledged the pope to be their first superior, were not exempt from this persecution. But as this order, being partly composed of the prime nobility, was powerful in the kingdom, and that the prior of St. John of London had even a seat in parliament, in quality of first baron of England, he suspended the proscribing of them, and the entire suppression of the order, till such time as he had got it authorized, which he afterwards did by act of parliament. In the meantime, there was scarce one indirect persecution but he made them suffer, the greatest part of them being arrested upon various pretences, or at least they seized upon the revenues of their commanderies. Such as could escape the malice and cruelty of his ministers, and who foresaw the fatal consequences of the schism, abandoned all their possessions, and withdrew to Malta, where they came without any certain fund for their subsistence. The grand master, like a good father, supplied all their wants with the most extensive charity, and endeavoured to administer consolation to them, of which he himself stood in as great need. A Christian king's thus persecuting an order, which had deserved so well of all Christendom, compleated the measure

measure of that series of misfortunes he had laboured under during his grand mastership. Being no longer able to bear up under them, he fell sick, when a violent fever soon consumed the little remains of life he had left; and accordingly he expired in the arms of his knights, who were so dear to him, on Aug. 21. the 21<sup>st</sup> of August. Thus died a prince 1534. so highly deserving for his uncommon bravery, for his heroic constancy, and for the wisdom and mildness of his government; virtues which he possessed in a most eminent degree, and which they afterwards endeavoured to represent by these few words, which were engraven on his monument:

HERE LIES VIRTUE  
VICTORIOUS OVER FORTUNE.

**BROTHER PETER DU PONT**, of an illustrious house of the county of Ast, descended of the antient lords of Lombriac, and of Casal-Gros in Piedmont, and bailiff of Santa Euphemia in Calabria, succeeded Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. He was at that time in his bailiwick; and his merit and virtues were his only recommendation. He was an ancient knight,<sup>a</sup> of very grave and severe morals, a strict observer of regular discipline; and his election is a manifest proof, that if, through the calamity of the times, the statutes might have been executed with less exactness than formerly, yet nevertheless in affairs of moment, and particularly in the election of grand masters, all the knights at that time consulted only their conscience, and that merit only carried all their voices.

**THOMAS BOSIO**, the bishop of Malta elect, was sent by the council to the grand master, to carry him the instrument of his election. No sooner was the news brought to him, but he burst into tears, and would willingly have been excused from accepting so great a dignity;

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, l. 7.

dignity; but an unhappy piece of news, which he received by a fresh express, determined him at once, and hastened his departure. They had since dispatched the chevalier Gesvalle, to give him advice of the revolutions that had just happened in Africa, and in the kingdom of Tunis, which Barbarossa had just seized upon, and that this formidable corsair threatened Tripoli with a siege. The new grand master went immediately on board, and came to Malta the 10th of November. His first cares were to send a powerful succour to Tripoli; but although they should have transported thither all the forces of the order, how brave and intrepid soever the knights might be, they would not have been capable, with four or five gallies only, to make head against Barbarossa, who was master of two such powerful states as Algiers and Tunis, and who moreover, in quality of Basha of the sea, and grand admiral of Solyman, had an hundred gallies, and upwards of two hundred vessels of different bulk under his command. He was brother to Horruc, or Horace Barbarossa, both of them famous for their bravery and fortune.

THESE two corsairs,<sup>a</sup> though both born among the dregs of the people in the city of Mitylene, were not nevertheless of an obscure birth. From their youth, and as soon as they were able to bear arms, they gave some marks of their courage and ambition, in scouring together the seas, with only a single brigantine, which was all their fortune.

AN intrepid bravery, a happy success in their attempts, and a number of considerable prizes, increased their reputation and strength. They either bought, or got ships and gallies built, made up a little fleet, and gained over other pirates to their standards, who acknowledged them for their leaders and generals. Neither ambition nor riches could disunite the two brothers: Horruc, who was the elder, had indeed the principal command, but Airadin had as much authority in his absence; they were equally brave, equally cruel, resolute corsairs, and called themselves friends  
of

<sup>a</sup> Bospho, l. 6.

of the sea, and enemies to all those who sailed on that element; they fell upon Muslims and Christians, without distinction; and by carrying on the trade of thieves and corsairs, learned insensibly that of conquerors.

THERE was now nothing wanting to complete their fortune, but their being masters of a port, to carry their prizes into; when the war that broke out between Selim Eutemi, prince of Algiers, and his brother, gave them an opportunity of gratifying themselves in what they wanted, by declaring for one of those princes, and afterwards crushing both. For Horrué being received in Algiers, in quality of an ally, made himself master of it; when getting Eutemi strangled, who had called him to his assistance, his troops proclaimed him king of Algiers; and, in order to establish his conquest by a powerful protection, he paid homage for it to Solymán, emperor of the Turks, and made himself tributary to him. He afterwards took the cities of Circella and Bugia, won the kingdom of Tremezen, of which Algiers had formerly been a part; and gained several advantages over the Spaniards, who had undertaken the defence of the king of Tremezen their vassal. But as the fate of arms is doubtful and uncertain, he was besieged in the capital of his kingdom; when, after a stubborn defence, the artillery of the Spaniards having reduced the fortifications of that place to ashes, being unable to hold out any longer, or resolve with himself to capitulate, he endeavoured to escape with his treasures by a subterraneous passage, that ran as far as the plains. The marquis of Gomara, governor of Oran, who commanded at the siege, having notice of his flight, pursued him very close.

BARBAROSSA, in order to retard the pursuit of the Spaniards, and to gain time to reach the deserts, scattered at certain distances as he fled, gold, silver, and rich stuffs. But nothing was able to suspend the pursuit of the Christians, who fell upon him at the brink of the river Huexda, so that he was now obliged to fight: Barbarossa stood his ground; the despair he  
was



was in of escaping out of the hands of his enemies, heightned his courage, and the sight of inevitable danger banished all fear from his breast. He rushes with fury into the midst of the Christians, and kills several officers with his own hand; but after all, as the odds were very great, the greater number prevailed; and Barbarossa being surrounded on all sides, fell with 1500 men, who had accompanied him in his retreat, who were all cut to pieces. His brother Airadin, with the name of Barbarossa, took upon himself the title of king of Algiers, and afterwards associated with two famous pirates, who were his lieutenants. The one of them named Airadin, a native of Caramania, and who, for his fury and cruelty, was called *Devil-driver*; the other corsair, a renegado Jew of Smyrna, was known by the name of *Sinan*. These three corsairs were the terror of all the Christian coasts, and subjected as it were the Mediterranean under their empire. *Devil-driver*, not contented with the prizes he daily made at sea, was desirous, after the example of Barbarossa, and perhaps to withdraw himself from his authority, to settle himself in an independent state. Accordingly he surpris'd Tagiora, of which mention has been made in the beginning of this book, made himself master of it, advanced with his squadron into the port, and had the vanity to get himself to be proclaimed king.

BUT in order to appear to the world still associated with Barbarossa,<sup>a</sup> at the same time that he gave him notice of his new conquest, he paid 1532. homage to him for it, and protested that he would ever adhere inviolably to his interests. Barbarossa, though offended with the ambition of his lieutenant, nevertheless thought it the wisest part, to dissemble an injury which he could not revenge without weakening himself. He therefore received Airadin's homage, congratulated him upon his conquest, and finding every thing was secure with respect to Algiers, Airadin made inroads into the territory of Tripoli.

A

<sup>a</sup> Eosio, l. 6.

A war now broke out between the knights and this new prince. He took from them two brigantines belonging to the order; he obliged those of Gienzor, his neighbours, to break the alliance and the treaty which they had made with Tripoli; and to keep the knights invested as it were in that place, he, in spite of all their opposition, raised, at the distance of a cannon shot, a tower or castle, since called the tower of Alcaide, where nothing could come in or go out of the port of Tripoli but it was immediately discovered.

MULEY HASCEN, a Moorish prince, king of Tunis, who dreaded the ambition and neighbourhood of the Turk, made a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli against him, and resolved to drive this corsair from his new conquest before he could have time to strengthen himself in it.<sup>a</sup> In this view, he raised a considerable body of forces, most of whom were Arabian peasants; and the knights furnishing him with a train of artillery, he besieged Tagiora. But whether it was owing to the valour and bravery of Airadin, or the unskilfulness of Hascen's generals, that prince was obliged to raise the siege, and to employ afterwards in his own defence those very forces which he had raised only to attack his enemies.

HASCEN,<sup>b</sup> of whom mention is now made, was son to Muley Mahomet, who had thirty four  
1531. children by several wives. Although Muley was the last, as is pretended, or at least one of the youngest, his mother, who was probably the favourite sultanness, had so great an ascendant over Mahomet, as to obtain a declaration from him in favour of her son, by which he appointed him his successor. This ambitious woman, to prevent him changing his resolution, got him immediately poisoned. This crime was the first step by which Hascen ascended to the throne; and in order to maintain himself in it, he either murdered or put out the eyes of the greatest part of his brothers or nephews. Arafchid, who was one of the eldest of his brothers, escaped him: this  
prince

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, l. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Bosio, l. 5.

prince fled to Algiers for refuge, and implored the protection of Barbarossa the corsair; who hoping to make an advantage of their divisions, gave him a favourable reception: He even promised him a powerful succour, but at the same time gave him to understand, that as he was the grand seignior's officer as well as vassal, he could not engage in that enterprise without his leave; but that if he would agree to go with him to Constantinople, he did not doubt but that that great prince and the whole Divan would approve of a war so just in itself, and the several advantages of which, as well as the ease with which it might be carried on, he promised to represent to his highness.

THE Moorish prince, who was now at his last shifts, gave himself entirely up to his counsels. Barbarossa, who had his private views, carried him to Constantinople; where being arrived, the perfidious corsair, in a secret audience which he obtain'd of the grand seignior, represented to him, that it would be an easy matter for him, by the help of the party, and the intelligence which Araschid held in Tunis, to seize upon that city and the whole kingdom, and to annex it afterwards to his empire. Solyman, greedy of glory, and to extend the bounds of his empire, was pleased with his reasons. Accordingly he issued out orders for the fitting out an extraordinary armament in all his ports; so that it was not long before they put to sea ninety galleys, and upwards of two hundred vessels laden with ammunition and land forces. The grand seignior shewed Araschid the utmost kindness, who, at the sight of so formidable an army, flattered himself that he should re-enter Tunis, as it were in triumph. But when they were just going to embark, Solyman had him arrested in the seraglio; and the whole was executed with so much secrecy, that when they set sail, the whole fleet imagined, that this unfortunate prince was on board the admiral, and in the general's galley.

This corsair had no sooner set sail from Constantinople, but the better to conceal his design from the

king of Tunis, he stood for the coast of Italy, ravaged the coasts of Apulia and Calabria, spread the terror of his arms in Naples and Gayeta; and after having ransack'd the towns and villages, made slaves of a numberless multitude of the inhabitants, and left the most dreadful marks of his fury in all places, he went through the Pharo of Messina, made the same cruel havoc along the coasts of Sicily, drew near to cape Passaro, as if he had intended to make a descent there, and afterwards turn'd short towards Africa; when he landed near Goletta, and gave out that he brought back Araschid. Then, in order to procure the favour of the garrison of the fort, he saluted it with a discharge of his artillery, but without ball; and having sent an officer into the place, to demand of the governor for whom he held it; "We are (reply'd the aga) the servants of events; and we shall keep the place for that party in whose favour fortune shall declare herself, and for that prince, of the several competitors, whom she shall make king of Tunis."

BARBAROSSA, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, it being the key of the kingdom, dispatched a messenger to represent to him, that the grand seignior had sent him to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Tunis; that he had orders to attack and cut to pieces all such as should oppose him in it: that he might satisfy himself with his own eyes how formidable that prince was, and whether he was able to make head against it. The person who was entrusted with this negotiation, managed it so artfully, and knew so well how to intermix promises with his threats, that the governor, perhaps bribed also by considerable sums of money, delivered up the place to the corsair, who, leaving a strong garrison in it, advanced up into the ports of Tunis. This city, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, is situated on the coast of Barbary to the North of Africa, between Tripoli and Algiers, at the point of the gulph of Goletta, and two miles from the Mediterranean, from whence one might discover the ruins of the famous Carthage.

THE city of Tunis was said to have consisted at that time of upwards of twenty thousand houses, and was peopled in proportion; but then it was barely walled, without any fortifications: and as it was commanded from several places on the west side, its whole strength lay only in the castle, and the number of its inhabitants.

UPON the approach of Barbarossa's army, and the reports they spread of prince Arafchid's being at the head of the Turks, the people, who are ever greedy, and often ruined by the change of masters, rose and took up arms. Hascen, who was afraid they would abandon him, came out of the castle, endeavoured to quell the sedition, and reminded the mutineers of the fidelity which they had sworn to him; and in order to draw them over to him, stooped so low as to make even the most grovelling intreaties. But whether it were from an abhorrence of his government, or out of compassion for Arafchid, because he was unhappy, the people rejected with loud cries, and even contempt, all the remonstrances and intreaties the king could make; so that this prince, fearing they should attempt to murder him, or deliver him up to his enemy, immediately left the city, without so much as once going back into the castle, or carrying off his treasures with him.

MARMOL<sup>a</sup>, in his description of Africa, relates, that that prince had owned to him, that in the great confusion, the approach of his enemies, and the revolt of his subjects, had thrown him into, he, when he went down from the castle into the city, had forgot a red velvet purse, wherein were two hundred diamonds of an extraordinary size, and of an inestimable value.

HE had no sooner left Tunis, but the inhabitants opened the gates to his enemies; when immediately Barbarossa entered into it at the head of nine thousand Turks, and made himself master of the castle and the principal posts of the city. The inhabitants received him at first with the highest testimonies of joy;

<sup>a</sup> History of the kingdom of Tunis,



but when they saw Araschid did not appear, they began to mistrust the corsair, notwithstanding his telling them that he was confined on board his galley by sickness : and the fraud being at last discovered, the inhabitants, instead of taking an oath of fidelity to Solymán, as he required they should do, openly detesting the corsair's treachery, took up arms, and fell upon his troops in order to force him to quit the city. But they had to deal with a captain, who, being a perfect master of the arts of war, had foreseen this revolution. Barbarossa, to keep in the people, commanded the artillery of the castle, of which he was master, to be set a roaring ; and his soldiers made so furious a discharge of their muskets upon the inhabitants, that they, in order to put a stop to the massacre, were forced to acknowledge the grand seignior for their sovereign, and Barbarossa for his viceroy.

THIS corsair, as skilful as he was valiant, after having employed his arms with so much success to keep the people in subjection, endeavoured to gain over the principal inhabitants by gentleness, and the most engaging affability. He, by their means, made an alliance with the Arabian peasants, seized upon most of the cities that were higher up in the country, put garrisons into them ; and, being about to widen a canal to make Tunis a port, and to put it in a condition to receive ships of the greatest burthen, he employed the Christian slaves, of whom he had more than twenty thousand in the city, for that purpose, who opened the canal of Goletta, which runs from the sea into the lake on which the city of Tunis is situated.

SUCH was the state and condition of the coasts of Africa, and the provinces bordering upon Tripoli, when the grand master arrived at Malta. This prince justly considered, that it would be impossible for the knights to maintain themselves in Tripoli, without the assistance of forces, and a power superior to that of the order. Charles V. was the only sovereign in Europe, whom this enterprize would any way concern ; nor was any other able to oppose it. He had just reason to fear,

left

lest this formidable corsair, after so many conquests, should endeavour to seize upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards have given him the possession of Malta: So that the grand master, with the advice of the council, sent the commander Ponce of Leon, a grand cross, to the emperor, in quality of his ambassador, to solicit him to send such an army into Africa, as might be capable of maintaining the knights in Tripoli, and of putting a stop to the surprizing progress of Barbarossa.

THE emperor received at the same time, and upon the same subject, another embassy from Muley Hascen, at the head of which was a renegado Genoese, named Ximaa, who was the captain of his guards. This renegado, seeing his master dethroned, and without any hopes left of being able to recover his crown, advised him to have recourse to Charles V. a prince to whom, he said, Barbarossa was odious, and who would think it very honourable for him to restore a monarch to his kingdom, who had been so unjustly deprived of it.

HASCEN entrusted the execution of the project to him who was the author of it. Accordingly the Genoese went to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the emperor, who fearing lest some attempt should be made upon his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, gave a favourable hearing to both ambassadors. The affair was proposed in council, and after its being examined before the emperor, by his ministers and his 1535. most able generals, it was resolved<sup>a</sup> that the emperor should carry his arms into Africa, as well as to secure the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily against any invasion that the king of Algiers might make, as the passage of the Spanish seas into Italy where not so much as a trading or passage-vessel, thro' fear of the corsairs, durst appear, without running the risk of being taken.

CHARLES V. seemed to be well satisfied with this resolution; but before he employed force, this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who

<sup>a</sup> Bof. l. 7.

often drew greater advantages from his secret negotiations than his arms, endeavoured to bribe Barbarossa, and to draw him off from Solyman. Accordingly he entrusted another Genoese, Lewis Prefandes by name, with the whole management of this intrigue, whom the emperor furnishing privately with a trading-vessel, he went with it to Tunis, under pretence of traffick, carrying at the same time credentials, which invested him with the character of an ambassador. After having got himself introduced to Barbarossa upon another pretence, he shewed him his credentials, and pursuant to his instructions, proposèd to him the concluding of a private alliance with Charles V. and at the same time offerèd him, in the name of that prince, to assist him, in order to make him absolute monarch of all Africa, provided he would engage himself to hold afterwards so glorious a monarchy, and render it tributary to the crown of Spain. By a second instruction, directly opposite to the first, this agent had orders to confer as secretly as possible with certain inhabitants of Tunis, whose names had been given him, and whom Hascen's ambassadors had said to be inclined to favour his master's interest, to sound them, to assure them of the speedy return of that prince at the head of an army, and to exhort them to take up arms in his favour as soon as he should appear at the gates of their city.

But as this minister was for carrying on two negotiations of so different a nature at the same time, he was soon suspected. The whole intrigue was discovered; and Barbarossa, without regarding the right of nations, causèd the ambassador to be strangled. The emperor seeing it would be impossible for him to succeed by the way of negotiation, resolvèd to see what open force could do. Accordingly he sent back Hascen's ambassador to his master, to assure him, that he himself would go at the head of a powerful army, in order to restore him to his throne; and at the same time he writ to the grand master by an express, to give him notice of his design, and to invite the knights to associate with  
him

him in an enterprize, which might be of great advantage to them, with respect to Tripoli.

THE grand master no sooner receiv'd his letter but he communicated it to the council; when it was resolved, that the order should furnish as many ships for that expedition as it could possibly allow. Accordingly the knights put to sea four of the largest and best equipped galleys, with 18 brigantines, all well armed; not to mention the great carrack, which alone was more formidable, and did more service in this expedition, than a whole squadron. A considerable number of knights went on board these different ships, and each knight carried two brave soldiers along with him instead of servants. The commander Aurelio Botigella, an antient sea-officer, was named for general of this separate fleet, and Anthony de Grolée, titular bailiff of Lango, was to command the carrack and the land-forces.

BARBAROSSA, whom the designs of the Christian princes could not possibly escape, provided himself with arms, ammunition, and provisions, summoned all the corsairs of the Levant about him, drew from Algiers as many forces as were there, and dispatched several embassadors to all the petty kings of Africa, to implore their assistance, and to represent to them, that the loss of Tunis would infallibly draw after it that of all Barbary. His money did more service than the eloquence of his negotiators; and sending some considerable sums to be distributed among the chiefs of the Arabians, he by that means obtained from them 15000 men, all horsemen, who not valuing who they fought for, exposed their lives for a meer trifle, and made a mercenary trade of war. As for Charles V. he had got together a powerful fleet, consisting of near 300 sail, with 25000 infantry, and 2000 horse on board, not to mention a considerable number of volunteers of different nations, and of the first houses of Europe, who were desirous of signalizing themselves in the presence of so great an emperor.

THE

The general rendezvous was in the port of Cagliari, a city of Sardinia, not above sixty leagues distant from the coasts of Africa. The emperor having received the reinforcement of the pope, and the order of Malta, set out from thence on the 13th of June, 1536. and arrived happily at Porto-Farina, antiently called Utica, a city famous in the Roman history for the death of the younger Cato. 'Tis pretended, that Barbarossa, hearing that the emperor commanded his army in person, said to the officers who were about him; "If this prince, who has hitherto seldom made war but by his lieutenants, should acquire in this campaign the only honour that is now wanting to complete his glory, we must resolve with ourselves to lose that which we have acquired with the price of our blood."

THIS pirate, who naturally imagined that the Christians would begin their enterprize by attacking the fort of Goletta, had, for that reason, thrown into it 6000 of the bravest Turks in his whole army. These were commanded by Airadin and Sinan the Jew, the two famous corsairs above mentioned, and in whom Barbarossa had reposed the utmost confidence. He at the same time sent the eunuch Azanga, another of his generals, with 30,000 Moors or Arabians, but all of them bowmen or arquebusiers, and the most part on horse-back, in order to harass the Christians continually; and as he scrupled the fidelity of the Tunisiens, he shut himself up in that place with the flower of his troops.

THE emperor landed his army without opposition, within cannon-shot of the fort of Goletta: it was no more than a large square tower, but well-flanked, and situated about twelve miles from Tunis, at the mouth of the canal, by which the sea enters into the basin, on the side of which Tunis is built. This canal is about the length of a cross bow shot, but so narrow, that a galley can't pass thro' it but by strength of oars. Barbarossa had built a bridge over this canal; and on a neck of land that lies between the sea and the tower of Goletta, he raised a rampart that discovered all the coast,



coast, and defended those gallies which he had posted out of the canal.

THE emperor's generals pitched upon a spot of ground which they thought the most convenient for their encampment, and surrounded it with good lines, that were wide and deep, and strengthened at certain distances with redoubts. The garrison of Goletta, in order to interrupt these works, made frequent sallies, in which 300 Spaniards and 400 Italians were cut to pieces; at the same time that the Moorish and Arabian horse were continually harassing the Christian army, and came to skirmish to the very head of their camp. The fortifications of the camp being finished, they now began to raise batteries, both against the fort, and on that side towards the open country; the fire whereof was so dreadful, and at the same time without the least intermission, that the Turks of the garrison, as well as the Moors and Arabians who kept the field, did not dare to come near the emperor's camp again.

THIS prince, who justly supposed, that after the taking of this fortress, that of Tunis would fall of course, resolved, as soon as the breaches should be wide enough, to attempt a storm. They battered the place at the same time both by sea and land.

DORIA, who commanded the fleet, brought up his gallies by turns, and after one range had fired, another advanced in its place, and made its discharge. The great carrack of the order was posted as at the siege of Coron, behind all the gallies; but it was so high-built, that it easily fired over them all, and it made so dreadful and uninterrupted a fire, that it dismounted all the cannon of the tower. The commander Botigella, prior of Pisa, observing, that the chief officer over the slaves in the gallies of the order, for fear of running a-ground, had given orders to raise the oars out of the water, went to him sword in hand, and commanding him to make the crew ply their oars; "Wretch (says he to him) must we be prevented from performing a brave exploit, for the sake only of preserving the hulls of two or three gallies?" The chevalier de  
Conversa,

Conversa, an able engineer, distinguished himself by an action that was still more daring; for he armed a long bark with great guns, fill'd it with musketeers, and afterwards drove it up to the foot of the tower, from whence he fired upon all such Turks as presented themselves upon the breach; and, whilst he was charging again on one side, he dextrously turned his bark about, and presented the other, which immediately fir'd. By thus working of the ship, he killed a great number of the infidels, who fired upon him from the artillery of the tower that was just by, but without making any execution. In fine, after having fired continually on all sides from midnight to noon, the emperor, before the Turks had time to repair the breaches, and make intrenchments, commanded a general storm to be attempted. The knights agreeable to their prerogative, and the possession they enjoyed of being always at the head of the attacks, were commanded to march at the head of that which was to be given on the side towards the sea. The commander de Grolée, otherwise named the bailiff Passim, who commanded the land-forces, put them on board barks and flat vessels; but as they drew near the shore, these boats run upon a sand. The chevalier Copier, of the house of d'Hiers in Dauphine, who carried the standard of the order, was the first who leaped into the water with his ensign. He was followed by all the knights, who, plunging in above the waist, advanced boldly sword in hand, got to the shore, and, in spite of a shower of musket-shot, advanced to the storm. The Spaniards, sustained by the Italians and Germans, attacked another place; and in these different attacks, the Christians, in spite of the courageous defence of the Turks, forced the breaches, got to the bulwarks, and the top of the tower, and made themselves masters of it. But this victory cost the order many of its bravest knights, and scarce one of them returned back without wounds. As this tower had no outworks, they were immediately in the body of the place; and as the artillery had ruined all its

fortifica-

fortifications, the Christians, after having fought an hour, got possession of it.

AIRADIN and Sinan the Jew, seeing it would be in vain for them to resist, threw themselves into the basin, with the garrison. They marched along the flats by a way which had been marked out with stakes, and arrived at Tunis, while others stopped at Arradez, a little city in the road from Goletta to Tunis. The Christians pursued, and killed great numbers of them; and the emperor entered into Goletta, followed by king Hascen; when turning to that prince; July  
 “Here (says he to him) is the gate opened 1535.  
 “for you, thro’ which you will return into  
 “you dominions.” ’Tis pretended that they met in the port of this place with eighty seven gallies, galiots, and other rowing vessels, all of them armed; besides upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, most of them brass, a numberless multitude of muskets, cross-bows, pikes, and swords. Barbarossa had made this fort his arsenal, whither he used to carry all his prizes and his booty, and till now, had always thought it impregnable.

THE emperor, after having allowed his troops some time to repose themselves after their toil, gave orders for their marching towards Tunis. Notwithstanding that Barbarossa was very sensible of the weakness of the place, and moreover very doubtful of the fidelity of the Tunisiens, and more so of the bravery of the Arabians, nevertheless, as he was a man of prodigious courage, he resolved to attempt the fate of arms, to advance forwards to meet the Christians, and rather give them battle, than shut himself up in a place that was but weak. But before he took the field, he held a great council of war; when having summoned the chiefs of his army, as well Turks, Moors, as Arabians, he represented to them the small number of forces the emperor had in comparison of his; that the bravest of the Christians had lost their lives at the siege of Goletta; that the excessive heats of the country, to which the European soldiers were not accustomed, had thrown great numbers

ers of them into a sick and languishing condition ; that they were in want of water, inſomuch that the greateſt part of them died with thirſt. He added, that the emperor's camp abounded with immense riches ; that the ſums they would get for the rantom of the priſoners they ſhould make, would be full as conſiderable ; “ In fine (ſaid he to them) I promiſe you victory, if  
 “ you are deſirous of conquering ; and the defeat of  
 “ your enemies will ſecure you an abundant fortune,  
 “ your own ſafety, and that of your wives and child-  
 “ ren.”

THE answer they made him conſiſted only in proteſtations of an inviolable fidelity ; notwithstanding which, he yet diſcovered in moſt of their countenances, a certain air of inquietude and an impreſſion of fear, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs : and as moreover, he was well acquainted with the fickle and wavering temper of the Africans, he held during the night-time a ſecret council, compoſed only of ſuch Turks as adhered to his fate and fortune. He declared to them, that he was unhappily engaged in a place where he had three kinds of enemies, whom he had equally reaſon to diſtruſt ; that the Moors ſuffered impatiently the Turkiſh government, and would be glad to ſee them all cut to pieces ; that Arabians who were fitter to make inroads, than boldly to ſtand their ground in an engagement, would, at the ſight of the leaſt danger, immediately give way : and that there were actually twenty two thouſand Chriſtians ſlaves imprifoned in Tunis, who would not fail to facilitate the entry of emperor's forces, if they ſhould meet with an opportunity for that purpoſe : that notwithstanding their being ſhut up every night in the caſtle, yet it would be in the power of one traitor or renegado only, to open the gates of it, and render them maſters of the city, during the time they ſhould be engaged with the Chriſtians ; but that he, in order to rid himſelf of that uneaſineſs, was reſolved before he left that place, to cut all thoſe ſlaves to pieces, without ſparing ſo much as  
 one

one. *Devil-driver* gave aloud his approbation of so inhuman a resolution, and maintained, 1535. that if they spared the slaves<sup>a</sup>, they would make them one day repent of their false pity; and that in such a conjuncture, the preserving of an enemy, who might afterwards destroy them, would be acting in contradiction to all the maxims of policy. But Sinan the Jew, to whom part of these slaves belonged, and who made up the bulk of his possessions, opposed this resolution. He represented to Barbarossa, that so barbarous an action would draw upon them the odium of all nations; that he, by that means, would alienate the affections of the Tunisiens, who had either bought or taken the greatest part of those Christians; that he himself would lose the ransom of the most considerable, who were his property; that after all they might, whenever they pleased, find an opportunity of making use of so cruel a precaution; that they should reserve that execution, till such time as they should be brought to their last shifts; whereas, if they should happen to beat the emperor's forces, the loss they should sustain, by the over-hasty death of their slaves, would poison the joy that attends upon victory.

THO' Barbarossa had not used to prefer moderation to violence, yet avarice, on this occasion, got the better of his natural cruelty, and accordingly he consented to suspend the putting of the slaves to death; but in order not to be disappointed in satiating his vengeance upon them, in case he should be overcome, he loaded them with fresh irons, gave orders that they should not be suffered to stir out of the dungeon or prison where they were shut up, and lodged several barrels of powder under it, to blow it up into the air upon his orders. After this, he marched out at the head of his troops to meet the emperor, and encamped in a plain at a league's distance from Tunis, when both armies soon came up with one another. The Spanish historians, to heighten the glory of Charles V. pretend, that Barbarossa's army

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consisted

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, t. 5. l. 8.



consisted of no less than 90,000 men. The reader may judge whether this be fact, by the issue of the battle, if we may give this name to a rout, in which, by the confession of those very writers, the Christians lost but eighteen soldiers, and the infidels about 300. Be that as it will, the Arabians advanced at first to fight with intrepidity enough, and came on to the charge with great shouts. But no sooner had they heard the roaring of the artillery, and stood the first fire from the muskets, but these troops, which had been used to fight only in wheeling about, immediately gave way, took to their heels, and disappeared in an instant; and that which threw Barbarossa into the utmost consternation was, that they drew the Moors and Tunisians along with them in their flight, who flocked into the city, with greater eagerness than they had gone out of it. The Arabian chiefs, as a handle that might be of service to them in making their court to Hascen, afterwards boasted their having kept them in, and prevented their fighting. Barbarossa commanded a retreat to be sounded; and, after having rallied them, did not once reproach them, and only told them, that they should engage the Christians on the morrow.

BUT he was very far from having any such design. As he was surrounded on all sides with open or secret enemies; the only reason of his keeping up so many troops was in order to secure his retreat. He even concealed this resolution with the utmost care from the Turks, who appeared to be his most faithful friends; but the eagerness his people discovered to draw his treasures out of the castle, gave occasion to some suspicion; and the order he afterwards gave, to set fire to the powder that was lodged under the prison of the slaves, made them no longer doubt of his resolves: but the ordinary ministers of his cruelty had it not in their power to execute so horrid a scene of cruelty. There was at that time among the slaves<sup>a</sup>, a knight of the order, commander of Turin, brother Paul Simeoni by name, whom Barbarossa could never be prevailed upon to release,

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, l. 8. t. 3. p. 152.

lease, whatever ransom the order could offer. He has been already mentioned, when we spake of the island of Ero, which this knight, being but eighteen years old, defended with so much bravery against all the enterprizes and attacks of the infidels. Simeoni, in this last conjuncture, bribed two renegado's, who were the slaves goalers, who being furnished, by their assistance, with hammers and files. he knocked off his chains, and helped to break those of his companions<sup>a</sup>. They afterwards broke into the armory of the castle, armed themselves with every thing that first came to hand, cut to pieces all such of the Turkish soldiers as had remained in the castle, made themselves masters of it, and, after having barricaded the gates of it, and set a strong guard in the principal places, the knight, who was at the head of the enterprize, went up to the top of the castle, and displayed a white flag, to give the Christian army notice to come to their assistance. Barbarossa, being told that a great noise had been heard in the castle, ran thither, crying out, that they should open the gates to him; but was answered only by the fire of their musket-shot, and a shower of stones, which the slaves threw at him. Upon which he cried out, in the utmost transports of fury: "All is lost, since those dogs are masters of the castle and of my treasures." He then immediately ran out of the city with *Devil-driver*, and as many Turks as he could get together; and before the emperor could have notice of this revolution, he fled, and got to the city of Bon, built near the ancient Hippo<sup>b</sup>, a city famous for being the episcopal seat of St. Austin, one of the four first fathers of the church, and its oracle next to St. Paul, in all those things that relate to celestial grace.

SIMEONI, having notice of the flight of the corsairs, sent advice of it to the emperor, who immediately advanced forward: The first object that presented itself before him, at his entrance into that place, was this

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knight,

<sup>a</sup> Francisco de Medallino, and Vincent de Cattara Giassraga.

<sup>b</sup> Hormisd. Epist. ad Poff.

knight, at the head of 6000 of his companions in slavery. Charles V. embracing him, cried out, “ Brother knight, blessed be for ever your courageous resolution, which has made you break your chains, has facilitated my conquest, and heightened the glory of your order.” Simeoni, loaded with honour, went on board the galleys of Malta, where he saluted the general and his brethren. But the emperor’s forces and the slaves dispersed themselves up and down the city, where they committed the most unheard-of excesses of all kinds, that one would have thought the Christians had had a mind to go beyond the most barbarous nations in cruelty and lasciviousness. The unhappy inhabitants of both sexes suffered, in their persons, and in those who were dearest to them, racks, and various kinds of torture, to force them to discover their hidden treasures to their cruel conquerors; and when they had extorted all they could from them, they afterwards massacred them in cold blood. The young maidens were exposed to an infamy, still more odious and insupportable than the most cruel punishments; and when the soldier was weary with butchering, or glutting his brutish lust, without any respect to age, sex, or birth, he loaded with chains all such as fell into his hands. Young women of the greatest beauty were torn from the arms of their mothers; and the officers kept them as their own booty, to make them administer to their most infamous pleasures.

AMONG these unfortunate slaves<sup>a</sup>, was a young lady of exquisite beauty, of one of the noblest houses in the city, whose name was Aysa. She fell to the lot of a Spanish officer, who carried her into the camp, and put her in his tent. Muley Hascen meeting her tied, in a manner altogether unworthy her noble birth, being moved to compassion, and perhaps with a sensation of a stronger nature, stopped her, and offered to purchase her of her master. But the Moorish lady, who was naturally proud, overcome with rage and grief, spit in his face; and cried out at the same time, “ Be  
“ gone,

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, t. 3. l. 8.

“ gone, thou wicked and perfidious Hascen, who t<sup>o</sup>  
 “ recover a kingdom thou hadst no right to, hast scan-  
 “ dalously betrayed thy country and thy nation.” But  
 this prince, on whom all this usage could make no im-  
 pression, going on to offer the officer very considerable  
 sums for her ransom, Ayla, transported with fury, con-  
 tinued to cry out, “ Be gone, I tell thee, I will not  
 “ have a tyrant for my deliverer.”

WE are told, that above an hundred thousand per-  
 sons were either killed or made slaves ; many fell a  
 sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers ; others, who thought  
 to fly to the sands and the neighbouring deserts, were suf-  
 focated by the excessive heat of those burning climates,  
 and died of thirst ; and the number of prisoners, of both  
 sexes, was computed to be upwards of forty thousand.  
 The emperor being master of Tunis, restored Muley  
 Hascen to his throne, but upon condition that he should  
 hold it of the crown of Spain ; and as a pledge of his  
 fidelity, he kept the fort of Goletta in his own hands,  
 whose fortifications he repaired. By this treaty he ob-  
 liged the Moorish prince to pay the garrison of it, and  
 to send thither prince Mahomet, one of his children,  
 with some other lords of his court, in quality of hos-  
 tages. After this the emperor began to prepare to set  
 out for Europe ; but before he embarked, the 25th  
 of July, being the day that the church celebrates the  
 feast of St. James patron of Spain, this prince so-  
 lemnized the commemoration of it in his camp. After  
 he had heard mass there, which was sung to music, he  
 dined on board the great gallion of Malta, called Ca-  
 racca, where he was entertained by the knights with  
 the greatest magnificence. The emperor's design, after  
 he had set sail, was to pass by Mehedia, a city of  
 Africa, in order to make himself master of it ; but  
 there arose a violent tempest, which scattered his ships  
 and gallies. At last this victorious fleet, after having  
 passed through a great variety of dangers, came to Tre-  
 pano in Sicily.

THE grand master sent a splendid embassy to this  
 city, to congratulate him upon the happy success of his  
 arms.

arms. This prince answered, in the most obliging manner, that he owed the best part of it to the valour and courage of the knights; and, that the order might be always engaged to adhere to his interests, he bestowed very rich presents on the principal knights who had attended him in this expedition; and, by a fresh rescript, or grant, ordained, that the grand master and the council should draw from Sicily, custom free, all the ammunition and provisions they should want. By another edict, and a peculiar privilege, he declared, that no knight, under any pretence whatever, should enjoy, in the whole extent of his dominions, any possessions belonging to the order, without the express permission of the grand master and council, and unless the originals of those grants had been seen by his majesty or his ministers, and registred in his council of state.

THE squadron of the order returned happily into the ports of Malta; but the joy of the knights was a little time after allayed by the death of the grand master, who had hardly enjoyed that great dignity a year. The order lost in him a worthy head, and a true religious. He, during his administration, had forbid the knights, under very severe penalties, indulging themselves in the custom, or rather the abuse which they had brought from Italy, of masking themselves during the carnival; and he substituted, instead of these bacchanals, tilts and tournaments, and several other military exercises, which he made them consider as recreations much more suitable to warriors.

'T WAS from the same strictness of discipline; and exact observance of the statutes, that he refused, in spite of all the instances the pope could make, to nominate to a vacant commandery a young knight, in prejudice of his seniors. He told this pontiff by letter, that, upon his accession to the grand mastership, he had taken the most solemn oaths, as well as all his predecessors, to observe the statutes of the order, and that he besought his holiness to dispense with his violating so  
sacred



sacred an obligation, which he had contracted at the foot of the altars, and on the holy gospels.

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE, prior of Thoulouse, one of the most generous defenders of Rhodes, of whom mention has been made in the relation of that siege, succeeded Peter du Pont. He, in like manner as his predecessor, was elected in his absence. The chevalier de Bourbon succeeded at the same time, by the death of brother Peter de Cluis, to the grand priory of France. The first use the new prior made of the riches annexed to his priory, was to give orders for the making of a sumptuous piece of tapestry; in which, on a ground of silk heightned with gold, was seen the pictures of all the grand masters,<sup>a</sup> drawn to the life, and after excellent originals, which had been brought from Rhodes: and as soon as so rich and curious a piece of furniture was finished, he sent it to Malta, and consecrated it, to adorn the principal church in that island.

DIDIER DE  
ST. JAILLE.  
1536.  
12th Nov.

THESE marks of the liberality and disinterestedness of the knights were not at that time uncommon in the order. The greatest part of the commanders, particularly such as were invested with the principal dignities of the order, used generously to consecrate all the revenues of them in fitting out armaments against the infidels. The greatest part of them sought rather for the glory than the profit which might accrue to them from their prizes; and we may affirm, that there were in all times more knights out at sea than on shore, and residing on their commanderies. They were often seen returning into the port of Malta, dragging after them the vessels and gallies of the infidels, out of which they immediately delivered the Christian slaves of different nations; and these Christians, after the recovery of their liberty, carried back into their respective countries, the testimony and remembrance of the zeal and valour of the knights.

AMONG

<sup>a</sup> Bosio, 1 8.

AMONG these illustrious personages, each of whom would merit a particular history, was reckoned Botigella, prior of Pisa, and general of the gallies; George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany; Grolée, bailiff of Lango; James Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant; Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua; Chateau-Renaud, marshal of the order; the commander Parisot de la Valette; and a great many others, whose names are mentioned in the memoirs of the order.

BUT no one at that time had rendered himself more formidable to the corsairs than the prior of Pisa, who was continually out at sea. Not a single corsair durst come near the coasts of Sicily and Malta, but he was immediately snapt up; and so great was the number of prizes he made that year, that the corsairs gave out, he had a familiar demon, in the shape of a dog, on board his galley, who gave him notice of the day of their departure from the coasts of Africa, and the places where he might meet with them. Time had scarce ever produced a general, in whom was united so perfect a knowledge in sea affairs, with so intrepid a bravery: he fell upon all he met, whether weak or strong; and, without having any regard to any reprisals that might be made, hanged all such renegadoes as fell into his hands; and being severe in command, he required the same bravery in his knights, of which he gave them an example: nor was he less strict in the observance of military discipline; and after an expedition, in which he had made very considerable prizes, certain knights having made bold with some of the plunder, he had them put under an arrest, and confined them, for a long time, as usurpers of the property of the order. He was but just returned into the port of Tripoli, when they discovered about dusk, and from the top of the tower, three large galliots steering towards the island of Gerbes; upon which the captains of the galliots immediately desired leave to go out of the port, and give them battle: "Don't you perceive," replied that able seaman, that if they should happen "to see you, the night, which is coming on, will fa-  
" your

“ your their escape before you can have time to come up with them? Let them continue their course at this time, but they shall not be got to such a distance, but I will be up with them by day-break.” And indeed, no sooner was night come, but he sailed out of the port with three gallies, and stood for Gerbes, as well as the darkness would allow. It was scarce day break when he discovered those gallies, who were sailing in company; upon which he immediately began to give them chase. The corsairs seeing themselves pursued, separated; and one of the galliots endeavoured to gain the coasts of Barbary; but a galley, called the *Cornue*, or the *Horned Galley*, intercepting it in its course, was soon up with it, and the knights, with sabre in hand, attempted to board her. Immediately the Turks, who were in great numbers in that ship, threw themselves on that side which the knights were for attacking: their too eager haste, and the great number of men, who were all got to one side, occasioned their destruction; for the galliot being overset, sunk to the bottom, in the sight, and to the great regret of the knights, who were more afflicted for the death of the Christian slaves that were drowned on that occasion, than the loss of a prize, which could not possibly have escaped them. The second galliot met with almost the same fate, which the knights endeavoured to board; and as it was manned with a great number of Turks, they did not avoid fighting, but turned the prow against the galley of the order. On both sides a numberless multitude of furious discharges were made, which disabled a number both of Christians and Turks. The pilot of the infidels, being more dextrous than that of the order, presented a broadside, and after having discharged a fresh volley of arrows, stood off to sea: but general Botigella, who had reserved himself to succour that galley which should be the most vigorously attacked, opposed the going off of the galliot, and came up with it prow against prow. The combat was now renewed with recruited fury; the *Coursier*, or great gun, and the muskets, made a fu-

rious discharge on both sides ; the battle was maintained for a long time with equal advantage ; victory shifted sides alternately more than once. The corsairs, who were seamen that had been brought up in the midst of fire, and the fury of arms, fought with intrepid fury. They more than once flattered themselves with the hopes of forcing the wale of the galley, and obliging the knights, who defended it, to give way : but they were opposed with a set of intrepid men, who had ever been fearless of danger. This courageous body of soldiers threw themselves, sword in hand, into the galliot, at the same time that the soldiers of the *Cornue*, or horned galley, forced another part, and joined the soldiers of the admiral galley. 'Twas now not so much a combat, as a general massacre : The Christian soldiers gave no quarter, but, hurried on by a thirst after booty, so great a number of them flung themselves into the ship, that, whether it were the prodigious weight of those who entered it, and who were all on one side, or that it had sprung a leak during the engagement, it sunk to the bottom ; when the victorious, confounded with the vanquished, met with a like fate, and perished even in the midst of victory.

THE largest of the galliots, commanded by Scander, a famous corsair, and by another rais, or captain, did his utmost to reach Zoara, thirteen miles distant eastward from the island of Zerbe, or Gelsey. But the chevalier Parisot de la Valette, captain of one of the gallics, and the worthy companion of Botigella, pursued him so close, that the Turks could not avoid fighting. This new engagement was as bloody as the former : Scander fought like a man who had ever been fearless of death, and who did not value being cut to pieces, provided he came off but with victory. The commander de la Valette, at the head of the knights of his galley, and exposed to the arrows of the enemy, received two wounds with an arrow during the heat of the engagement, which prevented his perceiving it ; but some time after a musket ball shattered his leg to pieces, and threw him upon the deck. Not-

with-

withstanding his distress; and his being half dead, he yet did not abate any thing of his usual courage, and his ardent thirst of victory. The knights and soldiers, animated by his cries, pushed the infidels with so much intrepidity, that they forced their way into their ships. Here they were forced to come to a second engagement; the Turks had rallied themselves about the masts, and they began to fall on a fresh. These Barbarians, being mad through despair, and animated by the example of their officers, fought with incredible fury; and, though reduced to a small number, they yet forced the Christians to abandon their ship, and, after having disengaged themselves from the cramp irons, with which they had been fastened to the galleys, they, in spite of all the efforts of the knights, stood off to sea, and steered towards Zoara. They were got pretty near it, when the knights, who sailed after their prey, came up with them. The fight was of new renewed, which was now the third time of engaging; but they were no more on an equal footing; for the Turks having lost the greatest part of their soldiers and sailors, there scarce remained sufficient to manage the ship; and the few that survived, seeing the shore at hand, threw themselves into the sea, in order to reach it. But as a great number of them were wounded, the major part of them were drowned, among whom were two rais, or captains. Immediately the knights made themselves masters of the galliot, whence they delivered 200 Christians: the Turks were chained down, and the renegadoes hanged. After which Botigella returned with triumph into the port of Tripoli with his prize.

THIS success, and the continual war which the knights maintained against the African Turks, both by sea and land, determined these Barbarians to drive them, if possible, out of Tripoli. The pirate Airadin, lord of Tagiora, being chiefly interested in this war, took upon himself the execution of this enterprize; and accordingly got together as many forces as he could from Tagiora, Giensor, and d'Almaya, the rendezvous being at the tower of the Alcayd. He sent out in the  
 night-



night-time, and at day-break attempted a scalado at those parts of the wall of Tripoli which he thought least defended. He hoped to surprisè the knights : but George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany, who commanded in Tripoli, having advice sent him by his spies, which he kept in Tagiora, was under arms with the whole garrison ; and no sooner did the Turks appear, but they were briskly plied with fire works, boiling oil, and stones ; at the same that the artillery, and the musketeers of the place, fired incessantly on those who were furthest off, and who sustained those who were at the head of the attack. Although Airadin saw plainly that he was discovered, he yet fought on with the same bravery and resolution. His troops, after his example, made the most surprisng efforts to get to the top of the wall ; but it was lined with a good number of intrepid knights, who were fearless of death and wounds. Many died by the arrows and musket shot of the infidels. The Barbarians lost a greater number of men ; but their places were immediately filled up by the great number of forces they had brought along with them for this expedition ; whereas the knights, on the contrary, who at that time were no more than forty in number, with a weak garrison, drew no succour but from their courage, which even seemed to increase, in proportion as their forces diminished. The grand bailiff in particular ran up and down to those places where the attack was warmest, and was seen at all of them almost at the same time. Airadin, for his part, did not omit one of the duties of a worthy commander, and, more by his example than his words, drew on his soldiers, and did his utmost to get to the top of the wall ; but this general having been knocked off his ladder by a ball, his soldiers found it a very difficult matter to get him out of the ditch into which he was fallen. The Turks thinking him dead, lost all their courage ; they all made off, and left at the foot of the walls a great number of soldiers who had been killed there.

THE grand bailiff, after their retreat, dispatched a brigantine to Malta, to give the grand master's lieutenant

nant and the council advice of the enterprize of Airadin; by his letter he represented to them, that as Tripoli was without bastions and bulwarks, it would have been impossible for it to have held out against an army that should have besieged it in form; that they were even daily exposed to be surprised in the same manner, and that in order to prevent it, and to drive the infidels from its neighbourhood, it would be necessary for them to raze the tower of the Alcayd, which held the place invested and blocked up on that side, and hindered the Christians from trading with the Moors and Arabians, the inhabitants of the country, who were as great enemies to the Turks and corsairs as the knights.

THE council approved this enterprize, and appointed the commander Botigella, prior of Pifa, and general of the gallies, to head it. Accordingly he immediately put to sea with 500 knights, and about 700 soldiers, which the order kept in constant pay at Malta; and the bailiff Schilling, governor of Tripoli, treated at the same with some *Cheques*, or Arabian lords, who, in consideration of a certain sum agreed upon between them, furnished him a body of horse. Botigella having landed his forces at Tripoli, took thither what artillery he thought he should stand in need of, and had it drawn by his slaves and the crew of his gallies, almost up to the tower he intended to besiege; when, without staying to open the trenches, he first raised his batteries, and contented himself with covering them with gabions. Airadin, at the noise of this attack, ran thither from Tagiora with what forces he had about him: but when he was got to the town of Adabus, which was not above three miles distant from the tower, he found himself stopped by the knights, who were at the head of the Arabian horse. Airadin, not finding himself strong enough to attack a body that was lined with 150 knights, contented himself with making a few light skirmishes, which gave opportunity to about 60 Turks to throw themselves into the place. Notwithstanding this succour, general Bo-

Botigella battered it continually ; but perceiving that his artillery did not make so quick execution as he could have wished, he sent for the wales or bends from his gallies, which he employed as *mantlets*, or a movable pent-house ; and being covered by this fence, he brought up the miners to the foot of the wall, which he blew up. Immediately the knights advanced up to the breach, which they found undefended ; for the greatest part of the corsairs had been buried under the ruins of the mine. Such as had escaped, still stunned with the noise, seeing the knights masters of the breach, and with their swords drawn, threw down their arms. Botigella immediately razed the tower ; and whilst the crew of the galley, and other slaves, were employed at this work, he advanced at the head of his little army towards Adabus, where Airadin was intrenched. He drove him from thence, abandoned the plunder of this town to the Arabians ; and, after having left in Tripoli a sufficient body of troops to reinforce the garrison, he re embarked to return to Malta. In his course he met a great galeon that was coming from Egypt, freighted with rich merchandize, commanded by a famous Turkish captain called Ardor. Botigella made directly towards him with his gallies, came up with him, and, in spite of all the fire of his cannon, the knights immediately boarded him, leaped into the Turkish vessel with their drawn sabres, and made themselves masters of it. Two hundred Turks were made prisoners and slaves on this occasion, and the prize was valued at 160,000 crowns ; after which, the fortunate Botigella, who justly deserved to be always so, returned into the port of Malta. The commander James de Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant, the greatest part of the lords of the council, and as many knights as were on the island, were at the port to receive him at his landing. As they had been informed of the happy success of his expedition, he was publicly praised, and congratulated upon that account ; and all this illustrious body of soldiers led him, as it were, in triumph to the church  
of

of St. Laurence, where he went to return thanks to God for the happy success of his arms.

THEY were still full of those first emotions of joy, which the happy return of general Botigella gave the convent, when various accidents threw them into a general consternation. A young novice, who aspired to the chaplainship of the order, robbed the image of our lady of Philermos, which had been brought from Rhodes, of the pearls and precious stones with which it had been adorned. Some days after, an English knight, being distractedly in love with a Maltese woman, in the transports of rage and jealousy, stabbed her with his own hand, upon very slight suspicions. The grand master's lieutenant had the thief and the murderer seized; and after their being condemned by the secular judges of the island, they were carried at a mile distance from the port, when, being put into sacks, they were thrown alive into the sea.

To these misfortunes succeeded another, that was a subject of no less affliction to the whole body of the order. The chevalier de Varennes Nagu, commander of Trebous, arriving at Malta on the 10th of October, brought thither the sad news of the death of the grand master de St. Jaille, who having set out from his priory of Toulouſe, in order to go to the convent, fell sick at Montpellier, where he died on the 26th of September. The next day they met to chuse him a successor. Every one imagined, that the commander Botigella, or the lord de Grolée, otherways called the commander Passim, bailiff of Lango, would be elected to that dignity; both of them being antient knights, who, by their services, their brave actions, and a singular piety, had deserved so well of the order, and of all Christendom.

BUT a cabal, which was carried on by the chevalier Garcia Cortez, who happened to be at that time the electing knight, turned the majority of voices in

favour of the commander JOHN D'OMEDES, of the language of Arragon, and bailiff of Capia. This bailiff had promised him along time before to procure him his bailiwick, provided he should come to the grand mastership by his means. The cunning Spaniard, being a man of intrigue, and who saw that the promotion of his friend would pave the way to his own, made a merit, to the sixteen electors, of a wound and the loss of an eye, which d'Omedes had sustained during the siege of Rhodes: probably also the subtle Spaniard, without insisting too much upon a wound, which is often an ambiguous mark of bravery, might have been artful enough to take advantage of the superiority which the knights of his nation, by the help of the emperor's power, had at that time in the assemblies of the order. Be that as it will, no sooner was the election of d'Omedes published, but the greatest part of the 360 knights, who composed the assembly, appeared in the highest consternation. The ill omens they presaged upon the government of the elect, were afterwards verified by an administration that was self-interested, partial, and even extremely harsh and rigorous.

THE illustrious Botigella, so worthy of that high employment, was thrown aside, and did not keep even that of commander, or general of the gallies, with which Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, was afterwards invested. He was a young lord of one of the first houses of Florence, a near relation to Catherine of Medicis, queen of France, and on whom pope Clement VII. his uncle, at the same time that he gave him the habit of the order, had bestowed that dignity, of which he was actually in possession at the time of his being raised to the sovereign pontificate.

THE young prior, who had been made a captain before he had been a soldier, had first fought under the famous Andrew Doria, the emperor's general: the first essay he made in his command, was at his being, with four gallies of the order, at the taking of twelve others



commanded by a Turk, whose name was Ali Zelif, a great seaman, and commander of that squadron. Doria had 34 galleys, besides those of the order; and meeting the infidels in the channel of Corfu, he attacked them with that confidence which he had justly entertained from the superior number of his galleys: but he experienced on that occasion, that nothing is superior to a resolute courage. Ali had a great number of Janizaries on board his galleys, with orders to transport them into Dalmatia, where Solyman was getting together a body of forces. These soldiers gave the most shining marks of bravery, and fought like men who were resolved not to survive their defeat. They levelled the fury of their arms chiefly upon the knights, their antient and eternal enemies; and two Turkish galleys, one of which was the admiral, invested the admiral galley of Malta. The first kept close to the prow, and the other presented her side, and a cruel and bloody combat ensued. The Turks attacking the knights very briskly, several of that order, and among the rest Constantine Opert, one of the principal officers on board the admiral galley, lost their lives in the brave opposition they made against the Turks, who endeavoured to throw themselves into this galley. Fortune seemed to favour them on that side; and they would perhaps have carried off the admiral galley, had not the prior of Capua, in this danger, commanded a culverine to be levelled against that galley, which lay long side by it. This saved the admiral; for the Turkish galley being struck in her keel with that single shot, was immediately filled with water, and sunk to the bottom. The knights having thus got rid of an enemy on that side, turned all their force against the Turkish admiral galley. The combat being upon a more equal foot, became at the same time more bloody. The knights and Turks, with the design of making themselves masters of the opposite admiral galley, threw themselves reciprocally upon each other's weapons. At length the knights seemed to have gained some advantage over the infidels; they forced the Janizaries,

and threw themselves in crowds, with their drawn sabres, into their galley. The Turks, being recovered from the prodigious surprize which so violent an attack had thrown them into, renewed the combat with recruited fury. The soldiers, transported with rage, would neither give nor take quarter. No sooner one dropped, but his place was immediately filled up by another. Though the knights had cut most of the Turks to pieces, they were not yet masters of the galley, and the few infidels that survived, fought less to save their own lives, than to take away those of some knights. They all suffered themselves to be cut to pieces to the last man; and, what had been seldom seen in these kind of engagements, the prior took his galley, without making so much as a single prisoner.

THE infidels, who were in the other gallies, discovered no less courage and intrepidity: notwithstanding the great odds in the number of the ships, and though they were surrounded with 38 Christian gallies, they yet fought with as much resolution as those of the admiral galley. At last the Christians forced victory to declare herself in their favour; but they bought it at a very dear price; and not to mention a great number of soldiers, they lost in it Anthony Doria, one of the general officers, the chevalier Copez, and a great number of others of the same order, who were either wounded, or lost their lives in this engagement.

THE emperor's general having notice that ten French gallies were set sail from the port of Marseilles, to carry an ambassador of Francis I. to Constantinople, lay under cape Passaro, in order to surprize them. The general of the order, that he might observe an exact neutrality between these princes, drew off from the body of the fleet. He employed this interval in scouring the coasts of Calabria, and gave chase to two great galiots, and a corsair foist, of which he made himself master, and delivered 400 Christians out of slavery, whom he carried into the port of Malta, with the prisoners he had made. The whole body of people ran to congratulate him upon the happy success of his first arms,  
and

and drew the most happy presages from thence ; which he afterwards verified by the great actions he performed, both in the ocean and in the mediterranean. Scarce had this young general disarmed his ships, when he heard, that Philip Strozzi his father had been taken prisoner in an engagement by young Cosmo of Medicis, duke of Florence ; that this prince had caused him to be carried into that city, loaded with irons, and that they were actually at that time prosecuting him as a criminal of state, and a rebel. The prior of Capua, in the deepest affliction at this dismal news, begged the council to dismiss him ; which having obtained, he hired a brigantine at his own expence, and immediately set sail for Italy.

FOR the better understanding of this historical incident, which will have a very great influence on all we have occasion to mention hereafter concerning the prior, who was one of the greatest captains of his age, the reader must recollect the several passages in the foregoing book relating to the war which the emperor Charles V. had made against pope Clement VII. of the house of Medicis. During this war, and the imprisonment of this pontiff, the citizens of Florence had divided themselves into two parties ; the one who adhered to the house of Medicis, was for raising it to the throne, and absolute monarchy : the other maintained the ancient form of government, and was for maintaining their liberty, and a republican administration. As long as pope Clement and the emperor continued at variance, this last prince sided publicly with the republicans ; they relied entirely upon his protection, and the Medicis had been drove from Florence, as tyrants, and enemies of the public liberty.

BUT the emperor, whose resolutions varied with his interest, being reconciled with the pope, the confidence of the Florentines abated, and their liberty was very much endangered. By the treaty made between the pope and Charles V. the Medicis were to be restored in Florence, to all the dignities and possessions they had enjoyed before their banishment ; and by a secret article,

title, the emperor had engaged himself to establish Alexander de Medicis, bastard son of Laurence duke of Urbino ; or, according to others, son to Clement himself, prince, and perpetual governor of that republic. This was the cause of the siege, which the troops of the pope and emperor, in concert, carried on before that place ; and after having made themselves masters of it, that they might not terrify the republican party, the emperor would have the new prince take upon him no more than barely the title of governor of the republic of Florence. But Alexander, who was too young to prescribe bounds to his ambition, and seeing himself afterwards the emperor's son-in-law, by his marriage with Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of that prince, affected mightily the majesty of kings, and governed this state with an haughtiness and independence, which rendered him odious, not only to his fellow-citizens, but even to his very relations. Upon which a dangerous conspiracy was formed against the life of this prince, at the head of which was Philip Strozzi, husband of Clarissa of Medicis, and sister to pope Leo X. and he had the art to engage in the same plot Laurence of Medicis, cousin to the governor his next heir, and even his favourite. Perhaps, besides the motive and pretext of defending the public liberty, he might have had an eye to that great succession, and was more an enemy to the prince than to the principality. Be that as it will, this perfidious wretch, who administered to all the pleasures of duke Alexander, pretending he had appointed him a rendezvous with a Florentine lady at his house, got him thither, and stabbed him. But instead of seizing upon the palace, and exciting the people by the hopes, and the specious bait of liberty, to take up arms in his favour, trouble, astonishment, and fear, succeeded to so cruel an action. He fled, and the partizans of the house of Medicis, recovering from their surprize, and being unable to support themselves without a head, filled up the dignity of duke Alexander with Cosmo de Medicis, tho' of a distant branch, a youth scarce sixteen, yet of a judgment vastly superior

to his years, and who, in so delicate a juncture, discovered as much courage as ambition. He was son to John of Medicis, one of the most famous captains of Italy, and of Mary Salviati, a woman as much celebrated for her noble extraction, as for her wisdom and conduct. This lady, ever since the death of John of Medicis, had lived in widow-hood with great austerity, and, shutting herself up in her house, had employed all her thoughts in the education of young Cosmo. Upon the first news she had of their design to advance her son to the dignity which duke Alexander had enjoyed, whether it were maternal tenderness inspired her with fear, when she thought of his filling up so dangerous a post; or that, as some historians have advanced, that generous woman preferred the liberty of her country to the aggrandizing of her son, she employed her tears and intreaties to dissuade him from accepting it. But Cosmo, either more resolute, or more ambitious, without listening to her remonstrances, abandoned himself to the partizans of his house. By their credit, he was acknowledged for governor of the common-wealth in a public assembly: and the emperor, having notice of the fatal death of his son-in-law, confirmed this disposition. Cosmo took the reins of government into his hands; and, tho' so young, conducted himself with so much prudence, that it would not be easy to determine, whether he was most indebted to his skill, or his good fortune, for the principality of Florence.

STROZZI, and the Partizans for a republican government, seeing the Medicis party prevail in the city, withdrew out of it, and gave out secret commissions for the levying of forces, to enable themselves to return into it sword in hand. They flattered themselves, that young Cosmo, busied with the cares of his infant government, would not so soon be able to pursue them. But this prince, who had faithful spies in all their cabals, soon had notice of their armament; and, in order that they might not have time to increase it, he went out of Florence at the head of his friends, and the standing forces of the government; and strengthened  
by



by the authority of the laws, of which he himself was the depository, he marched directly against the Strozzi, who were publicly proscribed by the magistracy. Both parties met near Marono, a village not far from Florence, and soon engaged; but 'twas rather a rout than a battle. The greatest part of the conspirators, fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, took to their heels. Strozzi, and a few faithful-friends, who were resolved not to abandon him, stood their ground, and fought like desperadoes, who were resolved to be cut to pieces; but they were disappointed. Cosimo, whom it so nearly concerned to have the most exact account of the forces, and the secret correspondence of that party, had given orders that their lives should be spared, in which he was obeyed, for they contented themselves with surrounding them; when being disarmed, they were immediately put in irons, and were carried into the prisons in Florence; after which they began to prosecute them.

'Twas on such dismal news, that the prior of Capua set out from Malta for Italy, to labour at the procuring of his father's liberty. But being arrived at Naples, he was informed, that he had killed himself in prison during his confinement; whether it were to avoid the ignominy of his execution, or, as some historians have given out, thro' fear lest the violence of the rack, and other kinds of torture, should extort from him the name of the secret partizans which he had in the city. This man, whom the heathens of antiquity would have adored, but whom the Christians condemn, killed himself with a sword, which had been left in his chamber. The following verse of Virgil was found upon the mantle-tree, which he had engraved with the point of his sword.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!*

O may there rise some venger of our blood!

*Virgil.*

His

His children, faithful to their father's memory, devoted themselves to revenge his death, but in a glorious manner, which the laws authoris'd. As they considered the emperor as no other than the subverter of the liberty of their country, and the indirect author of their father's death, they went over to the French, and serv'd in their armies. Peter Strozzi the eldest rose by his valour to the dignity of marshal; and the prior of Capua distinguished himself in the sea-service, in which he commanded as general of the gallies: nor was he less serviceable to his own order, as we shall find in the sequel of this history; and would afterwards have been chosen grand master, had not they been apprehensive that he, in order to gratify his particular resentment, would have broken through the neutrality which the grand masters, and the body of the order, had always profess'd to observe with regard to Christian princes.

DURING his absence and his stay in Italy, the chevalier Paul Simeoni, prior of Lombardy, who had contributed so much to the taking of Tunis, was made general of the gallies, and order'd soon after to go along with the marquess of Terra Nova, to the port of Susa in Africa, which having revolted from Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, that prince intended to besiege.

SUSA stood upon a rock near the sea, at eight or nine leagues distance from Tunis, beyond Cape-bon. Its haven is secure, and, like the place, defended by an old castle, which is fortified and surrounded by ditches, with an esplanade quite round. The Turks, since the emperor's return from the conquest of Tunis, had seiz'd on most of the places which lay along the coast, and had shut up Muley Hascen in his capital; who, in order to recover the entire possession of his dominions, and to clear them of such usurpers, had apply'd to the order of St. John. In pursuance of which, he sent an ambassador, Camugi by name, to Malta, to implore succours from the knights. That minister, in order to engage them in this enterprize, represent'd to them, that the corsairs had fortified Tachiora; that they had put a strong garrison in it, under the command of Mo:at Aga,  
one

one of the principal captains of Barbarossa ; that they expected that general of the corsairs with a large fleet ; and that the order would never be able to keep Tripoli, if they did not traverse his designs. The grand master thought proper to send this advice to the emperor, who finding that the defence of Muley his vassal concerned himself more nearly than it did the order, pressed the grand master to join his forces to those of Sicily, in order to clear the coast of Barbary of the Corsairs ; and at the same time ordered his viceroy to furnish Muley all the succour he should have occasion for, to form the siege of Sufa.

THE grand master, and the viceroy, fitted out fourteen gallies, on board of which were a good number of knights and troops, in the service of the order ; to which the viceroy joined 3000 foot as his quota, under the command of the marquis of Terra Nova, a Sicilian nobleman, who was to be general of the land forces, whilst the general of the gallies of the order kept out, and commanded at sea.

THIS squadron, passing through the channel of Malta, came off the place where Muley had pitched his camp. The marquis of Terra Nova, and the knights, landed their troops and a train of artillery, which the king of Tunis wanted ; they then opened the trenches, and planted batteries, which began to play upon the weakest part of the town, which they would infallibly have taken, had not the marquis been imposed upon by a renegado, who had advised him to change the place of his battery. This renegado, feigning to have made his escape, and pretending to be greatly grieved for his having quitted his religion and his country, threw himself at the marquis's feet, shedding a flood of tears at the same time, and begged him to pardon his desertion and apostacy. The marquis, deceived by these specious marks of his repentance, promised him the utmost security in his army ; and also, that after the taking of Sufa, he would carry him back to Europe. He then began to enquire of the renegado about the condition of the place, to whom the traitor gave

gave an account, agreeable to what he had concerted before with the governor: he particularly told him, with an air of the utmost sincerity, that the quarter which his cannon played upon was the strongest part of the place; that the wall there was strengthened with a rampart, and that tho' they might possibly ruin and beat it down, they yet would find deep intrenchments behind it, fortified with flanks and redans, and lined with a good number of musketeers to keep off the assailants; and added moreover, that the governor, finding him engaged in attacking that place, had made his boasts, that all the Christians should perish in it. The marquis, to whom this account gave no small uneasiness, asked him which was the weakest post of the place: which being just what the renegado wanted, he shewed him the strongest part; when the marquis, deceived by the advice of this insidious wretch, changed his batteries and made all his efforts against some towers which flanked the castle. These towers, the renegado assured him, would be demolished by his cannon in a moment; but they spent all the powder they had brought from Malta and Sicily, on making only a very narrow breach. However, as their ammunition failed, the marquis, who was not yet undeceived, resolved to attempt an assault. In pursuance of which, an hundred and thirty knights, and four hundred soldiers in the service of the order, mounted it first; who, though they could march only in files, one after another, they yet got to the top of the breach, where they intended to have made a lodgement; but they met with such large and deep intrenchments before them, and were exposed to such vollies of shot from the muskets, and cross-bows in the flanks, as obliged them to retire. They then proposed to turn the attack and the batteries on another side but were prevented by the want of powder. 'Twas with the utmost anguish, that the marquis saw himself under a necessity of raising the siege, who, before he reimarked, resolved to vent his anger on the renegado; but that villain, pleased with the happy success his artifice had met with, was fled back into the town, to receive

the reward of his treachery and hypocrisy; and the knights, after having left a great number of their comrades and soldiers at the foot of the walls, and on the breach, returned desponding to Malta, where they complained that the emperor had sacrificed the forces of the order, under a general so very unfit to command over them.

THE commander Botigella seconded these just complaints with his advice. He was just returned from his government of Tripoli, which being expired, Ferdinand de Bracamont, commander of Ecolca, was nominated his successor; and Alonso Cordan, a knight of great reputation, was to command the cavalry of the place. Botigella, on his return, took occasion, from the ill success of the siege of Susa, to represent to the grand master and council, that experience ought to have made them sensible, how impracticable it was for the Christians ever to make any fixed and durable conquests on the coast of Africa, and among the Moors; and that, either from the aversion which a difference of religion is apt to inspire, or from the natural inconsistency of those people, who were altogether as unfaithful to sovereigns of their own nation, as they were to foreigners; that most of the cities along the coast of Africa, since the return of Charles V. had revolted more than once; that the wars which they maintained, and the squadrons which they fitted out to assist the emperor, drained the order of its best subjects, and cost them immense sums; that the cession, which that prince had made, or, to speak more properly, the burthensome condition which he had laid upon them, of undertaking the defence of such a place, which he had annexed to the conveyance of the isle of Malta, ought to be considered as a fatal present to the order; and that the only remedy left was to deliver it back immediately to that prince; or, in case of his insisting on the knights continuing still there, to insist that he himself should put it in a state of defence, and be at the expence of raising the fortifications, and other works necessary to enable it to sustain a siege.

WHAT



WHAT deference soever the council might have for the opinion of Botigella, they yet thought proper, in so important an affair, to consult such knights as were best skilled in fortification, and particularly those who had commanded in the place. These all unanimously concluded that it was not tenable; and, upon their report, the council dispatched the bailiff de Grolée to the emperor. He, after his arrival at his court, represented to him, that it would be impossible to keep Tripoli, unless they fortified it with walls of a necessary height and thickness; that ditches of a proper breadth, and bulwarks for its better defence, were wanting; that unless these precautions should be taken, they would only expose all the knights there to be cut to pieces; that if the town should be taken, it would be impossible for the castle, which was built after the antique fashion, to hold out above a few days; and, lastly, that it was perhaps more the emperor's interest to abandon such a weak place, to blow up the castle, and fill up the mouth of the harbour. But the emperor, who was neither willing to be at the expence of fortifying it, nor to deprive himself of a port which served as a key to Africa, and cost him nothing for its defence, ordered the bailiff to tell the grand master from him, that he would neglect nothing to put Tripoli in a condition of defence; that he desired the order to keep always a strong garrison in it, and that in case the infidels should besiege it, He would immediately send positive orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to throw in all the necessary succours. he continued to say, that he hoped to be able, in a little time, to drive all the Turkish corsairs out of the coasts of Africa, and that till such time as he could turn his arms on that side, the order would oblige him in joining their gallies to the fleet he had sent into the Mediterranean.

THE bailiff, at his return, having given the council an account of the success of his embassy, they immediately fitted out four gallies, having on board 200 knights, under the command of Simeoni bailiff of Lombardy, who joined the Christian army at Messina,

which Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi, and great admiral to the emperor, commanded. This general was a Genoese, and born of a noble family, which he rendered still more illustrious by his prodigious bravery: King Francis I. and pope Clement VII. had both of them given him the command of their fleets. After having quitted the king's service, he went to the emperor's. This prince, whose intrigues were more formidable than his sword, and who was so artful in corrupting his enemy's generals, got this Genoese over to his side, by the offers he made him of an annual pension of 60,000 ducats, and also of maintaining constantly twelve gallies under his command; assuring him, at the same time, that Genoa should enjoy its liberty, under the emperor's protection, and that Savona should be reduced under their dominion. Doria, after having agreed to these articles, gave out, in order to justify his changing sides, that the king of France did not pay him the subsidies stipulated for maintaining his gallies; that he had baulked him of the ransom he was to have for the prince of Orange, his prisoner of war; and that, notwithstanding all the instances he had used with the ministers of Francis I. in favour of the Genoese his countrymen, he yet could never prevail so far as to have them treated with less oppression and severity. 'Tis pretended, that this last motive of complaint had a greater influence on his shifting sides than all the rest; and that this general, who was fond of glory, flattered himself, that he should immortalize his name, by delivering his country from the dominion of the French. Probably too, that under colour of the emperor's protection, and the shadow of this liberty, he might at the same time have had an eye to the establishing his own authority there, for the rule of the government.

WHATEVER might be the source of these different motives, 'tis certain, that France could hardly have suffered a more considerable loss, or the emperor have made a more useful acquisition; for he employed him equally against Solyman and Francis I. and in the present occasion,

caſion, he not only commanded the veſſels of Charles V. but had likewiſe the ſupreme authority over all the reſt, in quality of generaliſſimo-over all the fleet of the Chriſtian league.

THE pope was alſo engaged in this league, which the emperor and the order of Malta had made; and their buſineſs now was to draw the Venetians into it; but they carefully avoided all occaſions of coming to a rupture with Solyman, a formidable prince, whoſe territories were adjoining to thoſe of that republic. Doria, in order to render them ſuſpected to Solyman, and make as if thoſe republicans were to act in concert with him, wrote to Girolamo Pezaro, their general; by which he told him, that it would be neceſſary to attack the Turks, before their ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould be joined. He ſent this letter by a ſmall bark, which, as he deſigned it, fell into the infidels hands, which they ſent immediately to Solyman, who thereupon made bitter complaints of it to the bailo or embaſſador of the commonwealth. In vain did that miniſter proteſt that the republic of Venice had no intelligence with Charles V. all his oaths and proteſtations made no great impreſſion on Solyman. “ There is, ſays that prince to him, but “ one way left to juſtify your maſters, which is, that “ they immediately ſign a league with me againſt the “ emperor, and join their ſhips to my fleet, in order “ to attack his dominions.” The ſenate, whoſe fundamental maxim was the obſerving of a neutrality, rejected the propoſal; and an accident happened, at the ſame time, which furniſhed an occaſion or pretence for a rupture.

THE Sultan's imperial galley being ſeparated by a ſtorm, fell by night into the fleet of the Venetians, when Alexander Contarini, provveditor-general of the army, taking it in the dark for a veſſel belonging to the corſairs, attacked it, killed the rais or commander, cut 300 janizaries to pieces, and made himſelf maſter of it. Solyman made great complaints on this ſubject, and demanded that Contarini ſhould be delivered into his hands, to be puniſhed; but not being able to attain

this satisfaction, he declared war against the Venetians. Whatever share the knights might have in this war, 'twould be foreign to my present purpose to enter into the detail of it; all I shall observe is, that the Christian and Turkish fleets met near a bay of the Adriatic; that they cannonaded each other furiously; but that the Turks, who were under Barbarossa's command, finding themselves to be weaker, retired into the bay of Arta, to avoid coming to a general engagement; that several battles had been fought, but not one of them decisive; and finally, that Doria, notwithstanding his having been earnestly solicited by the patriarch of Alexandria, who commanded the pope's squadron, and by the knights of St. John, had yet obstinately refused, under pretence that there was not wind enough for his ships to advance against the enemy, and had looked quietly on, whilst Barbarossa made his escape, for fear of destroying the only general the enemy had, who was formidable to his master; since, that as long as Barbarossa should be living, he would be necessary to the emperor: a piece of policy, which both Barbarossa and Doria reciprocally observed, who, without any concerted intelligence between them, never pushed their advantage contrary to their respective interests, so far as to get rid of an enemy, who, tho' he were a rival, was yet of use to enhance their several talents and capacities.

THE Christians were less successful at land than they had been at sea. The conquest of Hungary had always made part of the vast project, or, to speak more properly, part of the chimera of an universal monarchy ascribed to Charles V. In consequence of which, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who was brother to the emperor, in concert with him, or rather by his orders, had actually invested the town of Buda; and Rocandorf, one of his generals, was carrying on the siege with great vigour. Solyman, who was jealous of any accession of power to the house of Austria, and under pretence that Sepusius, the last king of Hungary, had, by his will, appointed him to be tutor to his infant son,

son, sent Mahomet, one of his bashas, to throw succours into the place. The Turkish general attacked and forced the lines of the Austrians, cut above 20,000 men to pieces, either put to flight, or took prisoners the poor remains of the army; and Solyman, arriving soon after in Hungary, entered into Buda, into which he put a strong garrison, under pretence of preventing the designs of Ferdinand; and, in order to cloak his usurpation, declared publicly, that as soon as the young king should be of age, he would deliver him up the place.

NOTWITHSTANDING a solemn promise made, which ambitious princes never want pretences to excuse themselves from performing, this enterprize of the grand signior alarmed the Hungarians no less than the Germans. No body questioned but that the emperor would bring a mighty force into the field, in order to rid himself of so formidable a neighbour: 'twould have been a sight altogether worthy the attention of all other monarchs, to see those two great princes, both of them so powerful and so ambitious, fighting against each other, and disputing the entire possession of Hungary in the field. But whether it were that Charles V. did not care to trust his glory to fortune, or that he flattered himself with succeeding in another enterprize, the event of which was less doubtful; that prince, whose designs were always impenetrable, left the defence of Hungary to the king his brother, in order to attack Africa, and fall upon the dominions of Barbarossa. The absence of that corsair king, who was gone to Constantinople, made him flatter himself that he should meet with a weak opposition in the taking of Algiers; and he hoped to have the same success in the siege of this place, as he had had in that of Tunis. For which end, he issued out orders in Spain, in Naples, and in Sicily, for making preparations suitable to the greatness of the enterprize. Ferdinand Cortez, the Spaniard who acquired so much glory by the discovery and conquest of Mexico, was appointed to command the armament that was to be made in Spain. Ferdinand de Gonzaga, and  
Don



Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroys of Sicily and Naples, carried on their preparations with as great application in those two kingdoms. They drew a good body of cavalry from Germany, and the county of Burgundy; and Camillo Colonna, Augustin Spinola, and Antonio Doria, having the commission of colonels, made levies of foot all over Italy.

THE grand master of Malta received a letter at the same time from the emperor, written in the most obliging terms, by which the knights were invited to join their forces to his, for the undertaking of an holy war, which, he assured them, was designed only for the destruction of the corsairs, and the enemies of the order. So great was the number of knights who offered themselves for this expedition, that Malta and the convent would have been left desart, had not the grand master prudently limited this succour to four hundred knights. These went on board four gallies of the order, each knight being attended with two servants well armed; and George Schilling, great bailiff of Germany, and at that time general of the gallies of the order, was appointed to command the squadron; who, in the port of Bonifacio, joined part of the emperor's fleet, commanded by him in person, from whence they went to Majorca, where the ships and gallies had orders to rendezvous before the end of September.

THERE was no one that could flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding in an enterprise, which was undertaken when the season was so far advanced: but as the emperor pursued it with great vigour, the courtiers, whose whole employment is flattery, were not willing to suggest to him a truth so contrary to his inclination. So that there was no one but Andrew Doria, the great admiral, and the marquis del Guasto, general of the land forces, that durst presume to represent to him the perils to which he was going to expose himself: and Doria, who was the greatest seaman of his age, told him, that no pilot, in such a season, durst venture out to sea for any time, without the utmost necessity; that the sea of Barbary was at that time very  
subject

subject to storms, and that he was afraid lest a gust of wind should scatter his fleet, and hinder the success of his arms : and the venerable old man added, in his military stile, “ Suffer yourself, says he to him, to be diverted from this enterprise, for if we should go, we shall be all lost by God.” To which the emperor replied, laughing, “ Two and twenty years of empire for me, and three-score and twelve of life for you, ought to satisfy us, so as to make us both die contented.” And so, without altering his resolution, he went on board, set sail towards Algiers ; when, after having met with a pretty violent storm, he at last got into the road of Algiers, where he arrived on the 24th, or, as others have it, on the 26th of October.

THOUGH the wind was down, yet the sea still ran so high, that they were forced to defer the landing for two days, in order to prevent the soldiers being forced to wade through the water up to the middle. It was afterwards made, without any great opposition from the infidels, when sixty galleys put their troops ashore, and the great ships landed theirs in boats : After their disembarkation, the army on land was found to consist of 20,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The emperor, in order to prevent jealousies, which too often arise between different nations, divided his troops into three bodies ; the first was composed of Italians, to whom he joined the knights and soldiers of Malta, under the command of the grand bailiff, who received no orders from any body but the emperor. The Spaniards, all of them old soldiers, were put in the second body ; and the Germans, Burgundians, and a great number of volunteers, composed the third. The Spaniards had the van, the Italians the main body, where the emperor was in person, and the Germans were put in the rear. Every one of these bodies had three field-pieces at the head of their line, to play upon the Arabs, who, without keeping any order, made their attack, did what execution they could, then wheeled off, and were incessantly returning to the charge.

THE emperor ordered the battalion of Malta to extend itself to the left of the main battle, to repulſe thoſe light horſe; the knights were on foot, armed with cuiraffes and head-pieces, and a long or half pike in their hands. The author of a relation ſent to the pope, obſerves, that their ſubreveſts were all of damask or crimſon velvet, on which their white croſſes being placed, made a glittering ſhew; and that they diſcovered ſuch an air of grandeur and intrepidity, as gave terror to all ſuch Barbarians as durſt approach them. The emperor's head quarters were marked out between two brooks; and he planted heavy artillery all around a little hill, which at the ſame time played both upon the town and the country.

THE city of Algiers, built in form of an amphitheatre, ſtands on the declivity of a hill over againſt the port; the foundation of which is aſcribed to the ſon of Juba king of Mauritania. Barbaroſſa, at his ſetting out for Conſtantinople, committed the government of it to an old eunuch, named Haſcen, who was an aga, and a renegado of the iſland of Sardinia, a great ſea-man, and one in whom he entirely confiſed. The emperor, before he attacked the place, diſpatched a gentleman to him, to perſuade him to ſurrender it. The envoy, in order to determine him to it, gave him an account of the emperor's power, his forces, his land and ſea armies, at the ſame time offering him conſiderable ſums; and concluding his diſcourſe with a representation, that he ought to make uſe of this occaſion to return into his own country, and of being re-admitted into the boſom of the church, from which he had been unhappily divorced by his unfortunate circumſtances. The eunuch heard him out with patience, but all the answer he returned him, was, "That it was a great  
" piece of folly for any one to take upon himſelf to  
" adviſe an enemy; but that it was a much greater  
" to hearken to the advice that an enemy gave." Upon which, he immediately diſmiſſed the gentleman.

THE governor had with him 800 Turks, who were old and experienced ſoldiers, and about 6000  
inhabi-

inhabitants, partly Moors, and partly refugees of Granada, all bearing arms, and all to a man resolved to be killed upon the spot, rather than fall again under the dominion of the Spaniards. The aga had likewise sent money and presents to several captains of the Arabs, in order to engage them to scour the country, and harass the camp of the Christians; to which they had but too natural a propensity, from the genius of their nation, which subsists only by incursions and plunder. All the plain was soon covered over with them; most of them had long javelins, which they hurled with so much dexterity, that the Christians found it a very difficult matter to parry the stroke.

WHILST these light horse were continuing their skirmishes, there arose, as night was coming on, a terrible storm, attended with an excessive cold rain, and which powered down in such floods, that it filled the Christian camp with water. The rain soaked the ground to such a degree, that they could march only in dirt and mire; besides, as they had not had time sufficient for the landing of their tents and equipages, the whole army had nothing but the sky to cover them; so that the soldiers matches were quite put out, and the powder in their pouches all wet. The governor, in order to make his advantage of this disaster, sallied out at day-break, with part of the garrison, who first fell upon three companies that were posted upon a stone-bridge, which led to one of the gates of the town: and the infidels, finding these soldiers benumbed with cold, cut them to pieces. This little success encouraged them to fall upon the emperor's quarter; but the colonels Colonna and Spinola ran thither, at the head of their regiments, sustained by the knights of Malta, who, though on foot, fell in so furiously among the Turkish and Moorish cavalry, that they killed a great number of them, and dismounted several. The author, to whom I am obliged for part of this relation, says,<sup>a</sup> that a French knight, brother Nicholas de Villegagnon

<sup>a</sup> Relation du siege d'Alger adressée au pape Paul III. par le secretaire de son legat,

non by name, throwing himself, with an impetuosity, natural to his country, into the midst of the infidels, was wounded in the left arm by a Moorish horseman, who struck him with his lance; but that the knight, having missed the thrust he made at him with pike, as the Moor was turning his horse to give him a second blow, the knight, who was very tall, and of a strength proportionable to his stature, leaped upon the crupper of his enemy's horse, gave him a stab, and threw him to the ground. Nor were his companions inferior to him in bravery; for they all rallied about the standard of the order, when Ferdinand de Gonzaga, one of the emperor's lieutenant generals, addressing himself to the grand bailiff of the order, cried out, "Courage my  
" brave commander; 'tis not enough for us to beat  
" these dogs, we must pursue them, and enter with them  
" into Algiers; 'tis destined for your knights alone  
" to finish a war before it be begun, and take a place  
" of such strength without arms or artillery." The knights, who, by this time, had little strength left but what their courage supplied them with, did not yet need to be encouraged with such discourtes; but, inflamed with the highest ardor, pursued the enemy to the very gates of the city, and were just ready to throw themselves into the place, when the governor, who was resolved to sacrifice all his soldiers who were out of the city, to the fury of the Christians, ordered the gates to be shut. The above mentioned writer relates, that the chevalier Ponce de Savignac, a Frenchman, who carried the standard of the order, fixed his dagger in the gate, as a proof that he had advanced as far as it was possible for him to go. As the rain ceased in the morning, the old governor seeing from the walls that his soldiers, in this sally, had had none but the knights, and some Italian companies to fight with, he ordered the artillery, which was upon the town rampart on that side, to be levelled against them; and, at the same time, in order to prevent their retreat, he made a second sally with the best troops of his garrison, armed with iron cross-bows, which were of great use to them



in rainy weather. They were now come a second time to a close engagement, when most of the Italians, who were raw soldiers, that had never seen a battle, and being also benumbed with cold, either ran away, or suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, without offering to make the least defence. The emperor, having notice of the danger to which the knights were exposed, sent some companies of Germans to their succour: the bailiff Schilling, of the same nation, put himself at their head, made a fresh charge upon the infidels, pushed them a second time to the gates of Algiers, and brought back his troops covered with glory and wounds. The infidels shot poisoned arrows, so that all who were wounded with them died afterwards, and among the rest, brother Ponce de Savignac, standard-bearer of the order, the very knight who had stuck his dagger in the gate of Algiers. This brave man, notwithstanding his having received a large wound from a cross-bow, and though he felt the poison creeping forward, and approaching his heart, he yet had the courage and strength to carry his standard, supported only by a soldier, always aloft, and would not quit it till the moment he expired. 'Tis said, that the order, besides this knight, and the chevalier de Villars, of the language of Auvergne, who was disabled by his wound, lost above 75 knights on this occasion; among which are reckoned brother Diego de Coutreas a Spaniard, brother Lopez Alvarez a Navarette, brother John di Pennas a Castilian, brother Peter de Ressay, John Babot, Charles de Gueval, and John Pinard, all Frenchmen, brother Joseph de la Cosa, and brother Maria Catracanti, Italians, three chaplains of the order, and about 400 soldiers in the service of the order.

BUT this loss was inconsiderable, if compared to that which the emperor sustained that day, by the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. Black clouds began to hide the light of the sun, after which followed such a violent storm, that it looked as if the winds, the sea, the earth, lightning, thunder, rain, and all the elements confounded, had conspired together to destroy

the army of the Christians. The ships, driven from their anchors by the violence of the storm, seemed one while to be carried aloft in the clouds by mountains of water, and the next moment sunk down in the gaping ocean, and seemed to be plunged to the very bottom of it. Some of them, tossed by the violence of the winds, the pilots and mariners being no longer able to manage them, struck, and were dashed to pieces against one another; others, driven along the coast by the force of the tempest, split upon the rocks, and were beat to pieces; so that in less than half an hour, fifteen gallies and eighty six vessels were lost. That which made this loss still greater was, that these ships were laden with provisions; by which misfortune, the land army lost likewise all hopes of subsistence; and especially in a country that was desert, and in the possession of Barbarians, who triumphed in the calamities of the Christians.

IN this extremity, some officers of gallies, seeing their loss inevitable, and hurried on with despair, endeavoured to run a-ground upon the coast, in hopes that the storm would throw them upon some place nearer land, whence some of them might be fortunate enough to save themselves, either by swimming, or getting upon shattered pieces of their vessels. Several took this sad resolution, and either perished miserably, or else were killed by the Arabs, who lined the shore, and who murdered these poor creatures unmercifully, or without caring to make them slaves, as the historian Ulloa, whose father was in this fatal expedition, informs us. This author relates further, that the vessel of Don Antonio Carriero, a flag officer, having been split to pieces, a young Spanish maiden of exquisite beauty, who was his mistress, and was on board his ship, being thrown by the waves upon the shore, an Arab, at the sight of her rich cloaths, and the jewels she had on, ran immediately to seize upon her as his prey; and without being the least moved with either the prayers, tears, or even the charms of that young lady, murdered her inhumanely in cold blood.

THE sea was now covered over with broken vessels, pieces of timber, and bodies of men and horses, which were floating up and down. The galley of Janetin Doria, the great admiral's nephew, whom he loved so entirely, running designedly a-ground, stuck fast in the sand on the sea-shore. He too would have been killed by the Arabs, had not the emperor, who was a melancholy spectator of the wreck, sent down Don Antonio d'Arragon, with some Italian companies, who saved him from those Barbarians. Historians say, that the admiral, hearing of the danger he had run, cried out, with tears in his eyes, "My nephew was to be exposed to that misfortune, to teach me before I die to weep at sea." Twelve gallies belonging to the admiral, four commanded by Virginio Ursini, several gallies of Naples and Sicily, and three hundred colonels, captains of ships, and other officers by sea and land, and upwards of 3000 men, soldiers and mariners, were lost on this occasion.

THE mariners of a galley of Malta, called *the Bastard*, having endeavoured to run her a-ground on a flat shore, where they might have saved their lives, brother Francisco d'Azevedo, who commanded her, perceiving their design, opposed it with the utmost intrepidity. And when the seamen, grown bolder by the common danger, represented to him that the order would be no great sufferers by the loss of the hulk of a galley, which had already served for upwards of twenty years, and had been repaired and refitted several times; the commander, laying hand on his sword, cried out as follows, "The order have intrusted me with this galley, and I will kill the first man who shall offer to sink her; so that we must either perish here, or save her." This heroic resolution, the courage and intrepidity of the knight, inspired his crew with the same bravery; and himself setting them a pattern, and scattering his money plentifully amongst them, they all set their hands to the pump; so that, notwithstanding the vast quantity of water that was got into the hold, he yet saved his galley. Another be-

longing to the order, called *la Catarinetta*, commanded by John Barrientos, had also like to have been lost by another unhappy accident : for his helm being broke by a violent shock of the waves, the vessel having no rudder, and being driven by the storm, was going to split upon the rocks ; but two bold seamen, tying ropes about them, had themselves let down stark naked into the sea, who fastened on another rudder, which they had in reserve ; and, without any manner of tools but their bare hands, put the needle through the eye of the helm, and by that means saved the galley.

NOR was the land army in less danger, the soldiers having neither tents, equipage, ammunition, nor even a day's provision, and destitute of the necessary remedies to cure the wounded. The author of the relation, from whom I have taken the above mentioned particulars, speaks to pope Paul III. to whom he sent it, as follows : “ I can assure your holiness that I saw five  
 “ knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volun-  
 “ teers, faint, and lose all their blood in the dirt, with-  
 “ out any body's being able to give them the least as-  
 “ sistance : by the emperor's orders they killed all the  
 “ horses of the army, and distributed them among the  
 “ soldiers by companies.”

THAT prince afterwards raised the siege, and kept the same order and method in his return, as he had observed at his landing. The knights of Malta, though most of them were wounded, had yet the post of honour, and were put in the rear, together with the soldiers of the order, and such of the army as were best armed. The author of the relation adds, that they were obliged to oppose the attacks of the governor of Algiers, who made continual charges upon them, at the head of his cavalry, in order to incommode the march of the army. At last the Christians came in the evening to the side of a brook called Alcaras, which the great rains had rendered unfordable, which obliged them to encamp, and spend the night there ; all which the workmen of the army employed in building a bridge, which they made of the  
 shattered

shattered remains of the vessels that were found upon the shore ; this being done, the army passed over it the next day. After three days march, they arrived near cape Matafus, where the poor remains of the fleet had put in. Here the army re-imbarked, with great joy at quitting the shore ; but they had scarce been three hours under sail, when a new storm arose ; the fleet was again dispersed ; several ships were lost ; and among the rest, one with seven hundred Spaniards on board, which was cast away in the emperor's sight, without there being the least possibility of giving it any succour. In fine, the Christians, after having passed through so many dangers, and been in a continual fear of being swallowed up in the sea, arrived at the port of Bugia, which had been in the Spaniards hands ever since its being taken by Don Pedro de Navarre, general to their catholic majesties. Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, came thither with provisions and refreshments for the emperor and his army, who received him very handsomely, and assured him of his protection ; when the weather growing fair, he set sail on the 16th of November for Cartagena, where he arrived the 25th of the same month. But before he re-imbarked, he sent away the bailiff of Germany, and all the knights, with the highest testimonies of his satisfaction, who being in three gallies that were half shattered, made shift, though with great difficulty, to re-gain the harbour of Malta.

AT the same time that the vessels and gallies of the order were detained in Africa at the siege of Algiers, the channel of Malta was often filled with corsairs, who kept the harbour in a manner blocked up, insulted the coasts of the island, and that of Goza, and carried off all such inhabitants as had the ill fortune to fall into their hands. The grand bailiff, at his return, had no sooner resited his gallies, but he put out to sea again, gave them chace, cleared the channel of those pirates, pursued them as far as the coast of Africa, took several rais or captains, and spread the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms, over all those seas.



BAD weather obliging him to put into the port of Tripoli, he was informed by an envoy from Muley-Hascen king of Tunis, who sent him to the governor of the place, that Barbarossa, incensed that the knights should appear at the head of all the enterprizes that the Christians engaged in against the African Turks, was soliciting at the porte for an order to lay siege to Tripoli; that Morat Aga, his lieutenant, was making preparations for it at Tachora; for which purpose he had raised a redoubt in the village of Adabus, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and put an advanced body on it, which kept Tripoli in a manner blocked upon that side: He added further, that Hascen's correspondence, and union with the emperor and the knights, had rendered him odious to the Turks, and other princes of his religion: that several of the principal cities of his kingdom, as Sufa, Monaster, Mahedia or Africa, Esfacos, and Calibia had revolted, some of which had received the Turks into them, whilst others pretended to maintain themselves in an absolute independence by their single strength; that a great number of Tunisian malecontents had, since the emperor's defeat, retired to Algiers, under the protection of Barbarossa; that there was no doubt but they would soon see that formidable corsair, at the head of an army, besieging Tripoli and Tunis; and that Hascen was going to set out immediately to wait upon the emperor, who was in Italy, to ask for those succours, which he hoped to obtain from him, as he owned him for his sovereign.

WE have already observed, that the knights had solicited the emperor, either to put Tripoli in a state of defence, or else to give them leave to fill up the port, blow up the castle, and abandon a city that was so chargeable to the order. The grand bailiff, after having reviewed the place again, held a council of war, at which the governor and principal knights of the garrison were present; and, pursuant to their unanimous resolution, they, with the consent of the grand master and the council, send new ambassadors to Charles V. who were to renew their instances, and to represent to him,  
that

that it would be impossible to keep a place that was open on all sides, without securing it with good walls, and fortifying them with out-works ; that the country afforded neither stone nor lime for those different works ; that they could not get any from Malta, without a great expence ; not to mention, that the knights found it difficult enough to fortify themselves there : and that in case his imperial majesty should think it proper for them to continue longer in so defenceless a place, it then was necessary for him, to order his viceroy of Sicily to send money, workmen, and materials thither forthwith ; that in order to prevent the siege they were threatned with, and whilst they were at work upon the fortifications, some companies of the Sicilian troops should be put into the place ; and that the gallies of that kingdom, with those of the order, should guard the sea, in order to hinder the infidels from making descents, and opposing the works they were forced to make for the security of the city.

THIS embassy had no better success than the former. For the emperor, who was afraid lest the Turks should attempt the conquest of Sicily, but who at the same time foresaw, that they would never employ their forces on that side, so long as the knights should be masters of Tripoli, was well pleased to have those warriors, at the price of their blood and treasure, employ his enemies forces in Africa : so that he signified to the ambassadors of the order, by his ministers, that he was desirous that the knights, pursuant to the treaty of the feofment of Malta, should maintain themselves in Tripoli ; to which he added specious promises of a mighty succour, in case the place should be besieged : but he excused himself from granting the troops and money demanded of him, because of the pressing occasion he himself had for it, in order to be able to oppose the forces of the French and Turks, who both attacked his own dominions, or those of the king of the Romans his brother, at the same time, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Hungary.

THE grand bailiff was sensibly concerned to see the ambassadors return without the least succour, and with having been fed with nothing but empty promises: however, as he was a man of great courage, though every thing was wanting to him, he yet was not wanting in what he owed to himself, and his order; so that he, before he left Tripoli, resolved to put it in a condition, in case it should be besieged, of holding out till such time as succours could be brought either from Malta or Sicily. To effect which he employed his crew of galley-slaves in sinking and widening the ditches in several places. They raised the walls higher, and added several works of earth to the castle, in order to keep off all approaches to it; at the same time he himself, and all the knights of his squadron and garrison, attended upon the workmen, and generously employed themselves in those military labours. But as, after all, fortifications which had been raised in so much haste, could at most serve only to protract the loss of the city for some days, the grand bailiff, knowing that the emperor was infinitely jealous of his glory, and would therefore make extraordinary efforts to support Muley Hascen in a kingdom which he considered as his own conquest, wrote to that Moorish king, by which he pressed him to hasten his departure, and go immediately to the emperor's court, flattering himself, that the succours, which he should obtain from that prince, would serve both for the preservation of Tripoli, and that the Turks, when they should see an army of Charles V. on the coast of Africa, would never run the hazard to form the siege of Tripoli, so long as it should continue there.

MULEY, pursuant to this advice, and his own interest, prepared to set out for Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom, and his capital, during his absence, to a Moor called Mahomet Temtes, or the Stammerer; a renegado of the isle of Corsica, Caid Ferrath by name, was to command in the castle: and as the king of Tunis was under continual apprehensions, because of the restless temper of prince Muley Hamida, his eldest son, he, in order to employ him out of the way, sent

him

him towards Cap-bon, with ſome companies of Arabs, to reduce ſome cheques, or little lords, who refuſed to pay the tributes which had been laid upon them.

MULEY, after having ſettled this order in his dominions, ſet out from thence, paſſed by Goletta, to viſit prince Mahomet his ſon, who was there in hoſtage with ſeveral Moors; and, after conferring with Don Francisco de Touar about the occaſion of his voyage, left his jewels and moſt valuable effects in his hands; putting at the ſame time great preſents for the emperor and his miniſters on board his ſhip: after which he embarked; and, whether it were from an oſtentation inſeparable from royalty, or for his own ſecurity and defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by corſairs in his way, he took with him an eſcorte of five hundred men, who were all either officers of war or courtiers, who ſerved him as a guard. Muley met with a good paſſage, and arrived without any obſtacle in Sicily, from whence he went to Naples, where the viceroy received him with great magnificence: From whence he diſpatched expreſſes, to deſire an interview with the emperor: but that prince, whoſe preſence was immediately neceſſary in Germany, on account of ſome diſturbances which the Lutherans had raiſed, ſent orders to the viceroy to confer with the Moorish prince on the ſubject of his voyage, and, after that, ſend him an account of it.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K X I.

**W**HILST the king of Tunis, and the minister of Charles V. were conferring together about the best methods that could be employed for the opposing Barbarossa, and the other corsairs, fortune raised an enemy to Muley, whom he had not sufficiently guarded against; an enemy who afterwards stripped him of his crown. Prince Hamida, Muley's eldest son, had a favourite called Mahomet, who by flattery, and a servile complaisance, the usual arts of courtiers, had gained his entire confidence. This favourite had concealed, in the most secret recesses of his heart, a mortal hatred, and a violent desire  
of

JOHN  
D'OME-  
DES.



of vengeance, against the king, who had put his father to death. He now imagined, that that prince's absence presented him with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his resentment. Upon this he raised suspicions in Hamida's mind, with regard to the king his father's voyage into a Christian country, telling him, at the same time, that he had reason to fear lest Muley should, at his death, leave his crown to prince Mahomet his second son; that this was perhaps the motive of the conferences, which he had with the governor of Goletta; that every body knew he had put all his treasures into his hands, and, that, in all probability, the sole motive of his visiting the emperor was in order to gain his approbation of this disposition, and obtain from him, as from the sovereign lord, an investiture in favour of his brother. Hamida being a young ambitious prince, and burning with the desire of reigning, took fire at the discourse, and, in concert with his favourite, got it to be whispered about in Tunis, that the king his father, being fallen grievously ill at Naples, had before his death desired to be baptized, and had accordingly turned Christian.

IN confidence of these reports, of which he himself was the secret author, and as if he had been certain of his father's death, he came to Tunis, and went to the palace, in order to take possession of it. But the viceroy, who was a resolute and austere old man, reproached him with his too great facility in giving credit to such ill news; and after having told him, that he would give Muley an account of his great eagerness to succeed him, he obliged him to retire from the capital. Hamida, in confusion at the ill success of his artifice, and uneasy at the consequences with which it might be attended, retired to a country house, some miles distance from Tunis. No sooner was he gone out of the place, but the viceroy, getting on board a bark, went to the castle of Goletta, in order to know from the governor of it what news he had received from Sicily and Naples; when being informed that the king his  
master

master was in perfect health, he returned back with joy to his government.

BUT Hamida's favourite made his advantage of this voyage, and spread new reports among the people ; as, that Muley's death was but too certain : that the journey which the viceroy had just made with so much haste and precipitation to Goletta, was purely upon that account : that it was well known that his brother Adulzes, and young Ferrath, son to the governor of the castle of Tunis, were brought up with Mahomet, and were with him in hostage in the fort of Goletta : that the viceroy had gone thither for no other end, but in order to adjust with them and the Christian governor, the surest measures for the placing of Mahomet on the throne of Tunis ; and that they would infallibly see an army of Spaniards, in a very little time, bring back that young prince to Tunis, and proclaim him sovereign of the kingdom.

THE people, who are always fond of novelty, readily swallowed these reports ; to which, every man adding something of his own, they were thereby improved with a great many fabulous circumstances. The partisans of Hamida were particularly careful to publish, that young Mahomet his brother, having been brought up among the Christians, had secretly embraced the Christian religion, as being the surest pledge he could give the emperor of his fidelity.

THE fear of having a Christian for their sovereign alarmed the whole city. They meet, cabal together, and in fine, send deputies to Hamida, to invite him to come to the succour of a people, who were desirous of setting the crown on his head. They found him walking in his gardens, buried in a profound melancholy, detesting the false step which his favourite had made him take ; and in a thorough persuasion that the king his father, at his return, would never pardon him the fatal eagerness which he had discovered to ascend the throne. But the news of the commotion of the people removed these melancholy apprehensions, and made them give way to joy ; upon which he assembled

ed his partisans, marched at their head, and favoured by the people, enters Tunis, surprisès the viceroy and the governor of the castle, gets them murdered, massacres the most zealous subjects of Muley, seizes on the palace; when the young tyrant begins his authority, by the most abominable incest, by forcing the dearest of his father's wives to his embraces.

As soon as the king of Tunis heard this dismal news, being afraid lest his son, in order to support himself on the throne, should strengthen himself with the protection and succour of Barbarossa, he resolved to return immediately into Africa; when, by the viceroy's consent, he levied 2000 men, which he got together among the banditti and exiles, putting an old officer of the country called l'Ofredo at their head; after which, he embarked, and arrived at Goletta, where he had the confirmation of the news, together with the various circumstances of Hamida's revolt. The governor advised him not to stir out of the place, till such time as he should have an exact account of the forces of his enemy, and the dispositions of his subjects: but Muley, possessed with a notion that his son would never dare to stand his presence, and encouraged by l'Ofredo, who was in hopes of enriching himself by the sacking of Tunis, advanced forward. That which finally determined him to take so dangerous a step, especially with so few forces, was, that some traitors, by the secret orders of Hamida, came to meet him on the road, as so many faithful subjects, who were come to fight under the banner of their lawful sovereign; telling him also, at the same time, that they had left his son in a terrible consternation at the news of his return, and in great irresolution what measures to take; and that he designed to retire to the farthest part of the country, and take refuge with some Arabs, who were his friends.

MULEY, imposed upon by the accounts of these traitors, hastened his march. At his drawing near Tunis, he saw some squadrons fall out, who by their countenances, which discovered an air of fear, seemed to advance only with a view to reconnoitre his troops.

They made however some light skirmishes; but whilst this party of rebels was amusing Muley, a greater number advanced, who began a general engagement. The troops having closed together, and begun a bloody battle, Muley, hurried on by his courage, and still more by his resentment, bravely attacked those troops which opposed him; but as he was fighting at the head of a squadron, he received a wound, which his soldiers believing to mortal, it immediately cooled their eagerness and fire. At the same time, a great body of foot, composed of Arabs, whom Hamida had taken into his pay, sallied out of the forest of olives, near Tunis. The Christians now saw themselves quickly surrounded; so that notwithstanding their courage and resolution, the infidels, who were superior in number, cut them to pieces. Some of these endeavouring to fly over the lake to Goletta, were drowned; and the unfortunate Muley, being abandoned both by the Christians and Moors, was taken prisoner. They carried him immediately to his son; but that traitor, who had yet some sense of shame for his crime left, would not see him, but ordered him to be put in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; and the next day he sent executioners to him, to offer him his choice either of death or blindness; when he chusing the latter, they immediately thrust a burning lancet into both his eyes.

THIS surprising revolution in a kingdom that lay so near Tripoli, and which was in alliance with the order of St. John, threw the knights into a great consternation; such especially of them, as saw themselves in Tripoli, at a distance from Malta, quite surrounded with infidels, and in a city that had no fortifications, and which was commanded from several places, expected every moment to be besieged. Ferdinand de Bracamont, who was governor there, despairing to be able to defend it, for any time, and under pretence that there was no honour to be got in the defence of so weak a place, used great instances with the grand master to be recalled, and at last got leave to quit his government, and had for his successor, Christopher de Solertarfan,

Solertarfan, the great chancellor, with whose conduct they had afterwards as much reason to be dissatisfied.

HOWEVER, as in a post of such importance, there was need of a governor of great experience, and equally wise and intrepid, the grand master and council thought proper to recal him, and put in his room the commander de la Valette, a knight of the language of Provence, who from the time of his profession at Malta, had never stirred from thence, unless it were to go a cruising against the infidels. He had, in these expeditions, met sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune; but had ever discovered the same courage and resolution in both, being sometimes victorious, and sometimes beaten; he also had been taken by the infidels, but the moment he got out of prison, had always gone a cruising again. His very name carried terror along with it, in the seas of Africa and Sicily; and among the great number of knights who went out a cruising, the infidels had not an enemy whom they dreaded more than they did him. He was no sooner arrived at Tripoli, than he made a review of the officers and soldiers, as well of the Christians as of the Moors in alliance with the order. All these he furnished with good weapons, broke all such as appeared to him unfit to bear them, or were convicted of having played them away for want of money; and punished blasphemers severely. He afterwards sent away all useless persons out of the town and castle, erected a magazine of provisions, added new fortifications to the place, as far as its ill situation, and the little money he had, would allow him; when causing an exact plan to be made of it, and of all the coast of Africa, he dispatched a knight with it to the emperor, to shew him of what importance it was for his Italian, and even for his Spanish territories, to keep Tripoli from falling into the hands of the infidels; and particularly into those of Dragut, who was at that time chief of all the corsairs of Barbary, and who had succeeded Barbarossa in that post, and in his design of driving the knights from the coasts of Africa.



DRAGUT, of whom mention is now made, was born in a little village of Natolia, lying over against the isle of Rhodes. His father and mother were Mahometans, both of them poor, who subsisted by tilling of the ground, and the labour of their hands; but this obscure and painful way of life, not suiting the warm and restless temper of young Dragut, he lifted himself when but twelve years of age, under an officer of the artillery, who served on board the grand seignior's galleys. He was at first a cabin-boy, then a common sailor, next a pilot, and afterwards, by his patron's instructions, an excellent gunner, in which quality he served for several years, on board of different vessels; when having gained some money, he came to be a partner in a brigantine of corsairs. After this, he soon got a galiot to himself, and made considerable prizes with it; upon which he increased his armament, and made himself to be dreaded over all the Levant. There was not one pilot among the infidels who had so perfect a knowledge of the islands, the ports and roads of the mediterranean, as Dragut: but as all who sailed in the seas of Turkey, at that time, depended in some measure on Barbarossa, the grand seignior's admiral, Dragut sought his protection, and went to Algiers to offer him his service.

THE reputation of this corsair had reached there before him; and Barbarossa had been well informed of his valour, and particularly of his capacity in the steering of vessels, for which reason he was glad to engage a man of so much merit in his service. He employed him for several years on various expeditions, in which he acquitted himself to his general's satisfaction, and with extraordinary success. Barbarossa, after having made him pass through all the degrees of service, made him his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys.

AFTER that time, there never passed a summer but this terrible corsair ravaged the coasts of Naples and Sicily. No Christian ship durst venture to go over from Italy to Spain, but it was immediately snapp'd up; and  
when

when the sea did not furnish him with prizes, he made himself ample amends by descents upon the coasts, when he plundered towns and villages, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery.

THE emperor, tired with the complaints which he received from all quarters concerning Dragut, ordered Andrew Doria his admiral to go in quest of him, find him out, and, cost what it would, to stop his progress, and clear the sea of him. Doria, upon the receipt of the emperor's orders, immediately fitted out all the vessels and gallies he could meet with, that were in a condition to bear the sea; and, as that old general was satiated with glory, he, in order to put his nephew Jannetin Doria in a fair way of acquiring his share of it, left the expedition to him. Hereupon young Doria set sail immediately; sought for Dragut, and was at last lucky enough to meet with him along the coast of the isle of Corsica, in the port or road of Giralatta, a castle seated between Calvi and Layazzo. The corsair, who knew nothing of the emperor's fleet being at sea, thought himself safe in that creek; but he soon found himself shut up in it, and the cannon both of the castle, and of the artillery of the vessels, continually annoying him: He at first defended himself with his usual courage; but the superior fire of the Christians overpowered his; and he saw likewise at the same time all the coasts of the island lined with the inhabitants in arms, a fierce people, who ran to contribute to his defeat, in order to be revenged on the corsair, who had so often ravaged their villages.

IN this extremity, Dragut had no other resource than to put up the white flag, when he desired to enter into a negotiation, and demanded terms, in quality of a prisoner of war. But all the composition he could get was to redeem his life at the price of his liberty; so that he was obliged to surrender himself to the Christian general, together with all the gallies he had under his command: upon which they brought him, together with his officers, on board the admiral galley to young Doria, who as yet not having a beard, the old corsair,

transported with rage, cried out, "Must I, at my age, see myself become a slave to a little smock-faced boy?" The historians of that age relate, that he made use of a term that was much more offensive, and which modesty forbids me to repeat; and that Jannetin, provoked with so outrageous an affront, struck him more than once on the face, and ordered him to be chained.

DRAGUT remained a slave for four years together; and though they offered any terms for his ransom, they yet could never prevail to have his liberty restored. But the Genoese being afterwards alarmed to see the famous Barbarossa with an hundred gallies in the river of Genoa, demanded Dragut from Doria; when to prevent their territory from being ravaged, they sent him back, with presents to the sultan's admiral.

BARBAROSSA restored him immediately to his former post, and gave him, as usual, a detachment of his gallies. The ill treatment he had received whilst he was a slave, had encreased his natural hatred to the Christians; whereupon he over-ran all the coasts of the kingdom of Naples, took and sacked Castel-Lamara, and most of the villages of the coast; made a great number of slaves, and a few days afterwards took a galley of the order, that had been separated from the squadron in a storm, on board of which he found seventy thousand crowns, that were designed for the fortifications of Tripoli; an irreparable loss with respect to that place, as well as to those to whom it belonged. Barbarossa was now returned to Constantinople; where, notwithstanding his being upwards of eighty years of age, he nevertheless passed his days and nights with the fairest of his slaves; but happening to carry his debauch too far, he was found dead in his bed.

SOLYMAN was sensibly concerned at this loss; and, to have his place filled up, ordered all the corsairs of his dominions to submit to Dragut, in quality of their general; but at the same time without honouring him with the dignity of admiral, notwithstanding which, he

he entrusted him with all the authority he had in the Southren parts, and on the coast of Africa.

THE ambition of Dragut grew up with his power, so that he resolved, in imitation of Barbarossa, to seize on some strong place and good port, into which, he, by virtue of Solyman's consent and protection, might bring in his prizes, and make it a kind of petty state and principality for himself. Big with these important views, and even before the orders of the port had determined in what manner the campaign should be carried on, he got together, during winter, all the corsairs that were in those seas, and, putting himself at their head, drove the Spaniards immediately out of the towns of Sufa, Monester, and Fagues, all of them places that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Tunis; but which being open, and without any fortifications, received indifferently into their ports the strongest side, whichsoever it might be, that happened to be master of the sea: so that they had passed several times successively from the dominion of the Moors, and natural princes of the country, to that of the Turkish corsairs, and afterwards fell under the dominion of the Spaniards.

DRAGUT made himself master of them with the same facility; but as he foresaw that it would be impossible for him to maintain himself in them against all the united forces of the emperor, and that as soon as spring should be come, he should infallibly be besieged by the gallies of Naples and Sicily, he cast his eyes on the town of Africa, otherways called Mehedia, and known in the time of the Romans by the name of Adrumetum. This city, which lies between Tunis and Tripoli, was built upon a narrow slip of land jutting out into the sea; they called it little Africa, as being one of the most considerable places in that third part of our continent: It was regularly fortified; its walls were very high; and it was strengthened moreover with ramparts on the inside, of an extraordinary thickness, provided with towers and bulwarks; and there was a large train of artillery in it, all in good order. There was also above the  
town,

town, and on an eminence that commanded it, a fort, or kind of castle, which served for a citadel. The harbour was large, safe, and sheltered from all winds: There was also another that was smaller, and particular for the gallies, which they shut up with iron rails. The waves of the sea washed the walls of the place, and encompassed it on all sides, except only in one part where it joined to the main land.

THE inhabitants, who were all Moors and Mahometans, had, after their revolting from the dominion of the kings of Tunis, their natural princes, formed a commonwealth among themselves; and for fear of being surpris'd, or of any attempt that should be made upon their liberty, would not admit either Turks or Christians into their city; and whenever, from a necessity of trading, they allowed of any foreign vessels coming into their harbour, they never suffered but a few to come in at a time, and that too with such precautions as secured them from being surpris'd.

THIS place, such as we have represented it, became the object of Dragut's ambitious wishes: But as he had not forces sufficient to attack it by open force, and that he was not certain, whether the grand seignior might approve of his employing his arms in that enterprise, he resolv'd to supply with artifice what he wanted in strength, and endeavour to take it by some intelligence which he might gain within the place; being persuas'd that princes very seldom disavow even the most unjust enterprises, when the succeeding in them turns to their advantage: For which end, and in order the better to reconnoitre the place, he sometimes put into the port, with a light brigantine, or galliot only, and oblig'd his soldiers to observe a certain complaisance and decorum that is rarely found among corsairs; after which, he insensibly contracted an acquaintance with one of the principal magistrates, Ibrahim-Barat by name, who commanded one of the principal towers that flank'd the walls of the town. Dragut cultivated this new friendship with presents, consisting of the most curious and valuable things he could meet with in his prizes;



prizes ; which indeed is the only method to gain the confidence of such Barbarians, and even too frequently that of Christians. He next began to insinuate to him, that he would freely admit him as a partner in all those prizes which he daily made, making him sensible of the immense profit that would accrue to him from such a partnership : But at the same time he observed to him, that in order to make this union stronger, and their partnership more durable, it were to be wished, that he could be admitted into the city in quality of a citizen. The Moor, tempted by the hopes of gain, undertook to make the proposal to the council ; but as it was a corsair who made the proposal, it was rejected by all the magistrates, and Ibrahim was severely reprimanded for having been the first who had ever offered such a proposal. The Moor, full of trouble and vexation to see himself refused, went to greater lengths than perhaps he at first thought to go : Dragut, thinking him capable of attempting any thing to be revenged, and in order to make his advantage of the heat of his resentment, made a proposal to him that he should receive him into the tower of the city which he commanded ; and, offering him considerable sums, he brought him to accept of it. The covetous Moor, unable to resist the temptation, entered entirely into Dragut's measures ; after which, their bargain was soon concluded, when they agreed that the corsair should go away immediately ; that, in order to wipe of the remembrance of his designs, and disperse the jealousy which the magistrates might entertain on that account, he should disappear for some time ; that he should afterwards take all the troops which he had in Susa and Monester, and make them draw off as openly as possible towards Africa ; and that he himself should come in the night to the foot of the tower, at an hour assigned him by the prior, who by the post he commanded would facilitate his entry into the city. This traitorous plot was put in execution before the inhabitants had the least notion of it ; for Dragut was let into the tower in the dark, from whence he entered into, and seized the principal

cipal posts of the city, when the day shewed the citizens their misfortune. They all however ran to arms, and encountered the enemy; but as every thing was full of trouble and confusion, they fought with more impetuosity than conduct. The corsairs cut part of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to throw down their arms, and submit to acknowledge a man for their master and sovereign, whom they had refused to admit in quality of a citizen. He afterwards brought fresh troops into the place, which inspired a dread of his authority, and was of use in supporting it; when having established his new dominion on such solid foundations, he put the government of the city into the hands of a young corsair his nephew, rais or captain Essé by name.

HE afterwards, pursuant to the orders of the porte, set sail from Africa, in order to continue his cruising against the Christians; but, before he embarked, left orders with his nephew, to make away with the Moor, who had let him into the place, during his absence; for fear lest a repentance for having betrayed his country, or the hope of a larger recompence, might engage him in a new treachery. The governor did not fail to execute his orders immediately after his departure, and Ibrahim received the reward which his treachery so justly merited.

THE news of the taking of Africa alarmed all the coasts of Sicily, and gave the emperor great uneasiness. This prince saw plainly that the corsair was going to make it the seat of his arms; that its port would serve him for the future as a retreat for his vessels, and that from thence he might easily infest all those seas, and make a terrible havock over all the coasts of Naples and Sicily; to prevent which, he resolved to besiege that city, before his dominion should be better settled in it. But before he engaged in so difficult an enterprise, his council was of opinion, that it would be proper to recover Susa, Monester, and the other places in the neighbourhood, from whence the corsairs might draw succours.

DORIA, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, with the fleet under his command, being reinforced with the pope's gallies; and the grand master, at the emperor's request, sent those of Malta upon this expedition, under the command of the bailiff de la Sangle. There were in this squadron an hundred and forty knights, and a battalion of four hundred men of the troops in the service of the order. When all these forces were joined, the Christian fleet set sail, stood away for the coast of Africa, and, upon advice, which Doria received, that Dragut was in the port of Monester, he went thither to meet him; but the corsair was too cunning, as well as too diffident, to shut himself up in so weak a place, and therefore sailed out, and put to sea; when having certain notice that Doria had not troops enough on board his fleet to form the siege of Africa, he, either in order to avoid coming up with him, or else to make a diversion, till such time as he might be satisfied of his designs, over-ran the coast of Spain, where he continued his usual ravages.

DORIA, on his side, pursuant to the emperor's orders, landed his small body of troops at Cap-bon, and seized on the fort of Calibia, the old Clupea of the Romans, from whence he advanced up to the gates of Monester: At the approach of the Christian troops, which did not appear to be very numerous, the Turks, together with the inhabitants that had taken arms in their favour, made a sally, not so much with any design of fighting, as to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. But the knights, who had the van, and were sustained by a Spanish regiment, sparing them the trouble of coming up to them, advanced at a great pace, came up with them, forced the Moors against their wills to come to an engagement, killed a great number of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them so close, that they got to the city along with them, and by that means made themselves masters of it; part of the inhabitants, who had not been concerned in the sally, together with such Turks as had escaped the first fury of the victorious, took refuge with the governor in the castle. Doria summoned

moned the commander to surrender, and upon his refusal, planted his batteries, and the artillery played upon the fort. The Christian admiral fancied himself dishonoured by attacking such an inconsiderable place according to the ordinary rules made use of on such occasions; and therefore, as soon as a breach was made, he, without examining whether it was large enough, ordered them to prepare for the assault. The inhabitants would willingly have capitulated; but the governor, an old corsair, who had a good number of his brother pirates with him, stoutly rejected the proposal. His boldness, and Doria's precipitation, caused both the attack and the defence to be equally warm and bloody; the order lost a great part of its knights in it, and the battle had lasted for above an hour and an half before a judgment could be made of its success; but the governor having been killed upon the breach with a musket-ball, that blow, as if all the soldiers of the garrison had been knocked down with it, quite damped their courage, and they offered to capitulate. The corsairs, to save their lives, consented to lose their liberty; and the inhabitants, who, out of zeal for their religion, had taken arms in their favour, did not meet with better treatment.

THE emperor taking this first advantage for a good omen, ordered Doria to dispose every thing for the siege of Africa, and signified to him that the viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to furnish him all the succours of troops and ammunition he might have occasion for. Upon this, the admiral wrote immediately to Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and to Don Juan de Vega, who commanded in Sicily, to send him, with all imaginable expedition, what galleys and ships they had, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions, and a body of land forces on board. During his waiting for their coming up, to prevent any troops from entering into Africa, he posted himself at the islands called Cumilieres or Coniglieres, which lie nearer that place than Monester, though the latter was but at three miles distance. The viceroy of Naples sent him word that he was getting ready a strong reinforcement,

ment, which should be commanded by Don Garcia his son ; the viceroy of Sicily gave him the like assurances ; and added, that as the people of his government, by their situation nearer Africa, were more strongly bound in point of interest, to drive the corsairs out of that place, he therefore designed to head his troops in person ; but as the succours he was preparing were not yet got ready, and that Dragut was scouring the seas with several squadrons, in order to surprize the Christian vessels, and ruin the enterprize, the viceroy, for his security, insisted that the admiral should fix the general rendezvous of all the Christian fleet at Trepano in Sicily : to which he added, that he was resolved to go thither himself, with all his ships and gallies, and, when their squadron should be joined, and all the emperor's sea forces united in one body, they then might go in concert, without the least interruption, to form the siege of Africa.

THE admiral, who, from the Cumilieres islands, kept the port of that place in a manner blocked up, foresaw very well, that if he should quit his post, Dragut would not fail to make use of the opportunity, and throw in succours ; but as he had received private orders, to do nothing in the carrying on the siege without the advice of Don Juan de Vega, who was an old officer, and an excellent general, Doria was forced to go to him to Palermo, from whence they went together to Trepano, at which place the gallies and troops of Naples and Malta were already arrived.

THE Neapolitan succours consisted of twenty-four gallies, and several vessels with land forces on board. Don Garcia de Toledo, as has been already observed, commanded this strong squadron ; and as Doria seldom quitted the sea, that young lord flattered himself with the hopes of carrying on the siege himself, and of having all the honour that would accrue from thence ; but hearing that the viceroy of Sicily had declared his resolution of going thither in person, he was so vexed to see himself balked of the glory he had hoped to gain



by that means, that he re-imbarked as if he intended to go away, and separate from the rest of the army; but in order to cover his discontent with some specious pretence, he told Doria, that as the viceroy his father had received orders from the emperor to put all his gallies to sea, in order to go in search of Dragut, and fight him, he could not dispense with his instructions.

DORIA saw with grief, that this division between the chiefs, arising from a jealousy for the command, would make the enterprise miscarry; and that Don Garcia, though a young officer, yet being independent on the viceroy of Sicily, was for making his advantage of the great occasion they had for the body under his command. He did all that lay in his power to keep him with them, and prevent his going off; and they made a kind of negotiation of that affair; the bailiff de la Sangle, commander of the gallies of Malta, had the management of it by Doria's order: that judicious knight carried messages between both parties; but Don Garcia, what proposals soever they might make him, would not abate a title of his pretensions: he maintained, that as he commanded a fleet and body of troops in chief, nothing could oblige him to serve as a subaltern, without express orders from the emperor to that purpose: that indeed he was sensible of the respect that would be due to the emperor's flag, and to his great admiral, so long as he should be out at sea; but that when they should be a-shore, and especially in a foreign country, he would never submit to receive orders from a general, who had no right to claim any authority over the Neapolitan troops. (This dispute was very warm, and lasted several days; when at last the bailiff de la Sangle, who was of a reconciling temper, brought them to agree to the following resolutions, viz. that they should both have an equal authority a-shore; that each should command the troops which he had brought with him to the siege; that the council of war should regulate and determine the attacks, by the plurality of voices; and that orders should be  
given

given in the emperor's name, in the same manner as if he commanded in person at the siege. These disputes being happily over, the whole fleet set sail, stood away for Africa, when they landed the 1550. troops on the east side of the place, on the twenty-sixth of June.

DRAGUT, during Doria's voyage into Sicily and Trepano, had not failed, as that experienced admiral had foreseen, to throw a strong reinforcement into the place; he had put some of his best officers into it, with supplies of provisions and ammunition; and at the same time put out to sea, in order to intercept the convoys that should be sent to the Christian army. The governor of Goletta, who was an officer of great reputation and distinguished valour, came, by the emperor's express orders, to the siege; and the grand master of Malta, knowing the loss which the order had sustained at the assault of the castle of Monaster, sent a new recruit of knights to supply the place of such as had been killed.

AFTER the generals had landed their troops, their ammunition and artillery, they opened the trenches, they raised batteries, and the artillery began to fire upon the place. When the magistrates, and principal inhabitants, who were all rich merchants, saw a formidable army before their walls, they detested the piracies of Dragut, which had drawn that war upon them, and they began to talk openly of treating with the Christians; but Rais Effé, who was Dragut's nephew, and governor of the place, being a resolute soldier, threatened, that if they mentioned so much as a single word about capitulating, he would stab them all one after another, and afterwards set fire to the city; and, upbraiding them with their cowardice, he asked them in a softer tone, whether, in case of their surrendering themselves to the Christians, they could be so silly as to believe that their mortal enemies, when once become their masters, would leave them in the exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their estates; adding, that they ought to consider, that in this war

every thing that was dear to man lay at stake ; they having their lives, their liberties, their religion, their wives, and their children to defend. At the same time he, in order to encourage them, represented to them the strength of the place, the numerous artillery, the arms and ammunition that were in it ; telling them further, that he had 1700 foot and 600 horse under his command, all which his uncle had chosen from amongst his best troops, who, like himself, had taken a resolution to bury themselves in the ruins of the place, rather than surrender it to the Christians. The magistrates, intimidated rather by his menaces, than encouraged by his promises, prepared, though against their wills, to sustain a siege, which it was not in their power to prevent : But the populace, who were furious with zeal, and so much the more jealous of their religion, as they knew but very little of it, made no other answer to the governor's discourse than by venting imprecations against the Christians. They all strove to out-vie each other in their exhortations to die for the sake of their religion ; and prejudice and obstinacy supplied the place of resolution and courage.

THE governor, in order to confirm them in these sentiments, and to give them a proof that he was not afraid of the Christians, ordered his cavalry to sally out with three hundred arquebusiers, who advanced to a rising ground near adjoining, whence they fired upon the emperor's camp, with their muskets and some field pieces. Don Garcia, whose quarter lay near to it, marched immediately with part of his troops, in order to dislodge them from that post : the skirmish was warm and obstinate, as indeed generally happens in the first combats, by the success of which, men often judge before-hand of the fate of the whole enterprise. The governor, in order to sustain his men, sent out six hundred Moors, armed with muskets, to their succour, who made a furious discharge, which made a terrible havock among the Neapolitans. Although the viceroy of Sicily might not perhaps be sorry to see Don Garcia beaten and repulsed, yet the emperor's service, and  
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the interest of the common cause, made him urge the knights to advance to the succour of the Neapolitans; upon which the bailiff de la Sangle, who commanded the battalion of Malta, marched out immediately, came up with the Moors, charged them sword in hand; when those infidels, who were very unfit to stand their ground in battle, broke away in a moment. The infantry got back to the gates of the town, which were shut after them; and the cavalry, dispersing themselves in the plain, as fast as their horses could gallop, threw themselves into a forest of olives, where they immediately disappeared.

THE cannon had begun with battering the fausse-braye, and the pannel of the wall which ran cross the slip of land before mentioned; when the breach appearing to be practicable, they sent officers to reconnoitre it. These, at their return, declared, that behind the breach they had discovered deep intrenchments, which were well flanked, the bottom of which was stuck full of iron spikes; for which reason they would infallibly lose all the troops they should send upon the attack: But the viceroy of Sicily, suspecting that fear might have a considerable share in this report, or at least that it was greatly exaggerated, prevailed upon them to come to a resolution of making an assault on the Friday following; during which interval they redoubled the battery, in order to widen the breach. On Friday, two hours before day-break, the viceroy, who was for having all the honour of the enterprise to himself, notwithstanding the undisputed right which the knights had of being at the head of all attacks, advanced with his own troops to the foot of the wall.

THE Sicilians found the breach of the faussebraye lined with enemies, who made a terrible fire, and killed a great number of the Christians. But the assailants, without the least fear, and perhaps without knowing all the danger, got to the top of the breach, when the bravest of them threw themselves desperately into the ditch, which was between the faussebraye and

the fort: but they were all killed upon the spot, except one man only, whom the infidels spared, and took prisoner, purposely to get some light into the designs of the Christians. Other troops advanced to sustain this first body, but without meeting any better success: for they met every where with deep cuts and intrenchments lying one above another, from whence they were galled continually with cannon and musket-ball, that flew as thick as hail. The fire of the besieged demolished every thing that dared so much as to appear. This assault cost the generals the bravest of their soldiers, who, in order to prevent their losing any more, ordered a retreat to be sounded. The officers, as well as soldiers, disheartened at so dangerous an attack, threw themselves with precipitation into their trenches. This ill success struck a great damp on the ardor of the besiegers. If the discontented and dejected soldiery did not dare to speak of raising the siege, they nevertheless saw plain enough, that it would spin out to a great length. What made the calamity still greater was, their provisions began to fail; and contagious distempers, contracted from fatigue and unwholesome food, attacked both officers and common soldiers.

THE bailiff de la Sangle, who reckoned hospitality to be his chief duty, erected a kind of hospital and infirmary in his tents, where he took great care to have the sick soldiers well looked after. The knights, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, attended on them in their turns; so that now all the army admired their charity as much as they had done their courage. Dragut, who was ever attentive to the defence of a place that was of such importance to him, endeavoured to throw succours into it; whereupon he landed eight hundred of his men; and getting together three thousand Moors, all of them good arquebusiers, whom he had levied with his money, he lay snug with them in the forest of olives near Africa, to which place the Christians used to come for their fascines. His design was to have attacked the lines



on St. James's day, who being the patron of Spain, he, for that reason, hoped to find the soldiers either drunk or in disorder, and absent from their colours; and, in order to facilitate the getting in of the succours, he had given the governor notice to make a sally at the same time with all his garrison: but chance was the occasion of his ambuscade's being discovered, and brought on an engagement sooner than he intended; for the viceroy of Sicily, going into the forest with the bailiff de la Sangle, the governor of Goletta, and a great escort of knights, to order the cutting of fascines, Dragut, who lay concealed there, suffering them to come near him, rose up suddenly with his men, gave them a terrible fire, and fell in immediately upon the knights with their drawn sabres. The bailiff, notwithstanding his being surpris'd by the enemy, soon put his men in order, they being all old warriors, who knew very well how to fall into it of themselves, so that the battalion formed itself without any manner of difficulty; after which, there followed no small skirmish, but rather an obstinate engagement; and they fought for a long time together with various success. The Turks and Moors, by their frequent firing, killed a great number of Christians, among which the loss of Lewis Peres de Vargas governor of Goletta, and several of the bravest knights, were particularly regreted. The viceroy met with some difficulty in drawing his troops out of the forest, and recovering the plain: Dragut pursued him for some time, and made several charges; but finding still the same men, and a body of warriors, which, tho' small in number, did yet discover the most intrepid air, making head against him, he drew off his troops; and the Moors, knowing the country, threw themselves into the forest again, dispersed as usual, and did not rally, till such time as they came near Fagues, which was their rendezvous.

At the viceroy's return, the generals held a council of war, when by their orders and directions all the batteries continued firing with the same fury; besides which, they also raised some new ones: but the walls

were

were so thick, and so well strengthened with ramparts, that the cannon did no more than graze upon them as it were ; and the breaches seemed so small, and were covered with intrenchments that were so well fortified, that they durst not hazard a second assault. They even began to fear that they should be obliged to raise the siege ; but Don Garcia, who was full of fire, always in action, whose thoughts were entirely bent on the success of the enterprise, formed a design which gained him the principal honour of it. He had learned from some deserters, that a part of the wall, which the sea washed, was weaker than the rest, and even neglected by the besieged, who did not think that great vessels could come near it, by reason of the banks of sand which the waves had drove on that side. Don Garcia, after having communicated his project to the admiral, and to the council, took the hulks of two old gallies that drew but little water, bound them fast one to another, and raised a battery upon them with parapets and port-holes. This machine was in a dark night towed by some skiffs and great boats, and brought over against the place where he intended to make a breach ; and he made the two gallies fast with four anchors, two of which were towards the land and the wall, and the other two towards the main sea.

THEY began at day-break to batter the pannel of the wall, that lay opposite to this platform ; and the cannon fired with so much fury, that a great part of the wall was beat down in a little time : a reasonable breach, in the opinion of the engineers, was soon made ; so that the generals resolved to try an assault. The knights of Malta, pursuant to custom, and the privilege of that illustrious body, had the post of honour assigned them, advanced first to the storm. The bailiff de la Sangle regulated their march, and the order of the attack : he ordered that the commander de Giou, supported by two files of the oldest knights, should carry the standard of the order at their head. The chevalier de Guimeran, and, in case he should be killed, the chevalier Copier was to sustain this first body  
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with all the young knights, and several volunteers of different nations, who had desired to fight under the banner of St. John. They put in their rear four companies of the Maltese soldiers, each of them commanded by officers of the order; and the bailiff, with some old knights which he kept about him, was to close the march, in order to go afterwards to such places as should have the most need of his presence and assistance.

THE viceroy of Sicily with his own troops, and Don Garcia with those of Naples, in order to make a diversion, undertook respectively to make other attacks; and these two generals, from an emulation of glory, and to have each of them the honour of first planting his standard on the top of the breach, promised their soldiers extraordinary rewards. The knights, who had no need of such self-interested motives, the moment a cannon-shot had given the signal for an attack, got into skiffs, and light shallops, which drew but little water; notwithstanding which, most of these brave knights, seeing themselves stopped every moment by banks of sand, leaped into the sea with their swords drawn, and, marching up to the middle, and often up to the shoulders, in water, they at last got to the foot of the wall. The infidels appeared upon the highest part of the breach, and, in order to keep the Christians from approaching it, plied them at the same time with their great and small shot, with arrows, stones, fire-pots, and boiling oil, making a weapon of every thing that lay next to their hands. However the knights, not daunted at the number of their dead, surmounted all these obstacles, and forced their way to the top of the breach, by the side of a tower that joined to the corner of the wall. The commander de Giou immediately set up the standard of the order; but he was the same moment struck backwards by a musket-ball: the standard was taken up by the commander Copier, who held it aloft during the whole battle, in the midst of all the fire, and the showers of cross-bow-shot. In the mean time the cannon which played upon them from  
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the adjoining tower, and the fire of the musketeers from the intrenchment, made dreadful havock among the knights, who were unable either to advance forward themselves, or force the infidels to retire back. A great number of knights, and noble volunteers, who fought under their banner, and most of the Maltese soldiers, lost their lives on this occasion. The commander de Guimeran, who was at the head of the attack, was infinitely concerned to see his brother knights killed by his side, yet could not resolve with himself to abandon his post. When, happily for him, as he was turning his eyes on all sides, he discovered on the left hand, thro' the ruins, a little path that led to the body of the place; others pretend that was the ruins of a gallery of communication: be that as it will, the commander, at the head of his companions, makes an effort, repulses every thing that he meets with in his way, opens himself a passage, rushes into the gallery, which was all gone to ruin, except the beams and some joysts, and, marching over them with as much resolution as he would have done over a stone bridge, he makes his way into the city.

At this noise the inhabitants ran up and down, and, alarmed by the cries of their wives and children, barricade themselves in the streets, get into the houses, from whence they make a terrible fire. Here the knights found themselves stopped again, and obliged in a manner to make as many sieges as there were intrenchments in every quarter. But whilst they were thus fighting, the Turks and Moors, who were opposing the Neapolitans and Sicilians, hearing that the Maltese were got within the place, abandoned the defence of it, to run to the succour of their houses and families. Upon which the Christians immediately spread themselves over the city, and made them sensible, that every man's maintaining himself in his respective post would have been the only way for them to have preserved their particular fortunes. The poor inhabitants, after having made a pretty weak resistance in some quarters, seeing the enemy master of the place, fly for their lives. Some  
make

make the best of their way to the plain and the forest; others get into boats. Some out of despair threw themselves headlong into the sea, and Dragut's soldiers; who were more afraid of his reproaches than of death itself, went to seek it on the point of the Christians swords, not one of them would call for quarter, so that they all made themselves be killed to a man. They met with a considerable booty in this place; for besides 7000 slaves, of every age and sex, the soldiers found the city filled with magazines of very rich merchandize, and plenty of gold, silver, and precious stones in the houses of the principal inhabitants.

BUT the richest booty was the place itself, which, at that time, was the strongest on the coast of Africa. The viceroy of Sicily, who had no longer occasion for the succours of the Neapolitans, openly claimed all the honour of taking it; put his son in it as governor, leaving, at the same time, a garrison consisting of six companies of foot. After which the breaches were carefully repaired, the ditches cleaned; and having purified and consecrated the principal mosque, they interred in it all the knights and principal officers who had been killed in the siege. The emperor having been afterwards obliged to abandon this place, their ashes were transported to Sicily in two distinct chests, which were deposited in the cathedral church of Montreal; and, by the viceroy's order, they erected a stately monument to their memory, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

*Death has been able to put an end to the lives of those whose ashes rest under this marble; but the remembrance of their great valour shall never die. The faith of these heroes has given them a place in heaven, and their courage has filled the earth with their glory; so that the blood which flowed from their wounds has, instead of a transitory life, procured them two lives that are immortal.*

DRAGUT,



DRAGUT, enraged at the loss of the town of Africa, of his treasures and his slaves which were lodged there, ascribed it chiefly to the knights of Malta; and accordingly made his complaints of it to the grand seignior: his agent at the porte represented both to that prince, and to the divan, that the emperor, by this conquest, had one of the principal keys of Africa in his power; that he was master of the fortress of Goletta, and of most of the places that depended on the kingdom of Tunis; that the knights of Malta, who were devoted to that prince, had fortified themselves in Tripoli; that there was reason to apprehend lest the Arabs, being great enemies to the Turks, should facilitate their passage over the deserts into Egypt; and that the knights, under pretence of delivering Jerusalem and Palestine from the dominion of the Ottomans, might penetrate into those countries, revive the antient spirit of the crusades, and bring into their party the forces of the Christian princes, who were formidable when united together.

SOME noble presents, the surest interpreter to obtain a hearing at the porte, which Dragut got to be distributed among the principal bashas, engaged them to represent to the grand seignior, that his highness was more concerned in the loss of Africa than Dragut; that the enterprise was a breach of the treaty made with the Christians, which continued still in force; that he could not avoid discovering his resentment upon that account; and that it was particularly necessary they should drive the knights, those declared and eternal enemies of the alcoran, out of all Africa, as he had done already out of Asia.

SOLYMAN, in that height of power to which his birth and conquests had raised him, was capable, with no great difficulty, of being blown up to indignation and resentment; nevertheless, as this monarch, contrary to the custom of most of his predecessors, valued himself mightily upon his religious observance of his treaties, he, before he began the war, sent, out of a sort of formality, a *chaoux* to the emperor, to demand in his name the restitu-

restitution of Sufa, Monester and Africa. Charles V. answered the envoy, that those places were dependences of the kingdom of Tunis, which held of the crown of Castile; and that, independent from his rights of high sovereignty, his generals had done only in that point what all sovereigns of all religions ought to do, with regard to a corsair, who was odious both to God and man; and that, as for himself, he was resolved, without thinking it any breach of the truce which he had made with his highness, to pursue that pirate into all places into which he should retire.

SOLYMAN, who was too powerful to be equitable, and who weighed his reasons only by the strength of his forces, was provoked at so resolute an answer; and therefore resolved to have satisfaction for it by some illustrious enterprise. Dragut had orders sent him, to get together, in a body, all such corsairs as carried the Turkish flag, and to keep them in a readiness to join the Ottoman fleet, which the sultan was for employing in this war: and in order to take away from Charles V. all pretence of treating Dragut as a corsair, he sent to him, as to one of his officers, a commission, constituting him Sangiac of the isle of Santa Maura. The grand seignior's design was to begin the campaign with the siege of the places which Doria, and the emperor's other generals, had lately taken; but Dragut took care to have represented to him, that the knights of Malta would infallibly traverse him in all those enterprises, and that their vessels would frequently intercept such convoys as should pass along the coast of Tripoli, or in the neighbourhood of Malta; and that therefore it would be absolutely necessary for them to fall with fire and sword upon that island, and on Tripoli, and to employ all his forces for the extirpating of those knights, who, notwithstanding their being few in number, had never yet failed to multiply as it were whenever a war was carrying on against the Musulmen.

THE grand seignior, who had never heard the knights mentioned at his court but as so many corsairs, who ruined the commerce of his dominions, entered into

Dragut's measures : and, as a powerful fleet was necessary for the execution of it, orders were given out accordingly, and they began to work without intermission in all the ports of his empire, in order to build and fit out gallies and vessels of all sizes. The noise of so great an armament soon came to the ears of Charles V. he made no question but that Dragut was the cause of the war, and that he, for his own private interest, would be glad to draw down his master's arms, and extend his power in Africa : in order therefore to lay the storm, it was necessary that Dragut should be destroyed, or that they should get his person once more into their hands. Charles V. from an opinion that if the sultan should find himself deprived of so experienced a general, who had been used to those seas for so many years, he would then turn the effort of his arms to some other quarter, commanded Doria to go in search of him, to fight him at any rate, and omit nothing in order to rid him of so dangerous an enemy.

DORIA, pursuant to the emperor's orders, put to sea in the spring with two and twenty gallies, besides galiots and brigantines, and in the month of March arrived upon the coast of Africa. The Christian admiral, hearing that Dragut, whom he was seeking, had put into the haven or channel of the isle of Gelves or Gerba, made for that place ; and, in order to prevent his getting out, came to an anchor at the mouth of the channel, in a place called Bocca de Cantara. The corsair, surpris'd by the arrival of the Christian fleet, worked all night in raising a rampart of earth at the mouth of the channel, from whence he play'd with his artillery upon Doria's gallies, and oblig'd him to retire further off out of the reach of his cannon. But the Christian admiral, fully persuad'd that his prey could not escape him, immediately dispatch'd away some brigantines to Sicily, to Naples, and Genoa, in order to have a reinforcement of troops sent him from those places.

His design in sending for these troops was, that whilst he, with his fleet, should keep the corsair in sight as it were, and also block up the mouth of the channel, they

they by that means might have an opportunity of landing in the island, of burning Dragut's gallies, and of taking him prisoner. Dragut, who foresaw his design, and that he was going to be invested both by sea and land, formed, in order to extricate himself out of so great a danger, a project as bold as it was extraordinary, and such a one as is scarce to be paralleled in history.

For Dragut, in order to keep up the Christian admiral's confidence, and make him believe that he was resolved to defend the entrance of the channel to the last extremity, caused several intrenchments to be made along the shore on both sides of it, well provided with artillery and musketeers, which made a continual fire when any Christian vessel dared to come near them; but at the same time the cunning corsair, by the help of his soldiers and galley-slaves, and the assistance of the Moors who inhabited the island, levelled with great secrecy, a road, which began at the place where his gallies lay at anchor, on which he raised a frame composed of several pieces of timber, covering it over with planks that had been rubbed with grease, in order for the better sliding of any thing upon it. After which, they hoisted the gallies by the strength of capstanes, upon this frame or floor of timber, and, with great wooden rollers, forced them forward to a part of the island where the ground lay much lower, and where he had caused a new canal to be dug, on that side of the isle which lay opposite to the channel of Cantara, and by which he transported his gallies from one sea to the other. Doria knew nothing of all this, till his being made sensible of it by the loss of the admiral galley of Sicily, which Dragut, out of a kind of bravado, took almost in his sight. The corsair, after this action, sailed for Constantinople, in order to hasten by his presence the departure of the fleet, which was designed against Tripoli, and the other places belonging to the order of St. John. The Christian admiral, amazed, and in greater confusion than if he had lost a considerable battle, came back into the harbour of Genoa; and, in order to evade pursuing the corsair, made use of the

honourable pretence of his being obliged to command in person those gallies that were to carry Don Philip of Austria, the emperor's only son, from Italy into Spain; so that he conducted the young prince to Barcelona, from whence he afterwards brought back Maximilian king of Bohemia, cousin german to Philip, and son to Ferdinand king of the Romans, whom his father had ordered to return home into Germany.

DORIA spent all the summer in making these voyages, whilst the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, being deprived of his succours, had joined their maritime forces; notwithstanding which conjunction, they yet did not find themselves strong enough to keep the sea, and therefore had sent to Malta to desire the assistance of the gallies of the order. The grand master, for the same reason, and from the apprehensions they were under of being besieged, ought not to have suffered his gallies to stir out of his ports; but the order at that time, and under the government of a Spanish grand master, was entirely devoted to the Austrian interest, and a request, or even a bare motion, coming either from the emperor or his generals, was considered by the grand master as an absolute order. However, there were some commanders in the council, who complained openly enough of the sending away the forces of the order, and the depriving them by that means of so necessary a succour, at the very moment they were going to be attacked by the infidels. But d Omedes, in order to keep the rest of the council from giving ear to such just reasons, declared his having certain advice that the fleet of the infidels was to be put to no other use that year, than \* to assist the king of France against the emperor: upon which, on his bare word, and still more by his interest and authority, the gallies had orders to join immediately those of the emperor; and the grand master, to pacify those who murmured at their being employed in this manner, gave orders to  
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\* De bello Melitensi ad Carolum Cæsarem Nicolai Villegagnonis commentarius.



the chevalier Pied-de-Fer, general of the galleys, when he took leave of him, that in case 1653. he should find the fleet of the infidels were steering their course for Malta or Tripoli, he then should return with all possible diligence into the ports of the order. But for the executing of such orders, it would have been necessary for him to have had a safe-conduct from the sea and winds, as well as from the enemy's fleet.

The port of Messina was fixed upon as the general rendezvous. Scarce had the several squadrons, which composed the Christian fleet, put in there, when they received repeated advices from the Levant, that the grand seignior was at sea, and that that formidable armada steered towards the coasts of Naples and Sicily, but that there was no judging where the storm would fall. This fleet consisted of 112 royal galleys, two great galleasses, thirty flutes, and several brigantines and transport vessels, all under the command of Sinan basha, with Dragut, and another famous corsair called Sala-raï for his lieutenants, together with 12000 men, most of them janizaries, on board, and a great number of pioneers, working tools, and machines proper for a siege. At the same time, the chevalier George de St. Jean, who was returned from scouring all the coasts of the Morea, into the harbour of Malta, reported, that the talk all over the Levant was about the siege of Tripoli, or that of Malta itself; and that which made the council still more uneasy, was, that the commander de Villegagnon, who arrived about that time from France into Sicily, wrote from Messina to the grand master and his particular friends, by which he informed them, that the grand seignior's armament was designed purely against the dominions of the order, and that he was set out from his own country purposefully to bring them certain advice of it, and to discharge that duty which by his profession he owed to the order. As this knight made at that time a very considerable figure both in France, as well as in his order, it may

not perhaps be improper to give a more particular account of him.

BROTHER Nicholas Durande de Villegagnon was a Frenchman, born of an antient family in the province of Brie. He was one of the handsomest men of his age, had a mind adorned with every kind of curious and useful knowledge; nor was he less distinguished by his valour, which commanded respect from the bravest captains his contemporaries. We have already taken notice of the advantageous manner in which he signalized himself at the siege of Algiers, and of the glory he there acquired in the fight of so many different nations as composed the army of Charles V. Nor had he less distinguished himself at sea, in the service of his prince, and in the post of vice-admiral of the coast of Bretagne. This gallant knight, at the first report of the grand seignior's preparations, and of Malta's being threatened with a siege, did not wait for a general citation; but with king Henry the Second's leave, leaving the court, and by that means all his hopes, arrived in Sicily, and acquainted the viceroy with the news he was carrying to the grand master. Nor did he fail to represent to him, in very zealous terms, the few troops, and the small stock of ammunition there was at that time at Malta, Goza, and Tripoli; pressing him moreover to send succours to those islands, as being feudatories of the crown of Sicily, and serving as a bulwark to that kingdom.

THE viceroy, imagining that the coasts of Naples and Sicily were more in danger of being attacked by the infidels than the places of the order, satisfied himself with saying, that he would omit nothing that might contribute to the defence of Malta, so far as was consistent with the interest of the island, of which he was governor. An answer given in such random and general terms, giving no satisfaction to Villegagnon, he went on board a brigantine, and arrived a few days after at Malta. At his landing, a crowd of knights came about him, and conducted him to the grand master; when, after having paid his first compliments to  
him,

him, that prince assembled the council, had him called in, and asked him what they thought in France of the grand seignior's armament? The French commander replied, that it was the common opinion, that all the forces of the Ottoman empire were going to fall upon the territories of the order; that when he, at his coming away, was taking leave of the constable de Montmorency, first minister of the kingdom, that lord had commissioned him to acquaint them, in his name, that they would be immediately attacked; that the grand seignior, vexed to find a great number of knights in all the armies, both of the emperor and the Venetians; and incensed particularly at the share they had had in the taking of Africa, intended to drive them out of Tripoli;<sup>a</sup> and the isles which they possessed; that he exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be surpris'd; that this advice was the result of the sentiments of that esteem and affection which he bore to an illustrious order, and which the grand master de l'Isle Adam, his uncle, had governed in the most perilous times, with the universal approbation of all the sovereigns of Christendom.

THIS news alarmed the council; so that they used the most pressing instances, in order to oblige the grand master to put the places belonging to the order in a state of defence; and all of them were unanimously of opinion, that he should immediately send succours to Tripoli, which was but poorly fortified, and whose garrison was composed of none but old and infirm knights, who had retired thither for the benefit of the air; that the little isle of Goza was not tenable, and that it was necessary to demolish the castle, for fear the Turks should establish themselves in a place that lay so near Malta; that they should transport the inhabitants of that island to Sicily, desire the viceroy to give them a retreat there, and to ask, by way of exchange, for some companies of foot to be sent to Tripoli.

THE

\* Id. Villegagnon, *ibid.*

THE grand master heard these different advices with a coldness next to insensibility ; when, after having expressed to Villegagnon how much he was obliged to the constable for the great concern he discovered for the order, he dismissed him ; and making the great crosses and pillars of the convent stay behind him, he said to them, with a sneer, “ Either this Frenchman is “ the constable’s bubble, or he has a mind to make us “ his.” But afterwards, affecting a more serious air, and which was more suitable to an affair of such importance, he told them, that they should never persuade him to believe, that Solyman had been at the expence of such an armament, with a view only of seizing upon Malta ; that so inconsiderable an object, and the conquest of a barren rock, would never answer, or make amends for the prodigious expence he had been at in fitting out so mighty a fleet ; but that in reality the grand seignior, who was one of the greatest politicians of his age, aimed at much higher designs ; that he was going, in concert with the king of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples ; that his fleet, which alarmed them so much, was expected in the port of Toulon ; that it was immediately to join that of France ; and that he likewise had certain advice of the king’s sending thither five mules loaded with money, for the pay of the infidels. That after all, it would be proper, before they should put themselves to expences, which would perhaps be thrown away, to wait for more positive accounts.

AN answer, in terms so full of coldness and indifference, raised the indignation of several members of the council : what Villegagnon had advanced with relation to the necessity they were under of fortifying Tripoli could never be thought an useless expence : but it was but too flagrantly known at Malta, that this prince, whose thoughts were entirely bent upon aggrandizing his family, reckoned all such money as lost, that did not turn to the profit of his nephews ; and that the weakest pretence, provided it was but useful in putting off any expence, how necessary soever it might

might be, appeared even in his eyes as a solid reason, and a certain advantage. Infomuch, that some commanders answered him in pretty warm terms, that it would not be prudent in the council, upon the doubtful testimony of some spies only, to continue in a state of indolence, at a time when the Ottoman fleet was drawing near, and the sight of so great a danger; that it was necessary to issue out a general citation forthwith, to summon together all the knights, who were dispersed up and down in different parts of Christendom, to fortify all those weak places in the isle of Malta, which might any way facilitate the descent of the infidels, to demolish the castle of Goza, transport the inhabitants of that island into Sicily, endeavour to get succours from the viceroy; and, above all things, recal the old knights from Tripoli, and fill up their places with a body of such as were younger, and more able to undergo the fatigues of a siege.

THE grand master, who was ever fond of money, told them, that he was not averse to the issuing out a citation, provided that they, till such time as a general chapter could meet, in order to provide for the expence that the arrival of such a great number of knights would occasion, would, in a full council, augment the responsions and taxes, which every commandery was obliged to pay. He added, that he could not give his consent to the abandoning of the castle of Goza, which was seated on the point of a rock, and which might serve for a retreat to the wives and children of the inhabitants of the island; and that the people would fight with greater courage and bravery, whilst they had such dear pledges before their eyes; and moreover, that he laid the utmost stress on the valour and experience of the chevalier d'Essé, who commanded there, in quality of governor. As to the exchange which they proposed to make of the garrison of Tripoli, he opposed it, under pretence that it was not prudent to weaken Malta, in order to fortify a place that lay so remote, and that the drawing some companies of foot thither from Sicily would be succours sufficient; and lastly, that



that he would write immediately to the viceroy upon that account.

HOWEVER weak his reasons might be, yet all they could say had not strength enough to get the better of his obstinacy, or remove his prepossessions; and what was worse was, that his opinion, through the compliance of the Spanish and Italian commanders, prevailed in council. They likewise laid aside the design of a general citation, from a notion they entertained, that in case the Turks should have orders to attack the territories of the order, they would arrive before Malta, before the citation could have passed the sea; when, after making a few slight fortifications in all such places as they might make descents, the grand master continued in as strange and surprising an inactivity, as if he had taken his orders from the Turkish general, or had been in concert with him. However, the viceroy of Sicily, who knew of what consequence the preservation of Malta was to Sicily, did, at his request, send a recruit of two hundred Calabrians, which he had received from the kingdom of Naples, all of them either shepherds or mechanics, who had never bore arms; but they flattered themselves, that after their arrival at Tripoli, they, by being under the orders, and in imitation of the knights, would insensibly be formed to military discipline.

ACCORDINGLY they began to make preparations for the shipping of them off; but when they were upon the point of embarking, the fear of being pent up in a remote place, that was threatned with a siege, made their hearts sink in them; so that the greatest part of them absconded: they<sup>a</sup> complained that the grand master was sending them to be knocked on the head, with no other view, than to spare the knights and his own soldiers; so that they could not prevail upon them to sail for Africa, till they had put twenty-five knights at their head, who were all young men, that had been put under an arrest, for an insurrection  
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<sup>a</sup> Id. Villegagnon.

which they had made, and whom the grand master was not much concerned to part with.

THIS was all the succour they could obtain from the grand master for the city of Tripoli. The people of Goza were still more neglected; and, as if he had thought that battalions of armed men would spring out of the earth in their defence, they could not prevail upon him to send them either troops or gunners; and when the poor inhabitants of that little island sent their wives and children to Malta, in two barks for their greater security, the grand master, in order to excuse himself from providing for their subsistence, would not suffer them to land; nay, he went so far as to threaten to sink them, if they offered to come near the port. In short, all these women, with their little children, were forced to return to Goza, and d'Omedes apologized for so hard-hearted a procedure, by a refinement of policy, and the pretence above mentioned, viz. that the inhabitants, by having those dear pledges before their eyes, would fight with greater courage and resolution. A few days after, news came that the grand seignior's fleet had appeared off the coast of Sicily; that the Turks had made descents and great ravages in several places; that after attempting the siege of Catania in vain, they had sat down before Augusta; that the town and castle had held out but a few days; that the infidels had committed all manner of violence there; and that it was commonly reported, that they were preparing to sail directly for Malta.

1551.

July 13.

THIS disagreeable news made the council very uneasy, and alarmed all the inhabitants: but the grand master, in order to encourage them, cried out, "We are not the persons whom the Turks design to fall upon, and the reason of their taking the southern passage, which seems to have brought them near Malta, is only because it is the shortest way to go to Provence." And, in order to support his notion by the opinion of the most skilful pilots, he sent for some of the oldest before the council; and, they, either

ther out of complaisance, or because it was really so in fact, agreed, that if the Turks had really orders to sail to the coast of Provence, the southern passage was a shorter cut by 200 miles.

BUT at last this fatal blindness was removed; for the grand master, three days after saw, from the windows of his palace, the Ottoman fleet arrive, which, July 16. sailing on with a favourable wind, appeared in good order before the isle of Malta. Solymán's orders to his general were, that he should, as he passed, and according to the disposition in which he found Malta and Goza, endeavour to make himself master of those islands; but that if he found too much difficulty in the execution of that enterprize, he should keep only to that of Tripoli, the reducing of which, in the design he had of recovering Africa, seemed to him of the greatest importance. The grand seignior added, the knowledge he had of Dragut's experience, made him wish, that Sinan would undertake nothing of importance without first consulting him. The Turkish general, in obedience to his orders, presented himself at first before one of the ports of the island, called Marfa Muséct, which is divided from the great port only by a slip of land, or, properly speaking, a very high rock.

AT the approach of this formidable army a general terror seized the inhabitants of the island; every one strove to get out of the way, in order to avoid the fury of the Turks, and ran up and down in search of a place of refuge, either in the holes of the rocks, or in the fortified places. There were only two in all the island; one of which was situated below the castle of St. Angelo, commonly called the bourg, or town, and the ordinary residence of the convent at that time; and the other a good way up in the country, in the middle of the island, about six miles from the town, and the great port, and was called *the notable city*, or *the city of Malta*, after the name of the island, it being the capital, and, properly speaking, the only city in it at that time.

MOST of the inhabitants of the country, both men, women and children, carried off the most portable part of their household furniture, and, leading some cows and goats for the subsistence of their children, took refuge in these two places. But as there were not houses enough to lodge all this multitude, they were most of them obliged to stay in the market places and the streets; and, what added to their misfortune, was their being exposed all the dog-days to the heat of the sun, which rages with intolerable violence in that burning climate. The infection, and stink that exhaled from the excrements of these poor creatures, thus crowded together, would soon produce contagious distempers; and that which still added to their affliction and despair was the want of a well or fountain in either of those places, and there was but little water in the cisterns; so that if the Turks should unhappily resolve to lay close siege to these two places, they would be soon forced either to turn out all useless persons, and deliver them up to the cruelty of the Barbarians, or else to capitulate; two extremes which the order, by its charity and valour, was equally incapable of submitting to.

THE knights, through the grand master's obstinacy, were in want of every thing but courage; notwithstanding which, they were not wanting in the duty they owed to themselves, and to the order; never had they on any former occasion discovered greater resolution than they did at this time. The same valour, which had shone with such distinguished lustre in those ancient knights, to whom the order owed its military institution and first conquests, appeared in them; so that one would have thought that they were still the same men under other names. The chevalier Upton, an English commander, and one of the bravest knights of the order, put himself at the head of thirty others, and four hundred inhabitants of the island, who were all on horseback. They marched down boldly to the sea shore, on the side of the town, in order to oppose the Turks in their landing. The commander de Guï-

meran, a Spaniard, sallied out at the same time on another side with a hundred knights on foot, and three hundred arquebusiers, and passed over in skiffs from the town to mount Sceberras, the rock which parted the two great ports; he there lay snug, extended on the ground, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the infidels: He had not been long here, when he saw the Turkish general appear in his admiral galley, with some others after him, standing in to the great port, in order to reconnoitre the most proper place for his landing; and as the side of the town was the most exposed to the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, he, in order to keep off from it, drew up on the side of mount Sceberras; but as he drew near that rock, the commander de Guimeran, seeing him within arquebuss shot, made such a furious discharge, which was levelled particularly at his own galley, that all the crew was put in disorder, and let their oars drop. The surprise which had seized the Turkish general soon gave way to his resentment; and his pride being wounded in its most tender part, to see himself attacked first by men whom he thought to surprise, and who were so inferior to him in strength, he, in revenge, vowed their destruction; upon which he made immediately to the shore, put into a place where he thought he might easily make a descent, landed a body of his men, and advanced in order to meet with the knights, and fight them; but the commander de Guimeran, being satisfied with his advantage, and finding himself far inferior in troops, had, after making his discharge, embarked his soldiers, and brought them back safe into the town, without losing so much as one man.

SINAN, having fought for them to no purpose, went, together with his principal officers, to the highest part of mount Sceberras; from whence taking a view of the castle of St. Angelo, its situation on the point of a rock, and the bulwarks with which it was fortified, “ Is that the castle, says he in a passion to Dragut,  
 “ which thou told’st the grand seignior might so easily be taken; certainly, continued the basha, the  
 “ eagle



“ eagle could never have chose the point of a steeper  
“ rock for her airy.” When an old corsair, brother  
to Airadin above mentioned, who had formerly been  
lord of Tachora, either from an aversion to Dragut, or  
through complaisance for his general, cried out to Si-  
nan, “ Do you see, says he to him, that bulwark which  
“ runs out towards the sea, upon which the knights  
“ have planted the great standard of the order? You  
“ must know Sir, that when I was a slave at Malta, I  
“ carried the great stones with which it was built up-  
“ on my shoulders, and before you can demolish that  
“ work, winter will come on ; or, what is more to  
“ be feared, some strong succour will come to the be-  
“ sieged.”

DRAGUT was all fire on this occasion ; and, as he  
himself had never known what danger meant, he was  
prodigiously vexed to find so much coldness and diffi-  
dence in his general ; and, in order to induce him to  
lay siege to the town immediately, he represented to  
him, that all the strength of the place lay in the castle  
of St. Angelo, and that if he could but once beat that  
castle down with his artillery, he would catch, as it  
were, the grand master, and all the chiefs of the order,  
in a net at once, who, he said, had imprudently shut  
themselves up in so weak a place.

BUT Sinan was of a different opinion ; for he knew  
very well, that, in order to take a place which was  
defended by the knights, it was not enough to demo-  
lish the fortifications, but that he must kill all those  
warriors to the last man, before he could be able to  
force his way into it ; so that to prevent his engag-  
ing unadvisedly in such an enterprize, he called a coun-  
cil of war. Of all Solyman's generals, there was not  
any one, who was so timorous in appearance, when  
any affair was to be deliberated, as he was, though  
ever intrepid in action ; but he never engaged in any,  
till such time as he had considered which were the sur-  
est methods to beat the enemy ; and that he had ta-  
ken all possible precautions not to be vanquished him-  
self. So, after having laid before the council the or-

ders he had from the grand seignior, he represented at the same time, that if he should engage in the siege of the town and the castle of St. Angelo, he was afraid that that enterprize would take up a great deal of time, and prevent his passing into Africa, where he was principally directed by his instructions to go; and moreover he believed that they, in order to conform to the grand seignior's intentions, and to revenge themselves on those Christian corsairs, had nothing more to do than only to ravage the island, and carry off as many of its inhabitants as they could into slavery.

THE complaisance which subaltern officers generally have for the sentiments of their general made those of Sinan be approved. But Dragut, a sworn enemy of the knights, and impatient to attack them, notwithstanding the result of the council of war, insisted strongly, that in case they did not think fit to attack the castle of St. Angelo, and the town, they should at least lay siege to the capital, where most of the inhabitants of the island had, as he said, shut themselves up with their riches; and which, says he, we shall find without any manner of fortification, and without any other garrison but a company of miserable peasants, fellows that always tremble, even behind the strongest bastions. As the basha, at his taking leave of the grand seignior, had received orders not to undertake any thing considerable without Dragut's advice, he thought himself obliged, on this occasion, to give in to his opinion: and therefore, in order not to draw upon himself any complaints, or ill offices from him at the porte, he ordered his troops and artillery to be put a-shore. The whole army was now advancing up into the country, and arrived, without any obstacle, before *the notable city*. The only difficulty they met with was from the cannon, which they were at infinite pains to bring thither, by reason of the great number of rocks with which the whole island abounded: all their carriages were broke over and over, insomuch that they were at last forced to have them drawn  
by

by slaves, who employed several days about it, before they could be able to raise their batteries before the place, which is called *Malta*, from the general name of the island. 'Tis pretended, that it was founded by the Carthaginians, when the Romans, after having destroyed Carthage, that haughty rival of Rome, drove the Africans afterwards out of this isle; and that the Mahometan Arabs seized on it in their turn, and gave it the name of *Medina*, in memory of the city of the same name, situated in Arabia Petraea, which Mahomet had called *Medina-Labi*, i. e. *the prophet's city*. The bailiff George Adorne, of an illustrious family in Genoa, was at that time governor of the city of Malta, in which above 13,000 persons of both sexes had taken refuge; so that there was abundance of people in it, though but few soldiers, at the same time. The Turks, upon their entering the island, spread themselves up and down in all its villages and hamlets, and destroyed all before them with fire and sword. They set the houses on fire, so that nothing was to be seen, wherever one turned one's eyes, for the country was all over of a smoke, occasioned by the burning of the houses and the corn, which they had not had time to get in. The army was soon got before the place, when they opened the trenches, and began to raise batteries: but all this did not pass without opposition from the governor, who made several sallies, not so much from any hopes he had of ruining the enemy's works, as to shew them, by his intrepidity and resolution, that he was determined to make a courageous defence.

BUT he was in want of regular troops, and especially of a sufficient number of knights to command and lead on the peasants and inhabitants of the country, who had taken refuge in the place; and the greatest part of these peasants, at the enemies approach, looking on themselves as the prey of the infidels, repented their having shut themselves up in the town; and a great many of them, fancying they should be safer in any other place than where they were, got themselves let down with ropes into the ditch, and, flat-

tered with the hopes of escaping the enemy, met either present death or slavery in their way. The governor, enraged to see himself deserted in this manner, exhorts, entreats, threatens such as were left behind, and, by his own example and resolution, prevails so far as to have some of them formed into companies, heading them with some knights, his friends, who had generously shut themselves up along with him; but as he saw plainly that he should want a greater number, and especially one who had been in sieges, and who was skilled in the art of attacking and defending places, he found means to send a soldier out of town in the night, to give the grand master an account of the state of the siege, and to desire him to send him a recruit of knights, and particularly Villegagnon, whose valour and experience qualified him to share with him in the command and defence of the place.

THE grand master, as well for his own safety as for that of the town, did not care to part with any of those who defended him, and thereby lessen their number; so that all the answer he gave the messenger was, that among such a great number of townsmen and peasants as had retired into the town, it was impossible but that some of them must be capable of commanding over the rest; that the interest of their country, and the defence of their lives and liberties, were motives strong enough to make them all fight it out to the last, and that on such occasions, experience and capacity in the common officers and soldiers was less wanting than vigour and courage. The messenger, vexed to see himself sent back to his master without any succours, and that all he would be able to carry him back would be such an harsh answer, asked him, pursuant to his orders, to send him at least the chevalier de Villegagnon. The grand master, who had, ever since his arrival at Malta, found him more sincere than he could have wished, was glad to get rid of him on so honourable a pretence; upon which he sent for him immediately; and, being come, he told him, with a gracious and obliging air, that he had ever entertained the  
highest

highest notions of his valour and capacity in the arts of war ; that the order in this juncture was requiring new proofs of it from him ; that he was desired to go and throw himself into the place which was besieged ; that the great number of townsmen and peasants, which were in it, was indeed a sufficient security against all the attacks of the Turks ; but that those men, who would easily be made good soldiers, wanted a leader to supply the governor's stead in those places, where he himself could not be present. Villegagnon, with a modesty that is inseparable from true valour, made him this plain and hearty answer, That at his receiving the habit and the cross of the order, he had at the same time dedicated his life to its service ; that it was no longer at his own, but at the disposal of his superiors, and that he was ready to go whenever he should order him. He added, that he desired him not to take it ill, if he represented to him, that there was no great stress to be laid upon the crowd of peasants which were shut up in the city, they being always averse to danger, and not to be wrought upon by any sense of shame for shrinking from it ; that in the present juncture the governor wanted a set of intrepid men, who would fight from motives of religion, and principles of honour ; and that, to tell them his sentiments plainly, if he were desirous of saving the place, he must throw at least an hundred knights into it.

THE grand master replied, that it had been resolved in council to reserve all the knights for the sole defence of the town and castle of St. Angelo ; that however to prevent his going away alone, he would prevail with the council to let him take six other knights along with him ; which, in a word, was all the succour they could spare him. Villegagnon begged him to consider what succour could, in an assault, be expected from only six knights, who, upon the approach of the enemy, and the thunder of the artillery, would soon be abandoned by the peasants ; that, to tell him the plain truth, these six knights would be only sent to be  
knocked



knocked on the head, and they would be overwhelmed in a moment by a multitude of enemies, without having it in their power, even by the loss of their lives, to acquire any honour, which is only to be gained in an obstinate defence. The grand master, tired with the solidity of his remonstrances, told him roughly, that he expected courage and obedience, and not arguments, in a knight; and that if he was afraid of venturing, he would find a great many, who would think themselves highly honoured by such a commission. Villegagnon, touched in his most tender part at an answer which seemed to reflect upon his honour, cried out, "Sir, I'll give a proof that fear never made me decline danger:" upon which he set out the same instant with six French knights, his friends; and, in order to make the greater expedition, and to get there before day, they not having saddles, got upon mares that were feeding in the castle-ditch, came near to the town that was besieging, crept in the dark up to the very wall; and, making the signals which had been agreed on, they, by the help of ropes got all seven, together with their guide into the place, without being perceived by the enemy.

At the report, which in the morning was spread all over the city, of the arrival of this little succour, all the people, possessed with an extraordinary opinion of the conduct and bravery of the chevalier de Villegagnon, discovered the utmost demonstrations of joy. The old men, women, and children, never ceased to extol, as indeed it really deserved, the noble resolution he and his companions had taken of throwing themselves into the place. The inhabitants solemnized his entry with volleys of their small arms, insonmuch that one would have thought that single person had supplied them with troops, arms, and provisions: The commander, to keep up their cheerfulness, told them, that he should be followed by a considerable body of knights, and that he was come before, only to consult with the governor on the most proper means for the bringing that succour into the place; but when he was in pri-

vate with the bailiff, he told him the whole truth of the affair, and what disposition the grand master was in; he frankly owned to him, that he was not to depend upon any other succour but what his own valour would bring him; that he was come to die with him, but that they must, by a brave resistance at least, make their loss renowned in the order, as well as fatal to the enemy.

THE bailiff, considering that the walls of the town could not long resist against the batteries of the Turks, made, by Villegagnon's advice, large and deep intrenchments within, which he fortified with planks and epaulements, or shouldering pieces well provided with artillery and musketeers. Villegagnon had the inspection of the work; the knights, who came with him, laid their hand to it; and all the people in general, as well women as men, animated by their example, and their discourses, laboured at it with great eagerness: and all thought themselves out of danger, since they had Villegagnon among them.

THE basha, at the noise of the volleys, and the shouts which the inhabitants set up at his arrival, began to suspect that some succour had got into the place. The mares likewise, which the commander had left when he got into the town, and which the Turks found the next morning, gave him no longer room to doubt of it; but such weak succours could never have put a stop to his continuing the siege, had not a letter that the Turks had intercepted in a Sicilian bark, which they took as it was attempting to get into one of the ports of Malta, given Sinan the utmost uneasiness.

THIS letter was written by the receiver of the order, who resided at Messina, and was directed to the grand master, by which he told him, that he had sent that bark purposely to give him advice, that Andrew Doria the emperor's admiral, and the terror of the infidels, was returned from Spain, and actually arrived in the harbour of Messina; that he had dispatched expresses and brigantines with the utmost expedition to  
all

all the ports of that island, as well as to Naples and Genoa, with orders for all the gallies and ships that were in a condition to put to sea, together with the troops necessary to man them, to repair immediately to him; and that he would set out immediately, in order to fight the enemy, and oblige them to raise the siege.

THIS advice was merely feigned, and a stratagem of the receiver, who employed this artifice with no other view but to make the basha uneasy; and his design succeeded to his wish. Sinan was alarmed at the news; and notwithstanding that all advice which comes from an enemy might justly be suspected, he yet thought at the same time that it was not to be neglected: upon which he called a council of war; and, after having caused the receiver's letter to be read before them, he represented to them, that in case Doria should come to attack his fleet at that juncture, that he would not be able to continue the siege, without leaving it unprovided of the troops which he had landed, nor could he yet send them back to defend the ships, without weakening the land army considerably, and exposing himself to be defeated by the garrison of the city, which, in concert with the body of knights who were in the town, might probably attack his lines at the same time; that in case he, by the sudden arrival of the Christian fleet, should be obliged to re-embark in a hurry, he, by a precipitate retreat, and especially in a country full of rocks, would run the hazard of being forced to leave his cannon behind him. He added further, that he indeed had had leave to attempt the siege of Malta, and that of the town and castle of St. Angelo in his way; but that, preferably to all this, his express orders were to besiege Tripoli; that he was afraid lest the month of September should become before he should have finished his enterprize of the city of Malta; that they were very sensible there was no keeping the sea along the coast of Africa at that season of the year; and finally, that he would not perhaps be in a

condition to lay siege to Tripoli, after having had the mortification of miscarrying in that of Malta.

THE council, after having examined his reasons, and carefully weighed the different resolutions that might be taken, agreed that the general, without losing more time in the siege of Malta, ought to bend all his endeavours to that of Tripoli only; that he would infallibly carry a place which was so poorly fortified; or that at least, by acting pursuant to his orders, he, by that means, would prevent any reproaches from the grand seignior, a prince whose anger was ever formidable. The Turks, in consequence of this result, raised the siege, and re-imbarked; but as a thirst of plunder is the prevailing passion of those Barbarians, the basha, before his sailing for Tripoli, could not refuse the giving of his leave to ravage the isle of Goza which belonged to the order.

THIS little island, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, is situated four miles from Malta to the west, or rather west-north-west, being about twenty four miles in circumference, and about three broad, and is almost surrounded with rocks and shelves; there were at that time about 7000 inhabitants in it, and a castle without fortifications, seated upon an hill, which commanded a town that lay at the foot of it.

THOUGH some commanders had been of opinion, that it would be proper to demolish this little castle, and transport all the inhabitants of the island to Sicily, nevertheless the grand master, as has been already observed, differed from them in it, and had brought over the council to his opinion by his interest and authority, rather than by his arguments; but they were now sensible of their invalidity by woful experience; for the Turkish general having in vain summoned the governor to surrender, he battered it with his artillery. The inhabitants, thro' the fear they were under of being made slaves by the infidels, offered the governor to defend the breach; but that knight, whose name was Galatian de Sessa, and whose courage the grand master boasted so much of, instead of improving this  
brave

brave disposition, and of putting himself at their head, hid himself in his apartment, despairing to hold out the place. This cowardly conduct, the like of which had never been known in the order, threw the inhabitants into a general consternation; there was only a brave English cannoneer in the place, who, levelling his cannon, killed several Turks, and hindered the rest from advancing up to the wall.

BUT the gallant Englishman being killed by a cannon-ball from the Turkish batteries, not a man would take his post. The governor, in order to get a capitulation for his own security, continued in his usual indolence; but being as great a bragadocio as he was a coward, he sent to the basha to demand honourable conditions, which are never granted but to those only who make a brave defence. A monk went in his name to offer Sinan to surrender the place, provided that general would bind himself by treaty to preserve his life, his liberty and effects, and those of all the inhabitants. But the Turkish general rejected the proposal with disdain, and told the envoy, that if the governor did not quit the place that very moment, he would hang him up at the gate. The monk returning to the castle with this dismal news, the governor sent him back again, to demand his liberty at least, as well as that of two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he himself should name; but the basha stinted the number to forty, and at the same time threatened the negotiator to hang him up, if he ever presumed to return to him again; upon which, the governor seized with a panic fear, commanded the gates to be opened to the enemy, which was the only order he had given ever since the Turks had entered the island. The infidels threw themselves immediately into the place, in order to plunder it. The governor's lodgings were the first place that fell a sacrifice to their greediness; and after having carried all his goods and furniture out of it, they, to shew how much they despised a cowardly commander, obliged him to carry part of them upon his shoulders to their ships; after which they stripped his cloaths off, and chained him down like a galley-slave. In vain did he  
plead



plead the general's promise, and idly complain of their having broke the capitulation by treating him so ill. Sinan, to elude the sense of the treaty, and ridicule him at the same time, gave forty poor infirm old men, the most aged in all the island, their liberty; pretending, that as he had been engaged to give forty of the principal of the island their liberty, the oldest ought to be looked upon as the principal. By virtue of this forced interpretation, he kept the governor in slavery, besides 6300 persons of all ages and sexes, whom he put on board his fleet.

AMONG these poor inhabitants \* there happened to be a Sicilian, who had been settled for many years at Goza, who, preferring death to slavery, delivered himself, and all his family, by the instigations of a bloody compassion, from the hardships and shame that attend upon slavery, after a very tragical manner. This Sicilian, transported with rage and jealousy, stabbed his wife and two young daughters, whom he had had by her; and, resolving not to survive them, he takes up a fusée and a cross-bow, with which he killed two Turks; and afterwards throwing himself sword in hand into the midst of a crowd of enemies, he, after having wounded several of them, was cut to pieces, and met with the death he so eagerly sought after.

THE inhabitants of Malta were greatly affected with the news which came of the unhappy fate of the people of Goza; they all unanimously expressed their abhorrence of the governor's cowardice; and several knights, the French in particular, from a national antipathy, demanded openly, that they should proceed against him: but, as the grand master was his protector, he eluded the proposal, under pretence, that as that knight was in the hands of the infidels, they could not judge him without first hearing him; and, in order to conceal from all Christendom the scandal that might be thrown upon the whole order for the governor's cowardice, he engaged most of the knights, who were

\* See the first book of the relation de N. Nicolai, c. 15, edit. 1568.

either his own countrymen, or in his confidence, to write to their respective countries, by which they should declare, that he had signalized himself by a noble defence; that so long as he was living, the people of Goza, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, had always repul'd the attacks of the infidels with great valour; but that this brave governor having been killed with a cannon-ball, the people, by losing their leader, had lost their courage at the same time, and that the principal inhabitants, in order to save the lives and honour of their wives and children, had thought themselves obliged to capitulate, though Sinan, out of a perfidiousness too often found in those Barbarians, had afterwards openly violated the capitulation.

THIS fiction passed for a long time as an undoubted matter of fact all over Europe; and the truth of it was not known, till many years after that unhappy accident had happened. That knight having by dint of money found means to get out of slavery, had not only the impudence to appear again at Malta, but managed his intrigues so artfully, that he got himself acquitted, by the council, of the accusation which had been brought against him for cowardice; and that either because the lords, who compos'd it, thought he had been sufficiently punished by the hardships which he had endured during his slavery; or else because time had in a great measure worn off the indignation which they had conceived at his cowardly behaviour.

THE basha, after having ravaged the island, demolished the castle, and left terrible marks of his fury in every place, returned again on board; but instead of sailing towards Provence, as the grand master was always for making every body believe he would do, that general steered directly for Tripoli. The grand master was in no small confusion when he heard the news of it; and in order to repair the fault which his obstinacy, perhaps his avarice, had made him commit, he applied himself to Gabriel d'Aramon, ambassador of Henry II. of France at the porte, and who was well  
known

known to Sinan basha That minister had come ashore at Malta, in his way from Constantinople about the latter end of the foregoing year, when he returned from thence into France; and the king his master sending him back to the Levant, he passed by Malta, when, in some intercourse which he had there he assured the grand master, and the convent, of that prince's good will towards them. Sinan had left the isle of Goza some days before; and the French minister, in a conversation which he had with the grand master, expressed his concern for his not having arrived sooner at Malta. as his offices with the basha might not perhaps have been unserviceable to the order <sup>a</sup>. "You are not come too late now, replied the grand master, and, provided the affairs you are commissioned with will but allow you to go to Tripoli, we shall be greatly happy if, by the deference which the ministers of the porte pay to the king your master's recommendation, you can but prevail so far as to divert Sinan from laying siege to that place: and therefore, added d'Omedes, I beseech you, in the name of Christ Jesus, and in the name of the king your master, who glories in the title of the most Christian king, to use all your endeavours to effect it <sup>b</sup>."

WHAT haste soever d'Aramon was in to continue his voyage, he yet thought there were some occasions in which a minister is allowed to guess at his master's intentions; and, knowing the great affection his king bore to the order, and in order not to lose a moment's time, he went on board a light brigantine, which the grand master furnished him, sailed away for Tripoli, and ordered the gallies that had brought him to Malta to come and join him before the port of that place.

THE basha had put in at Tachora, which is but four leagues from Tripoli, in order to get intelligence, where he had been received by the Aga Morat, who had made himself lord of that district: he was a Turkish

<sup>a</sup> Memoires du chevalier de Villegagnon, adressez a l'empereur Charles V.

<sup>b</sup> N. Nicolai, l. I. c. 15.

officer, and had succeeded Airadin, of whom mention has been already made, in that little government. The arrival of the Ottoman fleet, as well as of Dragut, for which he had solicited at the porte, gave him a sensible pleasure, which he discovered to Solyman's general by the magnificent reception he gave him; and particularly by a body of cavalry well accoutered, with which he presented him, in order for their serving at the siege of Tripoli. Sinan, after having repos'd himself for some days, dispatched a Moor to that city on horseback, who carried a white flag like an herald. The Moor advancing to the side of the ditch of the place, planted a cane there, with a paper fastened at the end of it, without any direction who it was for, and cried, that he would return the next day for an answer.

GASPARD DE VALIER, of the language of Auvergne, and marshal of the order, commanded at that time in the place. He was an old knight, who had passed through the prime dignities and posts of the order, a man universally esteemed for his valour, and one who was even looked upon as a person highly deserving of the grand mastership, when that dignity should become vacant; but, for that very reason, not over agreeable to the grand master; he being like most other princes, who do not always behold their successors with a favourable eye. This might, perhaps, have been the motive which had engaged him to send him out of the way, under the honourable pretence of sending him to command in Tripoli: not to mention that the marshal was become odious to him, for the liberty which he had taken of differing from him in opinion in council, and of opposing his sentiments without any great scrup'le. The governor sent to fetch the paper which the Moor had set up, and, upon opening it, found that it was a cartel, or defiance, containing these words:  
 “ Surrender yourselves to the mercy of the grand seignior, who has ordered me to reduce this place under his obedience: I will allow you the liberty of  
 “ retiring wheresoever you shall think fit with your effects,

“fects, but in case of your refusal, I will put you to  
“the sword.

Signed SINAN BASHA.

THE marshal, with the concurrence of the council, had another paper fixed in the same place, in which, by way of answer, he writ the following words with his own hand; “The government of Tripoli has been  
“entrusted to me by my order: I cannot surrend-  
“er it up to any one but to him whom the grand  
“master, and the council of the order, shall nominate;  
“and I will defend it against all others to the last drop  
“of my blood.”

Signed, THE MARSHAL GASPARD DE VALIER.

THE Moor returning the next day, took this paper and carried it to the batha; who, by such a resolute answer, saw plainly, that there was no reducing of Tripoli but by force of arms: whereupon he advanced immediately in good order with his fleet, landed his troops and artillery, reconnoitred the place, and prepared to lay siege to it. All the garrison at that time in Tripoli consisted only in the recruit of two hundred men, which were come from Calabria, a company of raw fellows that had never seen fire, and about two hundred Moors, the allies of the order, who, though of the Mahometan religion, did yet, out of aversion to the Turks, do good service to the Christians. Tripoli, as has been already observed, was scarce tenable, and especially against a strong army, provided with a large train of artillery; and the grand masters had several times intreated the emperor to take it back into his own hands, or else cause it to be fortified, and put in a condition of defence: but Charles V. in order to save that expence, had always answered, that he had given the order the fiefdom of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, by one and the same deed; and that the knights were equally obliged to defend those three places, or restore them all to him; and that he would not take Tripoli back, unless they would give him up



the islands of Malta and Goza at the same time. That prince, who was as self-interested as politic, had only given them this answer, because he was very sensible that the knights, having no place to retire to but Malta, would, in order to maintain themselves there, be obliged to stay at Tripoli; and this indeed had been the sole motive of their keeping so weak a place as Tripoli, which the narrow circumstances of the order had not allowed them to fortify. And indeed the basha going to reconnoitre the place himself, bragged to some officers who attended him, as he was returning from thence, that it would cost him but one bold stroke, and he would carry it by a *scalado*: but he judged otherwise of the castle, which appeared to be well fortified with bulwarks, and he resolved to attack the place on that side.

THEY had not yet opened the trenches, when d'Aramon, the French ambassador above-mentioned, arrived on board the brigantine of the order, who, as he drew near the fleet, saluted the grand seignior's flag; and because he put out French colours, he was answered by all the artillery of the ships. He landed afterwards; when knowing that it is almost impossible to succeed in any negotiations with the ministers of the porte without presents, he sent very magnificent ones to the basha, in order to obtain a favourable audience from him. No sooner was it granted, but he went to his quarters, and into his tent; when he represented to him, that the king his master had a particular regard and affection for the order of Malta, and that as that society was composed of the most illustrious nobility of Christendom, part of which were born his subjects, he would take it as a signal favour if he turned the grand seignior's arms another way; and that his master, who was the most generous prince living, would not fail to acknowledge his obligations to him upon that account, by presents suitable to the dignity and power of so great a king. The basha, who had contracted a kind of friendship with the ambassador during his residence at the porte, opened his mind to him. He shewed him  
his

his orders, signed with the grand seignior's own hand, by which that prince had expressly enjoined him to drive the Christians out of Tripoli: then the basha, directing his discourse to the embassador, said further, that he should lose his head if he did not observe his orders.

D'ARAMON, seeing that what he asked was not in his power to grant, was for taking leave of him, in the intention of making all possible haste to Constantinople, in order to see whether he might be able to prevail so far with the grand seignior, as to make him send new orders to his general: but Sinan, who saw through his design, foreseeing that he, by such a change of orders, would be deprived of the glory which he flattered himself he should gain by this conquest, gave him to understand, that he could not let him go away before the siege was ended; so without having any regard to the law of nations, which he broke in so notorious a manner, he ordered all the rigging of the brigantine which had brought him, as well as the two gallies which were come to join him, to be taken out; but if we except this injustice, he treated him with all the respect which was due to his character.

IN the mean time, the trenches were opened, the cannon was planted upon batteries; and, in order to hinder the knights from repairing what it beat down, the basha had distributed all his artillery into three several batteries, each of twelve pieces of different sizes, which fired one after another continually; so that whilst they were again charging the battery which had just fired, they at the same time fired another, by which means this kind of thunder roared on without intermission. Happily for the besieged, their batteries were pointed against the bulwark of St. James, the place that was best fortified in all the castle, and terraced within, so that the ball only made a hole, and sunk down in the terraces. The Turks had now employed several days to no purpose in this attack, when a deserter, born at Cavaillon in Provence, gave the basha notice that it would be proper for him to change his  
batteries.

batteries. This villain had been settled a long time in Tripoli ; his religion was, in some measure, a pledge of his fidelity ; but, having been seduced by a criminal commerce with some Moorish women, he had secretly renounced the faith, embraced Mahometanism, and, being as false to the order as he had been to God, he stayed at Tripoli for no other reason than to serve as a spy for the aga Morat, the lord of Tachora above mentioned. 'Twas by his means that he got access to the basha, and that he shewed him, that if he was desirous of succeeding in his enterprise, he must turn his batteries against the bulwark of St. Barbe, the stones of which were, as he said, loosened by the mouldering away of the mortar, which time had consumed.

THE renegado's advice being followed, the wall began to tumble a few days after ; in vain did the marshal endeavour to supply the want of that defence by intrenchments, which he marked out behind the breach, and within the town, for the continual fire of the artillery, which played day and night without ceasing upon that very place, killed all the slaves whom they employed in that work. Such as were left obstinately refused to supply their places, and, tho' they beat them severely, they nevertheless would lie down, and suffer themselves to be bastinado'd unmercifully, rather than rise and go to a place where they expected immediate death.

THIS fright, which began by the slaves, infected afterwards the Calabrian soldiers, who were full as great cowards. The greatest part of those peasants had been put in a little fort situated at the entrance of the port, called the Chatelet, which was commanded by a military serving brother, des Roches by name. This officer, who was very attentive to every thing that passed in his fort, observing the air and discourse of those soldiers, found it attended with a surly and brutal pride, which made him suspect that some dangerous design was hatching. Upon his examining diligently into the matter, he found that these Calabrians, who had not been used to the noise of cannon, and

were

were afraid of being buried under the ruins of the fort, had agreed to seize upon a brigantine which lay in the port, and to make their escape into Sicily. These, in order to hinder the governor from either stopping or pursuing them, had resolved before they should go on board, to leave a match of a proper length near the magazine of powder, in order to let fire to it after their departure, and thereby blow up the little castle. The officer considering that it would be as dangerous to let them know that he was informed of their plot, as it would be to neglect it, resolved to give private notice of it to the marshal; in consequence of which, he took care to draw them all out of the fort one after another, upon various pretences; and, to prevent all future caballing, they were dispersed up and down in different places, and among other companies who were thought to be more faithful. But this change of place did not produce any alteration in the ill designs of these cowards, and served only as it were to enlarge the scene of the conspiracy; every one of these wretches infected the other soldiers with the poison of their rebellion; nor did the inhabitants, who were upon guard with them, escape the taint. 'Tis pretended that this sedition was privately fomented by some Spanish knights, who were enemies to the governor. 'Twas now a kind of general conspiracy; the Calabrians abandoned their posts through fear, and, joining together in a body, encompassed their commanding officer with their swords drawn, and threatened to kill him, in case he did not oblige the marshal to secure them their lives and liberties, by a speedy capitulation.

THE governor, who was sensible of the dangers to which men are exposed in a siege, prepared himself against their coming like a good Christian, and a true religious, by receiving the sacraments; and was but just come from partaking of the holy eucharist, when the Calabrian captain advanced towards him, with trouble and confusion in his looks: being come, he cried out, "Sir, all your enemies are not in the  
" Turkish

“ Turkish camp, you have some within the town,  
 “ who are still more dangerous ; and it is with infinite  
 “ concern that I am come to tell you, that my soldi-  
 “ ers, in contempt of their oaths, have abandoned  
 “ their post, and refuse to do any more duty. He  
 “ told him further, that they cried aloud for a capitula-  
 “ tion, using threats at the same time and that he  
 “ was afraid they should be forced to submit to that  
 “ article, in order to prevent a greater misfortune.”

THE marshal, dissembling his indignation, went very prudently that moment out of the church, and was immediately surrounded by the mutineers. He demanded of them, with a stern air, why they were not all at their several posts : but he easily discovered their rebellious disposition, by the little respect they shewed him ; for they all, as it were by concert, interrupted him with insolent cries ; so that, in order not to expose himself to such a rabble of furies, all that he then thought fit to say was, that he was going to call a council of war. He had no sooner given notice of it, but all the knights and officers came about him, when, without dissembling his trouble and resentment, he cried out, that he had lived a day too long, and that he was very unfortunate, since the enemy's cannon had spared him, only to make him a sorrowful witness of the rebellion, and the perfidiousness of his soldiers ; and thereupon he asked the knights their several opinions about the condition of the place. The chevalier de Poissi, or de Poissieu, of the language of France, declared, that he had examined the breach with the greatest exactness ;<sup>a</sup> that it was not so large but that it might be supplied by good intrenchments, and that provided the soldiers would but return to their duty, and take heart, they were still strong enough to repulse the enemy.

BUT a Spanish knight, named Herrera, who<sup>b</sup> acted as treasurer, directing his discourse to him, cried out,  
 “ I am not in the least surpris'd that you should de-  
 “ clare

<sup>a</sup> N. Nicolai, c. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Memoires de Villegagnon.



“ clare for a longer resistance in so weak a place, as  
 “ you are a Frenchman and that your king has an  
 “ embassador at this time in the enemy’s camp: you  
 “ are very sensible, that though we should happen to  
 “ be taken by storm, you nevertheless would have no  
 “ reason to be in pain about your lives and liberties;  
 “ but our fate will be very different, since, being sub-  
 “ jects to the emperor, the irreconcilable enemy of  
 “ the infidels, we can expect no quarter from those  
 “ Barbarians if we do not prevent an assault, and  
 “ consequently our ruin, by an immediate capitulati-  
 “ on; and this, added he, is what I think necessary  
 “ to be done for the safety of my countrymen and my  
 “ companions.” Other officers propos’d before they  
 should come to such a final resolution, the sending one  
 of the oldest and most experienced knights to visit the  
 breach, and afterwards make his report of it to the coun-  
 cil: whereupon the marshal dispatched the commander  
 C pier to the mutineers at the same time, to acquaint  
 them with this resolution, and to exhort them to re-  
 turn to their respective posts, till such time as the coun-  
 cil should have decided the affair.

COPIER, in order to engage them to it, offered  
 them, in the marshal’s name, to double their pay; he  
 assured them, that they were going to visit the breach,  
 and upon the report which should thereupon be made  
 to the council, they would take proper measures to  
 provide for their safety: but he represented to them at  
 the same time, that they, by deserting their posts, ex-  
 posed themselves, before they should have time to  
 treat, to the danger of being surpris’d and forced by  
 the Turks; and that the only way to obtain an ad-  
 vantageous capitulation would be to appear all of  
 them in their several posts, with an air of intrepidity  
 and resolution, and as if they were fully determin’d to  
 give the infidels a warm reception.

THE commander’s reasons, which were seasonably  
 intermix’d with tender intreaties, and generous re-  
 proaches, made some impression upon the mutineers;  
 but Herrera insinuating to them, that all these promi-  
 ses

ses were designed only to amuse them, and that the marshal, who was a positive man, would rather be killed on the breach than enter into a negotiation, they renewed their clamour, and rejected all the commander's proposals. The marshal's resolute courage, and their own cowardice, by an odd kind of fatality, did both of them contribute to confirm them in their rebellion : for it is probable that they would have been wrought upon more easily, had they thought their governor less capable of taking a desperate resolution. They all protested that they would keep together in a body till such time as the breach had been visited, and that they would not trust to any body's report thereupon but a Spaniard's only ; so that in order to satisfy them, they were forced to send thither an old soldier of their cabal, Guenara by name. This soldier, after having visited the breach, reported that it was easy to be forced, and hard to be defended ; that in case the Turks, as no doubt they would, should continue their battery, all that was left standing of the wall on that side, would be beat down before night ; that there was no possibility of making the intrenchments which the chevalier de Possi had proposed, and that they would be of no other use than to throw away the lives of a great number of good men. Upon his report, which was calculated for the prejudices of the mutineers, they fell into a new rage, and threatened aloud, that if they did not immediately put up the white flag, they themselves would make a capitulation, and let the infidels into the place.

THE marshal finding he had neither soldiers nor authority, referred the decision of this affair to the council. Though almost all the officers detested the infamous desertion of their soldiers, they yet, after having made the most serious reflections on the weakness of the place, the open revolt of the garrison, and the failure of succours from Malta, agreed that there was no remedy left but to submit to necessity ; upon which a military serving brother was ordered to put up the fatal signal of capitulation. Sinan, at the sight of the

flag,

flag, ordered the battery to cease, when two Turkish officers came out of the trenches, advanced up to the wall, and signified that the governor might send deputies to treat. The rebels, who were more masters in the place than the governor himself, declared that they would not suffer any French knight to be entrusted with the negotiation, but took upon themselves to nominate for that purpose the commander Fuster of Majorca, and Guevara, the two secret fomenters of the rebellion.

THESE deputies being arrived at the Turkish camp, were admitted to an audience of the basha ; when they told him, that they were ready to surrender up the city and the castle of Tripoli to him, on condition that he would give the governor, the knights, the garrison, and all the inhabitants, assurance of their lives and liberties ; that he would allow them to carry off their effects, and furnish them ships to transport them to Malta or Sicily. Sinan at first did not seem averse to the proposal ; but after he had reproached them with their rashness, as he called it, in pretending to hold out such a weak place against a royal army, he declared that he would not hearken to any treaty, unless, by way of preliminary, the knights who were in Tripoli would engage to reimburse the grand seignior for all the charges he had been at in that expedition. The deputies representing to him that it was not in their power to make any such reimbursement, he dismissed them roughly, threatening at the same time, that he would put them all to the sword. But as they were going out of his tent, they happened to meet Dragat, who, when he was told the result of the negotiation, was surpris'd that the basha had broke it off. The corsair, pretending to be concerned at the basha's being so rigorous towards the besieged, desired them to defer their departure till such a time as he had had a moment's talk with the general : upon which he went immediately into his tent, and represented to him, that he, by prolonging the siege, would run the hazard of miscarrying in his enterprise ; that succours might pos-

sibly come to the besieged ; that the very despair of obtaining a reasonable capitulation, would serve the knights instead of a new succour, and make them more intrepid ; and moreover, that whatever stress he might lay on his artillery, all he would gain by ruining what was still left of the walls and fortifications, would be to leave so many gates open by the breaches he should thereby make for the troops of the order to enter at, before he could have leisure to repair them, especially in a season when there was no keeping the sea ; adding withal, that he, as a politician, ought not to boggle at signing the capitulation, because that when he should be master of the place, he would have it in his power to give such explications to the treaty as best suited his interest.

THE basha readily approved the perfidious advice of the corsair ; upon which he sent for the deputies back, and told them, that he, at Dragut's request, had granted what he had refused on any other consideration. The treaty was then agreed to, and the basha swore by the grand seignior's head, an oath that is looked upon as inviolable among the Turks, to observe it. When the deputies were going to take leave of him, in order to carry the capitulation to the governor, he told them, that it would be proper for him to come and confer with him, in order to adjust the number of transport vessels that he should want, and the security he was to give for sending them back ; for which purpose he would send one of the principal officers of his army into the city, in quality of an hostage.

SCARCE were the deputies got back into the city, when the officer came to the gate, who was immediately let in ; the marshal had called a council of war in order to consider of the message and to hear the capitulation read. It was there debated whether it might be consistent with the duty of a governor to go out of his fortress alone, and without being at the head of his garrison ; but the mutiny of the garrison made all deliberation useless ; and those who secretly fomented the rebellion, and were afraid of the governor's recovering his

his authority, maintained, that as the treaty was signed, the marshal had no occasion to make any difficulty about conferring with the basha; so far from that, that it would even be imprudent to let him see, that they entertained the least doubt of his not keeping his word; and the rather, because, as it would be impossible for the garrison and inhabitants to return to Malta, or go over into Sicily, without his furnishing them with vessels, they were therefore forced to rely entirely upon his honour; and they unanimously agreed, that in order to shew him how much they confided in his word, the marshal should carry his hostage back with him and indeed the rebels were not sorry to make an experiment, by the treatment which the marshal should meet with from the basha, what they themselves might expect from him.

A GARRISON'S disposing in this manner of the person of its governor was not to be justified by any of the laws of war; but the reader may have observed, that ever since the time that the soldiers had openly rebelled, and which the Spanish knights had secretly fomented, all regard to the marshal's authority, and all notion of the duty of obedience, was at that moment extinguished; and the mutineers had no sooner heard that the basha demanded a conference with the governor, but they forced him with insolent cries to go out of the town, for fear lest the capitulation should be broke off: he went therefore to the camp, attended only by the chevalier de Montfort his friend, who was resolved never to leave him, and the Turkish officer who had been sent as an hostage. When they drew near the general's quarters, the officer, under pretence of giving Sinan notice of the governor's arrival, went before, and told him in a few words that he had found the soldiers and inhabitants in a terrible consternation, that he fancied he had discovered something like a division among them, and moreover, that he assured him he might prescribe such terms as he should think proper to the governor.



THE basha made his advantage of this advice; so that at the marshal's coming in, he assumed an air of haughtiness and pride, an air which such Barbarians generally put on when fortune has declared herself on their side; and immediately asked him, if he had brought the money he demanded for reimbursing the charges of the war. The marshal, without discovering the least emotion, answered him coldly, that he depended upon the capitulation, on his word, and the solemn oaths he had taken to maintain it inviolably. " 'Tis not with such dogs as you, replied the basha in a rage, that a man is to keep his word; you and your perfidious comrades, who owed your lives at the siege of Rhodes purely to the grand seignior's clemency, who would never have indulged you in them as he did, contrary to the advice of his council, had it not been in consideration of your grand master's engagement, *viz.* that the order should never for the future attack his subjects, or exercise piracy in his seas, but respect his flag in all places; notwithstanding which, in breach of that treaty, and of all the obligations of gratitude, you were no sooner settled at Malta, but you fell again to your old trade of pirating." The marshal, who could not bear so unjust a reproach, replied, that the original of the capitulation, signed by Solyman's own hand, was still preserved at Malta; that there is no such article in it, and that he was ready to send for it from Malta in order to justify what he advanced. He told him moreover, that if he repented of the treaty which he had made with the deputies of Tripoli, he might tear it if he pleased; after which, says he, let the fate of war decide to whom the place shall belong. The basha, provoked at this resolute answer, ordered him to be disarmed, to be put in irons, and sent on board his vessel. The marshal, still resolute and undaunted, turning himself to the chevalier de Montfort, cried out, " If you, brother, are allowed to go back into the city, tell my lieutenant, and the commander Copier, from me, that they consider me no longer but as a

" dead

“ dead man ; and as for any thing else, that they be-  
“ have themselves as their duty and honour may re-  
“ quire of them on this occasion.” After the marshal  
was gone out of the basha’s tent, he dismissed Mont-  
fort, and allowed him to return back to Tripoli, upon  
condition he should tell the knights who were left  
there, that if they did not immediately send him the  
money he demanded he would have it out of their  
persons, and those of the garrison and inhabitants, who  
should be all sold for slaves. Montfort had no sooner  
told this dismal news in the place, but it raised a ge-  
neral indignation among the knights, who all swore  
they would fight to the last drop of blood, to revenge  
the injury which had been done to their commander.  
All talk of capitulation was now at an end, they em-  
brace one another, and agree to defend themselves to  
the last extremity, to die all by each other’s sides, and  
bury themselves in the ruins of the place. After this,  
they endeavoured to inspire the same sentiments into  
the garrison ; but they had not to do with soldiers,  
much less with men ; those wretches, insensible to eve-  
ry thing they could represent to them in order to ex-  
cite their resentment, answered only like so many wo-  
men, by their tears, or by a gloomy silence. In a word,  
neither remonstrances, intreaties, reproaches, blows, nor  
any thing they could do, could prevail upon them to  
take arms again. The council, considering that in so uni-  
versal a desertion, it would not be worth while to per-  
sist any longer in a fruitless defence for preserving  
the liberty of such rebels, resolved to abandon them to  
their wretched fate, and leave them as a prey to the  
basha, to compound for the liberty of the rest ; upon  
which, they sent Montfort back to the general, to tell  
him, that it was impossible for the knights to furnish  
the sum that he demanded, there being no money in  
the city ; but that they would surrender, provided  
he would only give leave to three hundred persons,  
whom the council should nominate, to march out in  
full liberty. The council, before Montfort went to  
make this new proposal, upon advice that the basha

would give no quarter to the Moors, who, tho' Mahometans, had yet served the order with great courage and fidelity, had given them such rewards as their circumstances would at that time allow, and advised them to retire to Tunis or Goletta; and, in order to secure their retreat, and prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, they gave them all the horses that were in the town, and they sallied out at St. George's gate.

AMONG these Moors were several who, having been a long time in the service of the knights, could not be prevailed upon to leave them in this extremity; but protested they would follow their fortune: the rest agreed to the proposal which was made them; but some of them had the misfortune to be surpris'd, and to be taken in their retreat, before Montfort was come back to the camp. They were brought to the basha, when they informed him that the knights were resolv'd to defend themselves to the last extremity, and that when they should not be able to hold out any longer, they would blow up all the fortifications, and involve their merciless enemies in the same destruction with themselves.

THE basha, startled at a resolution which would disappoint him of the booty he hoped to gain by this conquest, and leave him only an heap of ashes, was glad to see Montfort return back; he received him in an amicable manner, and, after hearing what he had to say, gave him room to hope that he would at least indulge two hundred of the besieged in their liberty. He then sent for the marshal, in order to conclude the affair with him; but before he was brought into his tent, they had oblig'd Montfort to go out; when the governor being brought into his presence, he cried out to him, "Has the night inspired you with better resolutions, and are you now dispos'd to pay me the sum which I so justly demand of you? The authority I had in Tripoli, replied the marshal, ended with the liberty you bereaved me of; you must now apply yourself to others; and supposing that my brethren

“ thren might still have some deference left for my  
“ sentiments, I shall never be for treating on any other  
“ conditions than those which you yourself agreed to ;  
“ for the rest, here’s my head, dispose of it as you  
“ have already done of my liberty.”

After this, the basha took Dragut and the aga Morat aside ; and whispering together for some time, they in all probability fearing they should find the same intrepidity in the knights as they had done in the marshal, he drew near to him, when giving him his hand in token of peace ; “ Let us talk no more, said he to him,  
“ of new conditions, I ratify the first, and agree that  
“ all the Christians, who shall be found in Tripoli,  
“ shall have their liberty ; you yourself are allowed to  
“ go and assure your companions of it, and bring them  
“ out with the garrison of the place.”

BUT the marshal, mistrusting this change of behaviour, and fearing lest some new treachery might be lurking under this facility which they had shewn in ratifying the first conditions, excused himself from carrying his promise of it, on pretence that his having been made a prisoner had put an end to his employment and authority ; and upon his refusal, the basha sent the Turkish officer, who had been before in the place in quality of an hostage : The mutineers received him with as great eagerness as uneasiness ; when immediately crowding themselves about him, they, without carrying him to the council, pressed him to declare the subject of his commission. The officer told them that his general had sent him to acquaint them, that he, pursuant to the treaty, would grant an entire liberty to all such as should leave the place immediately ; that he would furnish them with ships to transport them to Malta, and that all he required of the soldiers was to leave their colours and arms in the town ; the deserters set up great shouts the moment they heard this declaration ; and, as those cowardly wretches had some days before thrown away their arms as an useless burden, they did not stay for the orders of the council, or the return of the chevalier de Montfort, but fearing the least delay  
would

would make the basha change his resolution, and finding the gates of the town shut, they crowded out at the breaches; and the women and children following their example, hurried out at the same gaps. The knights, finding themselves universally abandoned, were at last forced to take the same course; they all rallied under the walls, and, as they were going towards the camp, Morat aga surrounded them with a body of his Moorish cavalry, and, stripping them without distinction of rank or condition, put them in irons, and treated them like slaves.

OF all the Maltese, des Roches the serving brother, who commanded in the little castle, was the only man that would have the carving of his own fate, and who owed his liberty to his courage and resolution. The basha wanted only to possess himself of that little fort, which being as it were the key of the port, commanded it at the same time: the general's agent tempted des Roches with glazing promises, and endeavoured at the same time to intimidate him with threats of death or perpetual slavery. But the serving brother, though he had no more than thirty men with him, was equally proof against them all; so that the Turk was obliged to raise a battery against the tower, which was soon beat down. Des Roches, unable to hold it out any longer, taking the advantage of a dark night, got with his little company into a bark, and put out to sea; others say, that he retired secretly on board the French ambassador's galleys, which served him for an asylum.

THAT minister could not behold the loss of Tripoli, and the unworthy treatment the knights met with from the Barbarians, without the utmost concern. At the first news he had of it, he ran to the place where they had been seized, when he found them lying on the ground in chains, half naked, and exposed to the insults of the intolent soldiery. He accosted them in terms suitable to their courage and virtue, and assured them that he would go and employ all his endeavours for the recovery of their liberty: upon this he went immediately to the basha's tent, and represented to him



in the strongest terms, that he, by such a shameful piece of injustice, was going to dishonour himself in the face of the whole universe, and that the king his master, and the other sovereigns of Christendom, having some share in the shameful treatment which he shewed those knights, who were most of them born their subjects, would not fail therefore either to have redress from Solyman, or, in case he should refuse it, would use reprisals upon all such Turkish officers as should fall into their hands. The basha gave him an haughty answer, and said, that he was accountable to no one but his master; and that he was well assured, that that prince would not resent his having broke his word with a company of corsairs, who, from a scandalous thirst of gain, had so ungratefully violated the promise they had given at the taking of Rhodes, never to disturb any more the commerce of his subjects by their piracies; that the governor of Tripoli had in vain endeavoured to clear them from so well-grounded a reproach, under pretence that there was no mention made of any such promise in the capitulation; "As if, says he to d'Aramon, an hundred thousand men who were present at that siege, were not witnesses sufficient, and that the grand seignior's condescending to stoop so low as to complain of their breach of promise on several occasions, was not infinitely beyond all proofs in writing."

The politic ambassador would not dispute it with him, but having recourse to insinuation; he, by entreaties and presents, prevailed insensibly so far, as to have the marshal, and the most antient French knights, set at liberty; and the basha, to shew that he pretended to observe punctually the second treaty, or rather the promise which he had made to Montfort, consented that two hundred of those who had been arrested should likewise enjoy their liberty. But here he came in with a new fetch, and chose them, as he had done at Goza, out of the oldest and poorest of the inhabitants. All the rest he kept still in slavery, together with some young French knights, and all those

those of Spain and Italy, who were the emperor's subjects.

THIS exception made the ambassador very uneasy : 'Twas with grief he saw that those amiable youths his countrymen were going to be exposed to perils of various natures, which were so much the more dangerous, as they were seasoned with luxury and pleasures. But he, in order to rescue them from thence, ransomed them with his own money ; and as for those knights who were the emperor's subjects, notwithstanding that that prince was at that time at war with his master, he yet engaged to give the basha thirty Turks, all born of good families, who were actually slaves at Malta, in exchange, and to carry them himself to Constantinople. Having done so far, he set sail for Malta, not suspecting in the least but that the grand master would receive him there as the deliverer of his brethren, and arrived in that island on the twenty-third of August in the evening. This minister, when he went on board his galleys, had sent a bark before, with a letter directed to the grand master, in which he gave him an account of all the circumstances relating to the taking of Tripoli. D'Omedes was greatly surpris'd at this news ; and that which gave him still more uneasiness than grief, was the apprehensions he was under, lest they should impute to him the loss of so important a place : he was sensible, that a complaint had been made in the convent a long time before of his having employed the money, which ought to have been laid out in fortifying that city, in enriching his nephews : that the loss of Tripoli might probably revive these complaints, which would occasion a strict examination into his conduct, and perhaps end in his being deposed ; in order therefore to extricate himself out of so uneasy a circumstance, he resolv'd to lay things in such a manner as to make the French ambassador's conduct be suspected, and throw the loss of Tripoli upon that minister and the marshal ; in pursuance of which, he sent for some knights his creatures, and, taking them into his closet, shew'd them the letter he had just received  
from

from d'Aramon. He at first broke out only in expressions of grief for the loss of so considerable a place ; when, as if he were unwilling to throw the blame on any body but himself, he owned to them with an affected confusion, that he could never forgive himself the imprudent step he had taken, in having engaged d'Aramon to go into Africa, and for having confided in a foreign minister, whose master he could not but be sensible was in a strict alliance with the grand seignior ; that this ambassador, a cunning and insidious person, and who was moreover the marshal's countryman, had insinuated himself into his confidence, by pretending to interest himself in the preservation of Tripoli ; that he probably might afterwards have exaggerated the weakness of the town and the forces of the basha, and have led him insensibly by his artifices into a labyrinth of negotiations, which had at last ended in a scandalous capitulation.

The grand master's creatures, like so many servile courtiers, without examining whether there might not be some falsities in a relation which depended merely upon conjectures, declared openly their detestation of the ambassador's pretended treachery. Each of them, in his way, made a merit of supporting these conjectures by new prejudices every whit as groundless. Some said, that that minister would never have deferred the execution of his master's orders, nor have been prevailed upon to interrupt his voyage to the porte so easily as he did, had he not thought he could have been more useful to him at Tripoli than at Constantinople ; others added, that the great want the king of France had of the fleet and forces of the basha, to oppose them against those of Charles V. made his ambassador hasten the capitulation of the place to the prejudice of the order, the sooner to hasten their voyage to Provence ; that the marshal was inexcusable for having concluded it without having first imparted it to the grand master and the council, in consequence of which, it was agreed, that he ought to be prosecuted for it immediately ; but they, in order to get rid of so troublesome a witness

ness as the ambassador would prove, resolved to delay the process till after his departure. In the mean time, to render him suspected, and to make as if they mistrusted him, the grand master, at his coming off the harbour under pretence of its being an unseasonable hour, would not suffer the chain to be taken away; but ordered the castle-guard to be doubled, and took the same precautions as in time of war, and as if the enemy was returned to the island, and lay before the gates of the place.

THE next day the grand master's confidants, in concert with him, had it whispered abroad, though without naming any body, that Tripoli would not have fallen so soon into the power of the Turks, had it not been for the ambassador's secret intelligence with the basha, and the marshal's weakness, having suffered himself to be guided by d'Aramon's perfidious advice. This news was told up and down with all the air of a great secret. that was not to be confided but to intimate friends, which, by being still communicated with the strictest charge of secrecy, became at last the public talk. These reports, improving by the various conjectures which every body added as fancy might suggest, soon reached, as the grand master had intended they should, all the knights houses, and passed from thence to the people; by this artifice, d'Aramon, unknown to himself, became in a moment the object of the public execration.

BUT the grand master did not stop here; for he, in order to make him no less odious over all Christendom than he was at Malta, engaged those of his cabal to write word underhand to the knights who resided in Europe upon their several commanderies, signifying that the French ambassador had betrayed the order, and delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and that had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken, he would have attempted to seize on the castle of St. Angelo, and put it into the hands of the Turks. These reports were soon spread over all Christendom, and made a great impression on people's minds.

And

And at last those which they had published at Malta, with so much virulence, came to d'Aramon's ears. It would be impossible to express the surprisè he was in when he heard them ; he demanded an audience immediately, which was assigned him in full council : when seating himself by the grand master, and thinking it would be derogatory to his character to stoop so low as to refute all these false reports, he only desired him to call to mind, that he had not gone into Africa, but for the repeated instances which he had employed in order to engage him to it ; and wherein he, to make him fully resolve upon it, had mentioned the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Christian religion, and the great regard and affection the king his master had for the order. He added, that after his arrival in the Turkish camp, he had done all that lay in his power, both to engage the basha to raise the siege, and to deliver the knights out of slavery ; that God had blessed his endeavours, so that he had brought them back safe in his gallies, and that as he had engaged himself to carry back as many Turks, who were slaves to the order, in exchange, he hoped the grand master would cause them to be delivered to him, that he might perform his promise with honour.

THE grand master answered him in few words, and with a very cold air, that they were very much obliged to him for his care ; but as to the Turkish slaves he demanded, he said he could not do any thing in it ; that it was the business of the knights who had taken them to dispose of them as they should judge proper. or, in case of their refusal to part with them, it was the marshal's business to make the basha amends. D'Aramon might very justly have replied, that there was a yet shorter, and indeed a juster way left, which was to deliver him back the Spanish knights, in order for his surrendering them back to Sinan : but he thought it would be beneath his character to expose the grand master's injustice : so, without condescending to complain of it, he went out of the port in a few days, and kept on his way to Constantinople.



HIS departure left the grand master at liberty to go on with the execution of his project; for which purpose he held several secret councils with his creatures about that affair; the result of which was a resolution to ruin the marshal. They agreed, that in order to answer the grand master's ends, it was now time to bring him upon the stage in d'Aramon's stead; but as they could not fall upon him singly, for a resolution which had been taken in a full council of war, the grand master, and those who joined with him in carrying on this black design, thought it proper to comprehend the knights who had the greatest hand in the capitulation, and involve them in the same accusation. His emissaries, dispersing themselves up and down among the knights, took care to suggest to them, that the suffering such a scene of cowardice and prevarication to pass uncensured would be a great scandal to the order: and he himself represented to the council, though with all the outward shew of grief, that the honour of the order obliged them absolutely to call the marshal and the other knights to account for the motives which had determined them to capitulate: "In order, (said d'Omedes, with a pretended moderation) "that they "may be acquitted if they should be found innocent, "or else be punished, if we should have the mortification to find them guilty."

THE council finding this proposal very reasonable, voted for an immediate examination of the affair, and the bringing of the accused to a trial; and resolved that three knights, of three different languages, should be appointed to take informations about it. The grand master had no difficulty to make the choice fall upon his own creatures; but as these commissaries were religious, and could not in that quality take cognisance of a capital crime, where the lives of the accused lay at stake, it was resolved to give them an assistant, and to put a secular person at the head of the commission, who, after the examination, and the report of the commissioners, was to pronounce sentence, with respect to the nature of the punishment which the fault

of the criminals might deserve. The artful grand master, without seeming to be any further concerned in it, than as justice required he should be, pitched upon a secular officer of the island, Augustin de Combe by name, whose fortune he had made, for that employment; he was a corrupt judge, a man capable of doing any thing for money. He likewise got another secular, a Spaniard by birth, to be chosen solicitor of the commission, who had no merit but that of being blindly devoted to his interest: d'Omedes, by the choice of all these judges, had it in his power to make the affair take what turn he should think proper.

UPON a petition presented by the solicitor ex officio, the first step they took was to arrest the marshal, and the knights Fuster, de Sousa, and Errera, who had had the greatest hand in the capitulation, though after a very different manner. As the loss of the place concerned the emperor, by virtue of his being lord paramount, and that Tripoli served likewise in some measure to cover his dominions in Italy, the knights who were born his subjects, in order to make their court, were not ashamed to seize their general themselves, because he was a Frenchman; and to throw him into an horrible dungeon, where he had not the least light to comfort him. The grand master, fancying his destruction to be inevitable, and that he was no longer obliged to keep any measures, thought proper, in order to deprive him of all succour, to forbid, under severe penalties, any knight's offering to solicit in his favour; and that because of the enormity of the crime, and that the interest of the state was concerned in it. By another order he enjoined the commissaries to reject all the reasons he might give for excepting against the witnesses; and that they, without having any regard either to the condition or the reputation of the deponents, should admit, without distinction, the testimony of all such persons as should offer themselves, and that they should not oblige them to be confronted with the accused: so that on the whole, they could scarce possi-

bly have taken surer measures for the speedy dispatch of an innocent person.

THIS new system of law was the occasion that, among the witnesses which the solicitor admitted, there appeared some who were villains convict as well as fellows who had been guilty of the blackest crimes; such was one Dominic Cabillan, a Spaniard, whose testimony was allowed of, notwithstanding his having been judicially convicted and condemned of forgery; such was Vanegas, another Spaniard, who, after having renounced our Saviour, and embraced the Mahometan religion, had, to go on still in iniquity, sold his own children to the infidels; this villain they had fetched back from Africa, purposely that he might make his deposition against the marshal; such, in a word, was one of the gunners in Tripoli, who had been taken in the very instant he was going over to the infidels, and would infallibly have been executed but for the marshal's clemency. All good men were infinitely concerned to see that they were resolved to destroy that nobleman at any rate; but the cabal was so strong, and they had made his cause so very odious, that no one durst open his mouth in his favour.

THE chevalier de Villegagnon was the only person who, in spite of the grand master's orders to the contrary, was generous enough to undertake his defence, wherein he acquitted himself with an invincible courage. He declared publicly, that it was very extraordinary, since Tripoli had been lost only by the negligence, and perhaps the avarice of those whose business it was to fortify it, and throw succours into the place, that they should nevertheless pretend to make the marshal responsible for another man's fault. Upon these complaints, which were thought very reasonable, that nobleman's friends, and most of the French knights, began to open their eyes, and to reproach themselves for having been made the tools of the passion and hatred of d'Omedes. The grand master, to prevent any effect of their testimony, and the accounts they might send into the several nations of Christendom, had recourse

course a second time to the venal pen of his confidents, all whom he obliged to write unto their respective countries as follows, viz. that the grand master being desirous of having the marshal tried for selling Tripoli to the infidels, the greatest part of the French knights, out of apprehension that his being convicted of that crime would fix a mark of infamy upon the language, had taken up arms, and were actually besieging the grand master in the castle of St. Angelo.

THIS news, tho' utterly false, did nevertheless raise a terrible indignation against the French knights in foreign countries, where they were never mentioned but as so many rebels; so that one would have thought that the single quality of being a Frenchman was a crime which they could not expiate but by death.

D'OMEDES having got the start of them by these letters, and prejudiced the world against the French, did his utmost to bring this great affair to a speedy conclusion; and, before such time as the truth could be cleared up, the solicitor ex officio, in concert with him, brought up a set of new witnesses: Villegagnon, discovering immediately that they were suborned, complained of it to the commissioners, brought them convincing proofs of the subornation, and represented to them, that, supposing the grand master had forbid the marshal, under pretence that it was a state crime, to except against them in any manner, that it yet was their business to admit at least of the testimony of none but such as they knew to be men of probity: but those knights, being wholly devoted to the grand master, answered him coldly, that that enquiry related only to the solicitor of the cause; that, as for themselves, their business was only to take their depositions in the very terms they made them, and that they were equally disposed to hear such as he should produce, either for or against the charge; adding, that they would allow him a week's time for that purpose; though they had granted the solicitor in ordinary two months to bring his witnesses together. Above threescore per-

sons, all men of known integrity, appeared in that small space of time, and deposed in the marshal's favour, and by their testimony entirely invalidated the depositions which the false witnesses had made. At last the commissioners made their report, and the secular judge pronounced sentence in full council, which was to this effect; That, in the loss of Tripoli, it did not appear that the marshal and the other knights had been guilty of any treachery or intelligence with the enemy; that the misfortune was entirely owing to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that there were indeed no imperial constitutions or laws which inflicted any punishment in such a case upon a governor and his officers; but that, by the statutes of the order, degradation was the penalty incurred by every governor who should abandon a place with which he had been intrusted, without express leave from the grand master and the council; in consequence whereof, he concluded, by one and the same sentence, that the habit of the order and the cross should be taken away from the marshal, and from the knights Soufa, Errera, and Fuster, as accomplices in the loss of Tripoli.

THE grand master discovered, by an air of discontent, that he was not any way pleased with this sentence; the only reason of his having comprehended the Spanish knights in the accusation was in order to prevent any suspicion of his having proceeded against the marshal merely from a national hatred; and was moreover in hopes, that after he had got him condemned, he should be able to find out occasions and pretences to get his countrymen acquitted. This sentence which the judge had pronounced disconcerted all his measures; but in order to remedy it if possible, he represented to the council, with a pretended moderation, and an affected modesty, that he thought the judge, in order to put an end to so important an affair, had been a little too hasty in pronouncing sentence against these different persons: and that he was of opinion, that a great difference ought to be made between the fault of each criminal, as well as in the different penalties to be inflicted



ed on them; and that for the present, the judgment which had been pronounced against the marshal ought to stand good; but that that of the officers ought to be superseded, in order to judge each of them separately, according to the different nature of the crimes whereof they stood convicted.

THE judge perceiving that he had displeas'd the grand master by this general sentence which he had pronounced against all the impeach'd, changed his mind, without any sense of modesty or shame, notwithstanding his having given judgment but that moment before; and, in order to pacify the grand master, made a new decision, by which the Spanish officers were excluded from the general sentence in which they had been included; and declared, by way of explanation, that although he had condemn'd them all to the same penalty, their faults were notwithstanding of a very different nature. When the bailiff Schilling, of the language of Germany, directing his discourse to the judge, "Are not you, (says he to him with indignation) "the most profligate fellow living, to change your "sentiments in a moment, at the least sign of the grand "master's discontent? You just now gave a definitive sentence, that as the impeach'd had been equally guilty of the same fault, they ought all to undergo the same punishment; and a moment afterwards you pretend to separate the faults, and defer the sentence against them." "He has spoke like a wretch as he is," said the chevalier Nuguez, of the language of Castile; and, turning himself to the grand master, "I will never suffer, (says he to him) the sentence which has been pronounced against the marshal to be executed, unless the same penalty be at the same time inflict'd upon the rest."

ALL the assembly declaring themselves to be of the same opinion, the grand master pretended to come into it; but as he was vexed that his prey had in some measure escap'd him, and that he could not destroy the marshal only, as he had propos'd to do, he desired to be heard a moment; he then represent'd to them, that

that although they had ordered that all the criminals should be punished at the same time, it yet would be but justice to make some difference between their crimes, and the punishment which they deserved; that the marshal and the chevalier Fuster seemed to him more guilty than the rest; the one for having negotiated the capitulation, and the other for having abandoned the place of which he was governor; and whereas two such great crimes might perhaps deserve to be punished with death, he was of opinion, that it would be proper for the council to give themselves no further trouble about it, but refer the definitive sentence to the secular judge, who had already taken cognisance of the affair. This corrupt judge having varied in so scandalous a manner but a moment before, made them reject him with clamour; notwithstanding which, the grand master insisted positively on his being nominated; but the judge, finding that the warmer part of the council loaded him with invectives, would not proceed any further, under pretence, that as he had pronounced sentence already, he could not give judgment twice in the same affair. The grand master, enraged at his not being able to carry his point, put off the affair to another time, ordered the secretary of the council to register all that had passed, and broke up the assembly.

IN the mean time, such as were enemies to the French king and his kingdom, had no sooner heard of the letters which the grand master had caused to be sent into their territories, but they gave out that the French ambassador had delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and had returned back to Malta, in order to let them into that island; and that if it had not been for the grand master's vigilance, all the knights would have been cut to pieces, and Christendom thereby have lost a place which served as a bulwark to Sicily and all Italy. The king highly resenting these reports, so derogatory to his glory, and the honour of the nation, dispatched a gentleman in ordinary of his household to the grand master. This gentleman's name was du Belloy,

loy, who delivered him a letter from his majesty, dated the last day of December, wherein that prince, after complaining grievously of the infamous reports which had been spread up and down against his embassador, desired him to let him know plainly and truly, whether d'Aramon was really guilty of the crimes which were laid to his charge, "in order that if he should be convicted of it, he might punish him as the greatness of his crime deserved; or, if he was innocent, he might be justified, by his testimony, among foreign nations, where he had been so barbarously defamed."

THIS gentleman's arrival, and the letter he brought with him, gave the grand master the utmost uneasiness: the spreading of whispers up and down underhand, the sending of anonymous letters, or subscribing them with the names of inconsiderable persons, was a game that was not to be played with so great a monarch as Henry II. in an affair which concerned his honour; he was now forced to speak out plainly, and advance nothing but what he was able to maintain before the face of all Christendom

D'OMEDES, in order not to expose himself to any dispute, and to extricate himself out of the difficulty he was under, laid the king's letter before the council, where it was read; after which he asked the lords then present what were their sentiments about the answer that should be made to it. All the assembly were unanimous in their resolution of writing back to the king, wherein they should declare, that the order, far from having any reason to complain of his embassador's conduct, had nothing but thanks to return his majesty for all the good offices they had received from him, and which engaged the whole order more than ever, to an eternity of acknowledgments. The council ordered their secretary, at the same time, to draw up this letter, or rather to get it signed by the grand master, and deliver it to the king's envoy, or else to the chevalier de Villegagnon, who was to return back with him.

D'OMEDES, who still persisted in his secret design of destroying both the embassador and the marshal, soon repented of his having referred to the council the answering of a letter which had been directed to himself only: in order therefore to elude the proofs which might be drawn from it in favour of the persons accused, he sent for the secretary, and, without letting him know what use he designed to make of the letter, he only told him, that as it was directed to a great king, and related to an affair of so delicate a nature, the terms of it could not be too well weighed; for which reason, he said, he had a mind to confer with him about it at leisure; and that in case the French gentleman, or de Villegagnon should ask for it, he should find out some excuse to dispense his giving it to them; and then recommending secrecy to him, he dismissed him.

VILLEGAGNON having let some days pass over, and finding that the secretary, during that time, had not taken care to execute the orders of the council, he asked him the reason of it. The secretary, pursuant to the grand master's orders, excused himself on the specious reason of a multitude of business; and, in order to amuse him, promised to bring him the letter as soon as possible: but whole weeks passed away without their being able to get it out of his hands. These pretended delays made Villegagnon suspect that they had some ill design again upon the anvil; and, in order to trace it to the bottom, he exerted himself to the utmost, and moreover set all those knights to work, who like himself, had interested themselves in the marshal's defence. At last he discovered, as he himself relates, that the grand master had had some secret conferences with the judge who had tried the impeached; that he had reproached him with his weakness in having desisted from his commission, upon the complaints which had been raised against him in the council; that the grand master had said further, that he was still strong enough, in spite of the opposite cabal, to get a revision of that very prosecution referred to him; but that he would never forgive him, if he should vary a  
second

second time in his sentence ; and that he, to oblige him to keep his word, would needs force him to sign a bond to pay him five hundred ducats of gold, in case he did not act in the whole prosecution exactly as he should prescribe him.

THE persons from whom Villegagnon had this advice told him further, that the judge, through the fear he was under of losing his post, as well as the grand master's favour, had promised and signed every thing he had required of him ; that the grand master, after having got this security from him, delivered him a memorial containing certain facts and articles, which he was to interrogate the marshal upon ; ordering him, at the same time, that in case he either denied them, or should refuse to answer, to put him to the torture, in order to force him, by the violence of the torments, to own that he had delivered up Tripoli to the Turks, purely upon d'Aramon's sollicitation. They likewise informed him, that the grand master had owned to the judge, that the hopes of extorting this confession from him, in order to send it to the king, had been the only reason of his having so long deferred giving an answer to that prince's envoy, and that it was the only way he had left to extricate himself with honour out of an affair in which both his dignity and glory were endangered, and which could not be secured but by the destruction of the persons impeached.

VILLEGAGNON does not name the person to whom he owed the discovery of the plot ; either because he had been engaged to secrecy, or else perhaps because it came from the judge himself, who might well be afraid to take upon himself, without leave of the council first obtained, to put one of the great officers of the order to the rack ; and was therefore not sorry that the rumour of this plot might prevent its execution, and at the same time save him the considerable sum he had so imprudently obliged himself to pay to the grand master. Be that as it will, Villegagnon having a full account of this horrible design, went to the council, and demanded, in the name of the king's envoy, that  
they



they would deliver him the letter which he was to carry to that prince ; representing, that if they should defer his departure but never so little, the season would be so far advanced, that there would be no venturing out to sea. “ However, added Villegagnon, in case “ the council should have changed their sentiments, it “ may perhaps be sufficient, in order to convince the “ king of his ambassador’s innocence, to send him the “ result of the commissioners examinations, together “ with a copy of the sentence pronounced by the secular judge : by which instruments alone, that monarch will see plainly that the capitulation of Tripoli was not in the least owing to any treachery or intelligence of d’Aramon’s and the marshal’s with the infidels, but that the loss of it was wholly owing to the cowardice and rebellion of the Calabrian soldiers.”

A KNIGHT of the priory of Aquitain, who was a great partisan of d’Omedes, replied, that all the king desired was, to be informed of his ambassador’s conduct in Africa, and that therefore they were only to answer to that point. The grand master was overjoyed to meet with a man who opposed the proposal of Villegagnon, whom he judged to be too able a man to require a copy of the proceedings against the impeached, but with the view of carrying the king the most irrefragable proofs of d’Aramon’s innocence. And, finding that that French knight was always thwarting him, he sternly asked him, where he had learned that the order was obliged to give secular princes an account of their criminal proceedings against their knights. “ I never intended, replied Villegagnon, to advance “ such a proposition ; all that I designed was, that in “ lieu of the letter which the council ordered, and “ which has not been yet drawn up, the king might “ think it sufficient, for his minister’s justification, to “ have the testimony of the very judge of the impeached who declares, in the sentence, that his minister “ had not been guilty of any unlawful practice, or “ criminal intelligence with respect to the capitulation.

“ on. However, since you order me, continued the  
 “ knight, addressing himself to the grand master, to  
 “ give you an account of my particular reasons for de-  
 “ siring that copies of those proceedings might be sent  
 “ to France, I will give it you, with all the openness  
 “ and sincerity which I profess, and, at the same time,  
 “ with all the deference and respect I owe to you, and  
 “ to the august assembly before which I speak.”

THEN raising his voice, and putting on a noble and  
 resolute air, “ There hath been, for some days past, Sir,  
 “ (continued he, still addressing himself to the grand  
 “ master) a report spread abroad, which reflects high-  
 “ ly on your honour, which is, that in a private con-  
 “ ference that passed between you and la Combe, you  
 “ agreed to carry on a new prosecution against the  
 “ marshal; that that unjust judge has engaged to put  
 “ him to the rack, and to force him, by the violence of  
 “ the torture, to confess crimes he was never guilty  
 “ of; upon which he is to condemn him to death, and  
 “ that after his execution, his confession is to be given  
 “ instead of the letter which the council has ordered to  
 “ be written to the king. This, we are told, is the  
 “ only reason of that pretended delay which the se-  
 “ cretary makes in giving the letter to that prince’s  
 “ envoy.”

THE grand master fell into a passion at this dis-  
 course; and darting fire from his eyes, and all in-  
 flamed with rage, he commanded him to declare pu-  
 blicly from whom he had had such scandalous reports.  
 “ The name of the author is not at present the busi-  
 “ ness, (replied Villegagnon with great modesty;) )  
 “ the only question at this time is, to know from  
 “ yourself whether the fact be true or false.” “ Ut-  
 “ terly false,” cried the grand master. “ Declare,  
 “ Sir, before the whole assembly, replied Villegag-  
 “ non, that you acquit your judge of the sum of five  
 “ hundred ducats of gold, which he stands bound  
 “ to pay you, in case he does not pass sentence of  
 “ death upon the marshal.” At these terrible words  
 the grand master immediately changed colour, and ap-  
 peared in the utmost confusion; his head was quite

turned, so that he was not master of himself; when, being enraged to see himself attacked so warmly by one of his inferiors, he fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language. But Villegagnon, thinking he had done sufficient in having acquainted the council with his ill designs, withdrew from the assembly; the members whereof, being justly incensed at all these villainous conspiracies, appointed another judge, and ordered the secretary, under very severe penalties, to lay aside all affairs, and deliver that very day to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, the letter which had been written to that prince, in the form, and in the very words in which he had been directed to draw it up.

HOWEVER positive these orders might be, the secretary, who was one of the grand master's creatures, durst not execute them without first consulting with him about it; he therefore went privately to his palace, wrote the letter before him, gave a new turn to it; and, instead of taking notice in it, as the council had ordered him to do, that d'Aramon, far from having contributed to the loss of Tripoli, had, on the contrary, done all that lay in his power to keep the basha from laying siege to it; he, I say, instead of these terms, so very express in favour of d'Aramon's innocence, inserted a clause which related only to the time of the writing of that letter; and moreover made the grand master say, that the council had not as yet discovered any thing wherewith they could charge d'Aramon. D'Omedes, by this clause, and under pretence that new impeachments might arise, reserved to himself a power of reviving, on some other occasion, the impeachment that had been brought against d'Aramon.

THE letter drawn up in this manner, and dated the 17th of November, was delivered to Villegagnon, who soon saw through the artifice: upon which he carried it immediately to the council to complain about it; and the lords of which it was composed, ashamed of such a series of frauds, took upon themselves to draw it up, which the grand master, after what had passed, durst not refuse to set his hand to.

THAT

THAT lord, after thanking the king for all the marks of kindness with which he had been pleased to honour him, added these very words, as M. de Thou, a famous historian, who was alive at that time, relates: “ As to what your majesty desires of me, I, in order to satisfy your will and command, declare, that d’Aramon arriving here on the first day of August, with two gallies and a brigantine, and having been received according to his quality, shewed us the order you had given him at his setting out for Constantinople, to visit us in his passage, and to assure us of your disposition to serve us; whereupon we desired him to go over into Africa, and endeavour to dissuade the basha from laying siege to Tripoli, if he had not already invested it; or that in case he should find it actually besieged, to make use of your majesty’s glorious name, and his own credit, to engage him to raise the siege; that d’Aramon cheerfully embraced this occasion of doing service to the order; but that the Turkish general having been deaf to all his intreaties, he returned hither, without being able to prevail in any one article; that he declared publicly before the council of our order, how highly he was concerned for the loss of Tripoli; assuring us withal, that he had omitted nothing in his power that might contribute to the giving us the satisfaction we desired of him, as having your majesty’s express commands to that purpose. Moreover we, in order that the whole world may be acquainted with the true source of this misfortune, have caused informations to be taken on all sides; and, after the strictest enquiry that could possibly be made in this affair, we have not discovered any thing that could any way induce us to believe that d’Aramon ever contributed in the least, or used any solicitations whatsoever for the surrender of the place; so far from that, our knights, who had been made prisoners at that time, informed us on their return, that he was not only clear of all manner of blame, but had moreover obliged our order by an infinite

“ number of good offices : the report therefore, which  
 “ has been rumoured up and down to the contrary, is  
 “ very unjust, and against all manner of reason, &c.”  
 “ This letter, a copy whereof is in my custody,  
 “ (says M. de Thou, at the end of his seventh book,)  
 “ was afterwards sent by the king to all his embassa-  
 “ dors, in order for its being published in the courts  
 “ of the several princes where they resided.” By this  
 means they put a stop to the ill reports which the im-  
 perialists had spread abroad, so very prejudicial to the  
 honour and reputation of the French. The whole na-  
 tion owed this signal piece of service to Villegagnon’s  
 zeal and address ; and as this knight was no less mas-  
 ter of his pen than he was of his sword, he published  
 an excellent memorial at Malta, which he dispersed  
 over all Europe, and which is still preserved ; by which  
 it is manifest, that the grand master, from a principle  
 of avarice, and an invincible obstinacy, had diverted  
 the succours, which might possibly have saved Tripoli,  
 another way.

As for my own part, however, without pretending  
 to speak in a decisive manner in so nice an affair, I  
 cannot think but that the treachery of the renegado of  
 Provence, who discovered the weakest places in Tri-  
 poli to the Turks ; the rebellion of the soldiers ; the  
 great fear the two Spanish knights were in, and their  
 intelligence with the mutineers ; and, in a word, the  
 governor’s too easy credulity, and the grand master’s  
 positiveness against putting any succours into the place,  
 were the cause of their hasty capitulation, as well as  
 the reason why the besieged, before their taking such a  
 step, did not, like their predecessors, hold out till such  
 time as they should be reduced to a greater extremity.  
 The marshal paid sufficiently afterwards for his impru-  
 dence in going out of his fortresses, by the long impris-  
 onment he suffered : but the grand master, who, as we  
 have already observed, caused the other impeached  
 knights to be arrested, for no other reason but because  
 he could not separate their cause from his, got them  
 pardoned as soon as possible : and, as in all kinds of  
 govern-



government whatever, that man who has the disposal of the preferments and dignities is generally master at the same time of the votes, d'Omedes had interest enough to engage most of the great crosses who composed the council, to consent to their being set at liberty.

AT the very time when the order was in the greatest confusion from these domestic broils, Leo Sirozzi Prior of Capua, having quitted the post of general of the gallees of France, from a resentment he entertained against the first minister of that crown, presented himself before the harbour of Malta, and sent to ask the grand master leave to enter into it. But that prince, who was jealous of every thing that came from France, was harsh enough to refuse it him; and, either from the apprehensions he was under of the prior's inclination to favour the marshal's party, or else out of zeal for the emperor's interests, and his own resentment for Sirozzi's having but a little while before carried two gallees and several merchant ships out of the road of Barcelona, he sent him word that he would give orders for his being fired at in case he did not retire immediately. An answer in such violent and menacing terms and so very unusual in a republic, deprived the prior of any place of refuge in all Christendom, and of any other asylum but the sea and two gallees; so that in case he should be pursued by any body of corsairs who were stronger than himself, or should be caught in a storm, he could not put into any of the emperor's ports, without being in danger of being arrested; nor could promise himself any greater security in those of the duke of Florence, who was a mortal enemy to all the Sirozzi. He would not have met with a better reception in the harbour of Genoa, where Doria, the emperor's admiral, commanded, a general over whom the prior had gained several advantages during the time he commanded the gallees of France; a kind of affront, which a man would be very glad, if possible, to conceal from himself, but which he scarce ever forgets, or is ever brought to forgive. There was no

other asylum left for the prior, but the ports of France, a kingdom which he had served with fidelity as well as success. Yet here he would have been less safe than in any other part of Europe. Envy, that inseparable attendant upon glory, had drawn upon him the enmity of the whole family of Montmorency: the constable, who was both prime minister and favourite to Henry II. had found means to render him suspected to that monarch; and, at his return to Marseilles from the expedition of Barcelona, he had secret notice given him of a design they had to arrest him, and moreover, that it was expected Francis de Montmorency, the constable's eldest son, would succeed him in the command of the galleys.

THE prior therefore, in order to prevent this ill treatment, went on board his own galley; and being followed by that of his brother, got by dint of rowing over the chain of the harbour, and made his way to the open sea; when finding himself safe, he sent back his standard of general to the king, together with a letter which M. de Thou has transmitted to us, the purport of which is as follows: That as he was not born his subject, he had not engaged in his service from any other motive but the desire of acquiring glory; but that now he had no other way left, either to preserve his honour or his life, which was threatened, but to abandon France, and to withdraw out of the reach of the ill designs of his enemies, who, not finding any more effectual way to hinder his showing his innocence, and at the same time to prevent his justification, had resolved to have him assassinated. "I therefore beseech your majesty, said he, from your wonted goodness, to pardon me for having left your dominions without your leave; and I dare flatter myself so far as to hope, that you may probably one day regret me, when the events of war shall give you occasion to compare my services with the exploits of those who are going to supply my place."

HE wrote afterwards to the same effect, to the two seigniors de Strozzi, his brothers: by which he told them,

\* *Memoires de Brantome, t. 2.*

them, that he was ready to give the king satisfaction as to his conduct; and, in order not to prejudice their fortune, he promised never to engage in any measures against France, "My resolution, says he, being to make war upon the infidels, for the service of my order." This was the occasion which had brought him to Malta; when being obliged to quit that coast by the grand master's unjust orders, and though he had no ammunition or provisions, but about twenty quintals of bisket, which a knight, a great cross, and his particular friend, had furnished him with privately, without the knowledge of d'Omedes, he stood out to sea, and sailed for the Levant in company with the commander de Martines, a Navarrese knight, who was resolved never to abandon him. The prior landed afterwards in one of the ports of Sicily; and as that commander was the emperor's subject, and was personally known to that prince, he sent him to his court, to represent to him, that he had quitted the service of France, and was actually going to make war upon the Turks and infidels, his majesty's enemies, and therefore hoped he would give him leave to put into his ports, and there bring whatever prizes he might take. Upon this he continued his course, without steering directly for any place; when his provisions afterwards falling short, he seized on all such as he could meet with, without distinction, from all Christian vessels that came in his way, not excepting even those of his own order, always protesting that nothing but necessity could have forced him to do it. He kept an exact account of every thing he had taken, promising to indemnify the owners for it one day or other, and styling himself *The friend of God alone*. He cruised up and down the mediterranean during a whole summer together, during which time he took such considerable prizes from the infidels, that he, at his return, found him self master of an hundred thousand crowns. As he was sailing along the coast of Calabria, he met the commander de Martines, who had procured him a very ample safe-conduct from the emperor; and that prince, who was an excellent

cellent judge of merit, and had an admirable talent at bringing over the generals of his enemies to his service, had empowered the commander to offer his friend an annual pension of 12000 crowns, with the command of twelve gallies, and a promise of the post of admiral after the death of Doria. The prior, who stood in the utmost necessity of that prince's protection, either from a view of sheltering himself in his ports, or in order to return back into Malta, did not absolutely decline the offer; but as he had already promised his brothers, who were still devoted to the interests of France, never to bear arms against that nation, he spun out the negotiation of Martines. Meantime the viceroy of Sicily, on advice that his master was desirous of engaging the prior in his service, gave orders that he should be admitted, together with his gallies, into all the ports of that island, and did not, for his own part, omit either presents, or any of those blandishments which courtiers know so well how to employ, whenever they are to bring about any of their master's designs. The prior was equally polite, but told him, "That he could not enter into any engagement till such time as he had conferred with the grand master and council of the order about it." He therefore, under pretence of sounding how they stood affected, sent one of his officers thither, with directions to acquaint his best friends with his happy return: he sent also at the same time, and by the same officer, a fine ornament designed for the altar of St. Mary de Phiermo, which he had got made at Messina; and as an indirect reproach on the grand master for his hard usage, he had caused these words of St. John to be embroidered on it: *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.*

AFTER he had thus given proofs of his devotion, he gave others of his probity; and as nothing but the most urgent necessity could ever have forced him to seize on the provisions of Christian vessels, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet in all the sea port towns of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, whereby he declared that he had deposited a considerable

able sum at Messina, for the Payment of all such persons as he had been forced to plunder of their provisions and ammunition, whilst he was cruising up and down. He would needs pay them both the interest and principal; which was executed with so much exactness, that he gained no less reputation for his equity and disinterestedness, than he had before done for his skill in the arts of war: two qualifications, which though they must be united in order to the forming a great man, are yet very rarely found to center in one and the same person.

THE grand master hearing of the prior's return, and being informed of the emperor's views, he, in order to bring them about, and force the prior to engage in his service, declared openly, that he continued still in the same sentiments, and therefore was resolved not to receive him into Malta. But Strozzi's friends, who were some of the most considerable men in the order, sent him word, that d'Omedes should not have it in his power to refuse him entrance into the port a second time. Upon their letters, he immediately goes ashore, arrives at Malta, gets into a skiff, and lands without giving the grand master any previous notice of his return: when a great number of knights, who admired his valour, came in a body to meet him. Thus attended, he goes up to the palace, salutes the grand master with that noble assurance which virtue inspires, tho' still with the respect that was due to his dignity; when he tells him, that having advice that the Turks threatened the island with a new invasion, he was come to offer him his service, and to join as he was obliged by his profession, with his brother knights, in the common defence of the order. The grand master dissembled his surprise, and the secret uneasiness he felt at his arrival. D'Omedes was at that time at variance with the council, who complained that he, from a scandalous principle of avarice, had on one pretence or other, got all the estates of the order into his hands. He thought that the presence of so illustrious a knight as the prior of Capua, might strengthen the party of  
the



the malecontents : but as his disposition and conduct was wholly regulated by that of the imperial court, and being sensible that the emperor was desirous of getting the prior into his service, he received him in an amicable manner, and treated him with great demonstrations of kindness. He moreover desired him, after he had repos'd himself a while, to visit all the island, and gave him the charge to examine all such places as stood in need of being fortified ; Bombost grand bailiff of Germany, the commander Lewis de Lastie the marshal's lieutenant, and Peter Parado a Spanish engineer, being joined with him in this commission.

THESE three commissioners, after having travelled over the whole island, and carefully observed all its various situations, made their report to the council, whereby they represented, notwithstanding that the town, which was the residence of the convent, was fortified by the Castle of St. Angelo, it yet was overlooked and commanded by mount St. Julian, a slip of land that jutted out into the sea ; that it would be necessary to fortify the town on that side with new works, and to build a fort upon that mount, in order to hinder the approach of the enemy : that the port, or Marza Muzet, lay open, and was defenceless, and that the only way to keep the enemies fleets from entering it would be to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, as being the most difficult place of access in all the island ; that they would do well to transfer the convent thither one time or other, and that in the mean time they could not be too expeditious for the security of port Muzet, in building a fort upon the point of that rock, in order to defend the entrance of the harbour : And he concluded with pressing the grand master, and the council, to fortify all those necks of land, which were much longer than they were broad, and which, by their intervals, formed a like number of ports, they being exactly shaped like the fingers of a man's hand.

THE council, after a mature examination of the report of the commissioners, and the scheme which they proposed of the works, resolved to set about them immediately. But as the order wanted a sufficient fund to carry on so many different works at the same time, and that the very building of a new town would have drained their treasury; all they could do, was only to fortify the town with new bastions on that side where it was overlooked; to add flanks and calemates to it; to sink and widen the ditch so as let in the sea-water; and, till such time as they might be able to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, they agreed, considering the importance of that post, to begin with building a castle there, with four little bastions or bulwarks, and to place them in such a manner that they might serve at the same time for the defence of the city, which they designed one day to build in that very place.

AFTER the council had thus resolved on these several works, the three commissioners divided the direction thereof among them. The grand bailiff took upon himself the direction of the fortifications which they proposed to add to the town; the prior of Capua undertook that of the castle which was to be built on the point of the rock or mount Sceberras; and the commander de Lastic was pitched upon to have the direction of the other fort, which they proposed to raise upon mount St. Julian.

THESE three commissioners, who were inspired with an equal emulation, after having sent for masons and workmen from Sicily, carried on their several undertakings without the least intermission. The peasants of the island were employed in digging the ground and carrying the materials. The knights in general, to push on the work briskly, were continually in the work-houses, relieving one another by turns: and all the different orders of the state, as well knights as townsmen and peasants, applied themselves to it with so much ardour, that in less than six months time, the town was in a condition not to stand in fear of a  
siege,

siege, and the castle of mount Sceberras was finished and well provided with artillery. They called it the *Fort of St. Elme*, in memory of a tower of that name, which served to defend the entrance of the port of Rhodes; and the other fort which was built upon Mount St. Julian, was called *Fort St. Michael*.

So great was the diligence used in the carrying on of these works, that we are indispensibly obliged to do justice in this place to the generous disinterestedness of all the knights of that time, both of such as were actually in the convent at Malta, as of those of the commanders who were at a distance from it. All of these, agreeable to their vows, and from a noble contempt of self-interest, brought their money and plate to the treasury; and the private knights, who had nothing they could call their own but their gold chain, a kind of ornament which they wore at that time, gave them with pleasure to contribute to the payment of the workmen: an example which has been imitated in our days, when, upon the report of a mighty armament, which, as was given out, the Turks intended to employ against Malta, several knights, without waiting for a summons, immediately transported their persons and fortunes thither; and some who were old and infirm sent all their effects beforehand, with their plate, which they had converted into specie.

It would be impossible to express the joy and satisfaction which the whole body of the knights, as well as the inhabitants of Malta, broke out at the sight of these forts; which, by the diligence of the directors, seemed as it were by a kind of miracle to have sprung out of the earth, and to secure the whole island from the incursions of the infidels. The grand master and council were highly extolled on this account; but the sincerer and better part of the elogiums redounded to the honour of the three commissioners, and particularly to the prior of Capua, who by his skill in fortification, and by his zeal and continual application, had built a fort which defended the port Muzet, and which deserved to be considered as the principal key of Malta.

In the warmth of those sentiments of esteem and gratitude, which all the convent expressed for this illustrious prior, several of the chief knights of the order declared that there was now nothing wanting for their security but only to see him their grand master: and as d'Omedes was very old, all their wishes declared already in his favour.

THE grand master could not hear these reports without a secret vexation; and as if the very sight of his successor would have contributed to the shortning of his days, he, under pretence of interesting himself in making the prior's fortune, endeavoured, by all manner of artifices, to remove him from his presence, and send him from Malta. In pursuance of which he pressed him, in the warmest manner, to enter into the emperor's service; but the prior, who, next to the house of Medicis, hated no body so much as he did Charles V. their protector, told the grand master, in plain terms, that he could never so much as think of fighting against France, and against a king to whom he had formerly plighted his faith; and that no hopes of advancing his fortune should ever make him engage in what he conceived was contrary to his honour, whatever resentments he might justly entertain against the ministers of France.

D'OMEDES finding he was resolved not to leave Malta, and not being able to endure him there, he, in order to send him from thence, and get rid of him on another pretence, proposed to him the undertaking of an expedition upon the coast of Barbary, and the putting of him at the head of an enterprize which he had formed upon Zoara. This city, known formerly by the name of Possidono, and seated in the province of Tripoli, lies thirteen miles east of the isle of Zerbi or Gelves. Its good harbour had drawn thither, at that time, a great concourse of merchants of different nations; and this great commerce had greatly enriched its inhabitants. Some Moors who were slaves at Malta, had told the grand master, in hopes of recovering their liberty, that the place was not fortified on the land-

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side; that under cover of a kind of forest of palm-trees, which ran almost to the very edge of the ditch, they might advance up to it without being discovered; and that as the inhabitants kept no guard on that side, they might easily be surpris'd, and the city taken before they could have time to recover themselves.

THE grand master offered the prior a sufficient number of knight and soldiers for the enterprize, and these slaves for his guides. Strozzi, who was not out of hopes of raising himself to the grand mastership, readily accepted of an employment which gave him an opportunity of signaling himself in the fight of his brethren of the order. Upon this he immediately fitted out his gallies, and some brigantines that were his own, putting 1200 men on board of them, among which were upwards of 300 of the bravest knights of the convent, who were all eager to fight under the eye of a general who was so excellent a judge of valour.

THIS little fleet set sail from the port of Malta on the sixth of August, and arriv'd off the coast of Barbary on the fourteenth in the evening. By a mistake of the pilots, they landed much farther off than they propos'd to do, at a place which was at least twelve miles distance from Zoara, and they were forced to march all night long over the sands, and through some groves of palm-trees, with which that part of the country was covered. The general, before he began his march, divided his troops into three battalions. The commander de Guimeran, an old knight whom we have already mentioned, led the first, being preceded by the chevalier de Strozzi the prior's nephew, whom his uncle had put at the head of some young knights, who made a kind of forlorn-hope in this expedition. The main body of knights followed at some distance, and was commanded by the chevalier Parisot de laValette, lieutenant-general. The march was clos'd by some companies of infantry, which the chevaliers de Rangif, de Bisbale, and de la Benante had levied in Italy for the service of the order. The prior had reserv'd to himself



self the principal command of these troops, as being the most numerous body, out of which he, for that reason, might draw detachments, and send them to the succour of the two first battalions, as there might be occasion. The army marched forward in this order; and some Maltese in a Moorish dress, who spoke the language of the country, went a mile or two before the rest, and advanced up into the country, in order to see how things stood, and whether the enterprise was not discovered. Every thing appeared very quiet; but as they drew near Zoara, they perceived upon the left, some fires in a kind of camp filled with tents and pavilions, the soldiers of which seemed to be fast asleep, and without any sentinels; upon which they immediately desired the general to give them leave to go and view them, and afterwards attack them. But as 'twas thought, as indeed it was very likely, that they were a troop of those Arabs, who live generally in camp, and most of them naked and sordidly armed, so that there was very little to be got by them; and as they likewise considered, that it would be impossible to attack them so near Zoara, without giving an alarm, and awaking all its inhabitants; it was therefore unanimously resolved, that they should defer the attacking of those troops till such time as they had taken Zoara; and for their better success in that point, the general ordered his principal officers and captains to march, as soon as they should be got within the town, directly forward to the great square, where all the streets met; where they should fortify themselves, and not suffer the soldiers to run up and down to plunder, till they should be masters of all these posts, where the inhabitants might be able to intrench themselves; and to compensate in some measure for such a disagreeable, but necessary restraint, he promised them two crowns for every Moor's head they should bring him.

AFFAIRS being settled in this manner, the army, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, which was not yet spent, advanced in good order, with great silence, and found the town buried in a much greater,

it not having so much as a single sentinel, much less a guard-house, and its gates standing wide open. The Christians entered it without opposition; and, leaving some companies without to secure the entrance, and facilitate the going out, they marched to the great square, drew up in battle-array, and awaked the inhabitants with the sound of their drums and trumpets. The soldiers were no longer to be kept in order. They disperse themselves up and down the streets, break open the houses, kill all those who offer to make resistance, take prisoners all such as are unarmed, and with sword in hand force the trembling townsmen to deliver their money. These merciless soldiers, in order to make a profit of such as had none, bind them, in order to sell them for slaves; and, without any distinction of age, sex or condition, force the old men, the women and children, with blows, to march down to the sea-side, to put them on board the galleys of the order: a wretched way of making reprisals, but which at the same time is very necessary to repress the cruelty of the infidels, and teach them to treat the Christians better on the like occasions.

THEY had by this time got together in the great square about 1500 of these persons, who were bewailing their misfortune with tears, when luckily for them there arrived succours, which broke their chains, before they had felt all the weight of them. The commander de la Valette had been commissioned to put them on board; when a Moor of the town, called Aly Benjiora, hearing his name mentioned, ran to him with eagerness, and, after having made him call to mind that he had served under him in Tripoli, “ Do you know, Sir, says he, whispering to him, that you are going to be attacked and cut in pieces ?” When, to convince him of the danger he was in, he told him, that what the Christian general, in his way to Zoara, had taken for a flying camp of Arabs, was a body of 4000 Turkish cavalry, all old soldiers, and excellent arquebusiers, commanded by Morat Aga governor of Tripoli, who, going by orders from the

porte,

porte, to the island of Gelves, and having been overtaken by the night, had encamped in the place where they had discovered him; that some of the inhabitants, who had made their escape from the Christians, were gone to implore his succour, and that he had promised them to be at the gates of Zoara by break of day; and therefore, continued he, 'tis your general's business to take proper measures in order to prevent his being surpris'd.

THE commander rewarded the Moor for his intelligence, and ran to give the prior an account of it: upon which, the general, in order to call his soldiers about him, ordered immediately a retreat to be sound-ed; but the noise and tumult which always attends the sacking of a town, the cries of the women and maidens whom they tore away all trembling from the arms of their husbands, or the bosoms of their mothers; all this, I say, prevented their hearing the signal of retreat: though after all 'tis probable enough, that the soldiers, in their thirst of plunder, might only pretend they had not heard it, as not caring to desist from so agreeable an employment.

IN the mean time, Morat fancying he should find the Christians dispersed up and down in the several quarters of the place, arrives at the gates, which the Maltese had quitted, in order to have their share in the plunder. Upon this, he enters with the same facility that the Christians had done, falls upon such as he finds in his way, kills several of them, and spreads a general consternation among the Christians; so that the general of the order could scarce find a sufficient number to make head against the infidels. At length day-light appears, and by that means affords the knights a distinct view of the enemy and of their own danger. Then indeed they give over plundering. They all endeavour to rally themselves under the standard of the order; they all crowd together as well as they can which however they do but in platoons, and as the place they were in would allow them. Each knight, without waiting for his general's orders,

makes use of those only which his courage inspires ; the engagement becomes general, and both armies are mixed together in combat. The Moors join themselves to the Turks their deliverers. Most of the prisoners, during this disorder and confusion, make their escape ; so that la Valette, who had the charge of them, could put no more than about 200 on board. The knights, though divided from one another, and pressed by the superior number of the enemy, still make head wherever they meet them. Some, fortified by the situation of the posts they were in, pretend to maintain themselves in their conquest ; others think of nothing but getting to the sea, and retiring on board their galleys : Among whom, the chevaliers Storza, and young Strozzi, together with several knights of great merit, fought to the last drop of their blood, rather than they would yield ; and the infidels would not have had the pleasure to see any of the knights made their prisoners, had not they, after the battle was ended, found the chevaliers de Chabrillan, Marsilly and Bracamont lying in the field of battle among the slain, though indeed they had only fainted away, who were afterwards ransomed.

In the mean time, whilst the engagement was still carrying on, the prior, who was advancing with another body towards the sea-side, having notice of the danger his nephew was in, turns back, and advances to his relief : but he found, at his arrival, that fate had put it out of his power. The natural desire of revenging his death, and the hopes which the Turks on the other side had of defeating this second body, and thereby gaining a complete victory, brings on another engagement. Both sides return to the combat with recruited fury, and behave with inexpressible bravery. The Christians and the Turks, inspired with the most obstinate hatred against each other, neither give nor take quarter : they all fight and close together ; every one grapples with the enemy he meets, and of a general engagement make as many particular duels as there are soldiers in each party. But at length the  
Turks

Turks finding themselves too warmly attacked by the knights, clap spurs to their horses, and retire at a distance from that formidable battalion. Here they charge their muskets again, return in good order to fire in the very faces of their enemy; and the prior, who was at the head of his troop, is disabled by a musket ball that lodged in his thigh. Immediately the Turks advance forward to dispatch him, but the surviving knights and soldiers make a rampart for him with their bodies. The commander Copier, Tolon de St. Jaille, and Soto-major, are killed in repulsing the infidels. 'Tis very probable that they would have found it a very difficult matter, in the condition they were in, to rescue the prior from the fury of the Barbarians, had it not been for a knight of Majorca, Toreillas by name, who being of an extraordinary stature, and of a surprising strength of body, took his general in his arms, carried him first from the front of the battalion into the center, and from thence made his way, with equal fatigue and danger, through a shower of musket shot, which was continually levelled at him, to the sea-side.

HERE this generous knight, loaded with a burden that was more honourable than it was troublesome, met with new dangers. The sea was low in this place, and some banks of sand, which are very frequently met with along this coast, hindered the smallest shallops from coming to the shore. Toreillas however goes into the sea up to his waist, and with infinite difficulty goes from rock to rock, and from shelf to shelf, till at last he comes to deeper water, where the long boat of the admiral galley came to his assistance, and took him in together with the prior.

'Tis probable, that in any other body but that of Malta, the retreat of a wounded general would have damped the courage of the soldiers: but the knights, who being all of them, if I may be allowed the expression, born generals, and animated with the same courage, were insusceptible of no other passion but that of joy. When they found their general was safe, indiffer-

rent



rent as to their own fate, all the concern they had now left was for the standard of the order, which the chevalier Cassiere carried, to prevent its falling into the hands of the infidels.

THE prior being safe, they now considered what measures they should take; and they agreed to keep always in a body, and make a kind of a running fight, till such time as they should get to the sea side; for which purpose, they begin their retreat, being pursued all the way by the Turks who, knowing that the shallops could not come near the shore, expected to kill all such as should lag behind, as well as those who, being got to the sea, were still within the reach of their arms.

DURING this march, which was frequently interrupted, the Christians, as they drew near the sea, met with a rock on the point of a narrow pass, which they immediately seized upon, in order that they might have time to take breath. They, from this place, had a full view of the gallies and the shallops that attended them: but the business was how to get to them. La Cassiere, who would have sacrificed a thousand lives, rather than hazard the standard of the order, represented to the oldest knights, that in case the army kept together in a body by the sea side, the infidels, who followed close at their heels, would fall upon them with more fury than ever; that whilst some should be endeavouring to save themselves in the water, others would be engaged with the enemy; and that in such a disorder and confusion, they would be in danger of losing the standard of St John; so that in order to prevent a disgrace of that nature, it would be proper for the knights alone to stay behind to guard it, and make head in the pass to stop the impetuosity of the Turks; during which the wounded, and the rest of the soldiers, should file off insensibly, and get, one after another, on board the gallies and vessels of the order; and that when they once should have got rid of that troublesome multitude, it would not be impossible for a small number of knights, who most of them could swim, to disperse them-

themselves, and by that means escape, one after another, the obstinate pursuit of the infidels.

THE proposal was very much approved of, especially by the soldiers, who were the first to reap the benefit of it ; and la Cassiere, pointing to the longboats and shallops that lay at no great distance, cried out, “ Save  
“ yourselves, my friends, and provide for your own se-  
“ curity, whilst my comrades and I continue here to  
“ stop the pursuit of our enemies ; we may, perhaps,  
“ be so fortunate as to follow at your heels ; but in  
“ case we should be cut to pieces, the order will not  
“ fail to reward your services, and the substantial  
“ proofs you have now given of your bravery.” Up-  
on this the soldiers marched off, and filing, one after another, got to the sea side, waded into the water, and went on board the vessels that waited for them.

THE rage of the Turks increased with redoubled fury, when they saw that part of their prey had escaped them ; upon which they make a fresh charge, and endeavour to force the entrance of the pass.

BUT the knights, who were ever intrepid, made a formidable resistance with their swords and pikes. The aga attacked them in vain with his cavalry ; but not being able to make them give way, he orders his troopers to dismount, and advances, sabre in hand, into the pass to force it. The Turks, with their broad scimiters, cut the wood of the pikes in two, break the swords of the knights, and flatter themselves with the hopes of soon dispatching that small remnant of them, whom they imagine to be animated only by despair. But those intrepid warriors, though most of them had at last no weapons left but their daggers, grapple with the Turks, slay or wound such as they can lay hold on, and make themselves dreaded, and even admired by those Barbarians.

THE aga, persuaded that he should not carry his point but by the fire of his musketeers, orders his cavalry to remount on horseback. Whilst this was doing, Verdalle turning towards la Cassiere, cries out to him, “ What are you doing here ? Are we to wait til

“ the

“ the infidels kill us one after another, and that the  
 “ standard of the order, to our eternal reproach, fall  
 “ into the hands of those dogs? Believe me, brother,  
 “ we are hard by the sea side, let us follow the steps  
 “ which our illustrious general has marked out for us  
 “ with his blood, and endeavour, after his example,  
 “ to get to our gallies. The water, you know, is low,  
 “ and we may all get thither if we make some struggle,  
 “ and afterwards throw ourselves into it ; and if there  
 “ should happen to be, as they tell us there is, any  
 “ channels among the shelves of sand, that are deeper  
 “ than ordinary, we knights that survive, will carry  
 “ you by turns, with the standard of our holy order ;  
 “ and if any one of us can but save it, let death come  
 “ afterwards whenever it shall please God.”

THE commander de la Cassiere, finding that to be the only expedient they had left, resolved to make use of it ; accordingly he set out with his little troop, which marched a great pace, but keeping close together as usual. When they were come near the sea, the knights separated themselves, dispersed in a moment, and threw themselves into the water in different places. La Cassiere, supported by Verdalle, and some other knights, waded into it, and with an invincible courage, holding his banner always aloft in the midst of a storm of musket-shot, made his way to the shallops, and was taken on board with great shouts and acclamations : but several knights, who faced about, and stood their ground on the sea-side, in order to gain him time to make his retreat, dropped, and were killed by the continual fire of the enemy.

THE order lost most of the knights and military serving brothers that were in this unfortunate expedition ; and, among the most distinguished of that number, history has preserved us the names of Dupuy Monbrun, Saint Marcel, d'Avanson, de Briançon, de Bonne, la Rochette, la Roche Montmor, de la Motte, all of them descended of the principal families of the province of Dauphine ; St Salpice, Puipatron, Gilbert, Brichanteau, Bauvais Nangis, Harancourt, le Plessis Richelieu,  
 de

de Gordes, knights of the language of France, were also killed : that of Italy lost the two Valparges, Sforza, young Strozzi, Grimaldi, and Justiniani ; as Spain did Berenger, Soto-major, Perez Pachieco, Montroy, Touar, and Barientos, who met with the same fate. We are not to omit, that the chevalier Pogleize, of the language of Italy, was killed by the sea side with a musket ball, as he was supporting with one hand the standard of the order which la Cassiere carried ; he was a knight of singular piety, who, by his example, and the whole tenor of his life, made it manifest, that a constant and faithful practice of the most severe virtues is not any way inconsistent with the most distinguished valour.

T H E

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Knights Hospitallers  
O F  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,  
Called afterwards  
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,  
And at present  
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.  
B O O K XII.

**T**HE prior of Capua, getting his ships together, set sail, and returned with the shattered remains of his troops into the port of Malta<sup>a</sup>. His wounds had weakened him so much, that he was forced to be carried upon a plank to his own house: he was followed by the greatest part of his officers, who were hardly in a better condition than their general. But though he had lost a considerable number of knights, by the unavoidable hazards of war, in this unfortunate expedition, he yet did

<sup>a</sup> Jacques Pozani Vicentin. v. de L. Strozzi.



did not lose the glory which he had acquired on other occasions, nor the reputation of being a wise and valiant captain; both the officers and soldiers doing him this justice, that at the time he despaired of being able to vanquish the vast multitude of enemies that had surprised and surrounded him, they had never seen him give his orders with greater temper and presence of mind, and, at the same time, fight with more intrepidity and courage. Upon testimonies so very honourable, and sealed, as it were, with his blood, he was rechosen general of the galleys. As the sea was his element, he had not patience to wait till his wounds were quite closed, but set sail again, and spent all the summer in scouring the Mediterranean up to the very mouth of the Nile.

HE was the terror of those seas; every ship fled his presence, and the bravest corsairs took all the care they could to avoid him. This, however, was very often ineffectual, many of them being taken and made slaves; whole fleets of merchants, notwithstanding their convoys, falling into his hands. He carried his prizes into the ports of the order, bringing thither at the same time, plenty, luxury, and pleasures.

WHILST they were taken up at Malta in celebrating his return with rejoicings, which always attend on good success, there arrived news of a different nature, of great importance to the order, and to the English knights in particular. A ship of that nation, captain Homadan commander, came into the harbour. That officer had the character of envoy of the queen of England, and in that quality was admitted to an audience of the grand master, to whom he presented a letter from her majesty, in which she told him, that God having placed her on the throne of her ancestors, she had resolved, for the discharge of her conscience, to restore all the commandries and estates, which king Henry VIII. her father, and Edward VI. her brother, had unjustly taken from the order; and she concluded her letter with desiring him and the council to send immediately some of the knights to London, with

ample powers, to take possession of all the commanderies and places that had belonged to their order.

THIS surprizing news occasioned great rejoicings at Malta, especially among the English knights, who considered that happy revolution as an earnest of the re-establishment of the true religion in their country. But in a nation so jealous of its liberty, such a restitution of church lands was not brought about without great difficulties. For the better understanding of so important an affair, we must recollect what was said in the tenth book, about the unreasonable motives that had engaged Henry VIII. to usurp the lands of the monasteries and commanderies within his dominions. And perhaps it may not be improper, in order to the setting of this point of history in its full light, to give here a short account of the last actions of that prince, and also of the several transactions that happened in England after his death, during the short reign of young Edward his son, and the beginning of that of queen Mary, his eldest daughter. Henry, finding his end drawing near, settled the order of succession to his crown, which, by reason of his various marriages, had been changed several times; he, since his separation from Catharine of Arragon his first wife, having married five other women, most of whom he had either put to death, or rid himself of them by an arbitrary divorce.

As this successive polygamy might cause disturbances in the kingdom after his death, and occasion civil wars between his children, the parliament, the living and supreme law of that nation, gave him power to settle the succession of the crown as he should see fitting. Henry, by virtue of this act, had, some time before his death, declared his son prince Edward, who was hardly nine years and a half old, and whom he had had by Jane Seymour his third wife, for his successor. He likewise, in order to shew the world that he still maintained the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, declared the princess Mary, his eldest daughter, a bastard; though, before his divorce, he had acknowledged her as princess of Wales, and, in that quality,

quality, presumptive heir of the crown. Princess Elizabeth, daughter to Ann Boleyn, his second wife, succeeded to this great title after her sister, which she also lost in her turn, upon her mother's execution. The king, their father, to gratify his third wife, had got an act of parliament to pass, by which they were both deprived of the succession to the crown: but a few days before his death, he restored them to their just rights, and declared them his heirs, in case prince Edward should happen to die without issue.

THESE two princesses were as opposite to each other in their characters, as they were in the different interests of their birth. The eldest, brought up by a Spanish mother, and descended on her side from the kings of Arragon and Castile, was naturally proud and haughty: her education had made her a zealous Roman catholic; she was naturally devout, and moreover devoted to the holy see, as her interest required, which had interposed its authority to legitimate the marriage of the queen her mother.

As Elizabeth's pretensions were null, by the validity of this dispensation, some concealed protestants, her mother's creatures, had brought her up in a great estrangement, and kind of contempt for the power of the sovereign pontiff. This was the most essential part of her religion; in other respects, she was indifferent enough as to tenets, of a complying easy temper, which could assume any form she pleased. She was haughty or obliging, just as suited her interest, and, tho' scarce thirteen years old, she already discovered a glimpse of that capacity, which became afterwards the admiration of all Europe. The king her father unhappily ended his days in the schism which he had occasioned, and was no less an enemy to the holy see than to the protestants; and this prince, who rashly employed himself in reforming religion, died in a miserable uncertainty of the true one.

His death occasioned new troubles in England. The real catholics longed to see an end of the schism; but they were the weaker party. A multitude of protestants, who had hitherto been restrained from declar-

ing themselves for fear of persecution, threw off the mask, and overspread the court, the metropolis, and the counties of the kingdom. Several bishops also declared openly in favour of this new opinion; and, in order to establish it on a lasting foundation, they brought up the young king in the principles of the protestants. The protector, the officers of his household, and his preceptors, in their discourses with him, treated the holiest of our mysteries as downright idolatry.

THE prince breathed, as it were, nothing but an infected air: they prepossessed and misled his reason, at an age when he could not judge clearly for himself: so that he embraced the protestant doctrine which they were continually representing to him as more agreeable to the gospel; and he was so unhappy as to persist in it, with a confidence that ought to be inspired by truth only.

THE parliament made new laws to authorise this change: the mass was abolished, the images removed out of the churches, and the holy scriptures unfaithfully translated, and so as to favour the prevailing opinions. Divine service was said in the vulgar tongue; the clergy were allowed to marry; and, what the greedy courtier had most at heart, such church-lands as were left, became a prey to a set of men, all whose religion consisted in ruining religion itself.

THUS England from schism was plunged into heresy. Such catholic bishops as were left in the kingdom exerted themselves in vain, in order to inspire the people of their dioceses with a just horror for these innovations. The clergy was despised; the schism had broke that so necessary union with the holy see, the center of religion: not but that several English bishops at that time were men of learning, and unblameable in their lives and conversations; but though they were against these innovations, they yet, either from the hopes they had of being made bishops, or to get other preferments, had been weak enough to own the pretended supremacy of Henry VIII.: besides, some of them, in spite of their conviction of mind, had been so weak

as to write in favour of that prince's separation from the see of Rome. In vain did they endeavour, after his death, to stop the progress of the reformation: their zeal was imputed to them as a crime, and exposed them to all the penalties of the acts of parliament. This served them also for a pretence to strip them of their rich benefices: some were deprived, others imprisoned, and all of them expiated by a long persecution for the fault they had committed, in having separated, out of complaisance to the court, from the unity of the church.

THE young king's death, which happened the 6th of July, occasioned new revolutions in England. This realm was governed at that time by the duke of Northumberland, who was regent or prime minister. He was a nobleman of vast ambition, who, in order to place his son upon the throne in his master's stead, had married him to lady Jane Grey, a daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and descended from Mary of England, sister to Henry VIII. This nobleman, in order to bring this young lady nearer the throne, had, a few days before king Edward's death, put him upon making a will to disinherit the two princesses again, under pretence that they were born of disputed marriages. This will, in prejudice of their rights, appointed the lady Jane Grey his successor to the crown; and the great seal being put to it, that young lady, by virtue of this will, was proclaimed queen of England. But though Mary was known to be a very zealous roman catholic, yet the city of London, as well as the country, detesting afterwards this usurpation, declared themselves with so much warmth and zeal in her favour, that she became in a few days, without any battle or bloodshed, mistress of the kingdom, and had the persons of her enemies in her power.

PROVIDENCE having thus led her, as it were, by the hand to the throne, she thought that she could not better shew her gratitude than by employing her first cares to the settling of religion, and the reconciling her dominions to the church of Rome. For the put-



ting of this great design in execution, it was necessary to repeal all the acts of former parliaments, which had either confirmed the divorce of Henry VIII. the rejecting the pope's supremacy, or had, after his death, employed their authority for the establishing of the reformed religion.

THIS enterprize was attended with great difficulties; most of the bishops, (if intruders deserve the title) the lords and great men of the kingdom, made an open profession of the protestant doctrines; and such as were not infected with those principles adhered nevertheless to the separation from the see of Rome, and would not hear the least mention of the restoring the papal authority. Under these difficulties, the queen's ministers convinced her, that it would be impossible for her to succeed in such a great design, without her being supported by an husband that was a zealous roman catholic, and who had power and credit to go through with her projects.

THERE were no want of pretenders on this occasion; several princes and noblemen, as well English as foreigners, were of the number. Philip of Austria, a young prince, and only son to the emperor Charles V. was one of the candidates; and his father's money had gained him the interest of the queen's chief ministers. Most of the English roman catholics wished the queen's choice would fall upon cardinal Pool, who was only a deacon, or else upon young Courtney her cousin. Pool was descended, by the mother's side, from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and Courtney's grandmother was daughter of the same Edward, and sister to the mother of Henry VIII.

THE English cardinal was in great repute for his wisdom, learning, capacity, and prudence, as well as for the regularity of his life. Courtney distinguished himself by the charms of his person. The queen had a secret inclination for that young nobleman, who inspired it, without any art or design, into those whose hearts were the least susceptible of passion. There was something so noble in his air, and so wonderfully graceful

in his carriage, that this princess, severe as she was, could not help looking on him with a secret pleasure. His presence alone effaced in a moment all the political reasonings of her ministers, who had declared in favour of the emperor's son; and it is certain, that in the first emotions of a rising inclination, she would have preferred Courtney before either Pool with all his wisdom, or Philip of Austria with all his power, if that young nobleman had not, by his own extravagance, and the irregularity of his conduct, destroyed these favourable dispositions. He saw the queen's weakness for him, and was bold enough to shew her that he saw it, without making a return; and instead of being assiduous in making his court to her, he passed his time with common strumpets, in an easy and scandalous course of debauchery.

THIS dissolute way of life was succeeded by a passion for the princess Elizabeth; he fell desperately in love with her, and loved her with all the flame and sincerity of a young man in his first passion. Several were of opinion, that she loved him; but whatever sentiments that politic princess might discover, the event has shewn, that they did not arise so much from love as from ambition, which she artfully managed in order to gain herself followers and creatures. Nor is it altogether improbable, but that a motive of vanity, which is common enough in persons of her age, and the secret pleasure of carrying off a lover from her sister, even from the throne, might have had some share in engaging her to shew a greater complaisance to the passion of a young nobleman, whom all the ladies of the court strove to please. Be that as it will, Courtney's affection to the princess soon became public, and he sacrificed the queen with as much imprudence as love. She was weak enough to resent this preference with a jealousy unsuitable to her age and dignity; and though she had no charms to please, and was above nineteen years older than her sister, yet she looked upon Courtney's preference as an injustice done to herself.

ANTHONY DE NOAILLES resided at that time at the queen's court, in quality of ambassador of Henry II. and had succeeded his cousin Claude de Laval de Bois-Dauphin, of the family of Montmorency, in that employment. This minister saw the approaches of Courtney's disgrace, even before he himself had the least notion of it. He used all his endeavours to make him sensible of his true interest; but he had to do with a young man who was insensible to every thing but what flattered his love. The flame and violence of his passion hid from him the lustre of a crown; and in the midst of the transports of his amorous phrenzy, he would have preferred the enjoyment of the princess Elizabeth before all the thrones of Christendom.

'TWAS a matter altogether indifferent to France, whether the queen married either him or cardinal Pool: Henry II. had no manner of interest in that affair, and all his concern was to oppose her marriage with the emperor's son. His ambassador was continually inculcating to the English nobility, that in case this match should take place, their kingdom would be in danger of being made a province of Spain; that the inquisition would be soon established, and that their parliaments would be quite laid aside, or at least meet less frequently, and sink at last into meer formality and ceremony. The English, and particularly the protestants, were very sensible of all the dangers to which they would be exposed by this alliance. They presented several addresses and petitions to the queen on this account; and the opposition was carried to such a length, that an insurrection broke out in some counties; but the emperor's money, and the dexterity of the queen's ministers, got the better of all these obstacles. In fine, that princess was married to Philip of Austria, though an important point was still wanting to complete the emperor's satisfaction. He was not satisfied that his son had married the queen, but he wanted to have him declared king of England, and crowned as such. The ceremony of it, so essential to the sovereign authority, could not be performed without the  
 consent

consent of parliament : but it was no easy matter to gain over such a body of men, who oftentimes shewed more regard to the liberty and interest of the nation, than they did deference to the authority of the sovereign. Those who had shewn the greatest aversion to the queen's marriage, as well as such who had come into it out of complaisance, united together on this occasion, when they thought the liberty of their country was in danger. The French ambassador, without stirring from his own house, put all the various springs of this united party in motion, and at a time when the court was entirely devoted to the Spanish interest, he found the secret to bring the parliament over to that of the French: and it was owing to his activity and management, that Philip miscarried in his design, of getting the regal authority into his hands, and was forced to take up with being consort to a queen, who was much older than himself, and had nothing agreeable in her person.

July 25.

1554.

That princess, however, gained considerable advantages by this alliance : the emperor, a prince of formidable power, concerning himself in the queen's affairs, enabled her to put all her designs in execution ; so that by consent of parliament, protestantism was abolished, and the roman catholic worship restored. Pool afterwards reconciled the kingdom to the see of Rome, being authorised for that purpose in quality of legate to pope Julius III. but not daring to insist either on the doing penance for the separation, or the making restitution of the church and abbey lands, he was at first forced to wave all restrictions, and grant entire absolution of faults, which it would have been dangerous to attempt to punish. Haughty as the manner of this satisfaction was, they thought fit to take up with it ; and the English received the favours of the holy see, with an indifference that plainly shewed the generality of the nation did not desire them.

THE project of getting the church-lands out of the hands of the protestants that enjoyed them, was put off to a more favourable juncture. The queen, by Pool's advice,

advice, in order to set her subjects an example of such a restitution, declared, that her conscience would not allow her to keep any of them any longer in her hands; in consequence of which, she immediately parted with all the church lands that the king her father had annexed to the crown, and gave them back to the former proprietors. This was the occasion of captain Høsmadan's voyage to Malta. We may easily conceive, that this news was very agreeable to the order in general, and to the English knights in particular. The grand master and the council wrote about it to the queen, to thank her for the justice she had done their order; and the commander de Montferrat was sent into England, to carry on this great affair in concert with the ministry. The order, upon his arrival, were put in possession of their estates without any trouble, and the commander, by virtue of the authority he had received from the grand master and council, and as a testimony of their gratitude to the queen, conferred the priory of St. John, and the dignity of great cross, upon Sir Richard Sceley, an English gentleman, who was one of her greatest favourites, and had a considerable share in this negotiation. Upon his account likewise, his brother Sir James Sceley got another commandry: that of Munigton was given to Sir Oliver Starkey, that they might in his person do honour to polite learning, and the sciences of which he was master; and, at the emperor's recommendation, who, ever since his son's marriage, had had a great sway in the councils of England, the title of bailiff de l'Aigle was given to the commander Fuster, a native of Majorca, and knight of the language of Arragon, whom we had occasion to mention in the foregoing book, in the account we gave of the loss of Tripoli, and the prosecution of the commander Vallier grand-marshal of the order.

THE grand master d'Omedes did not live to  
 Sept. 6. see this important affair entirely perfect-  
 1553. ed. He died the year before, in the begin-  
 ing of September. He had distinguished  
 himself



himself by his valour at the siege of Rhodes, was religious, and affected a great air of regularity and devotion, but was withal of an imperious and revengeful nature. He was covetous, and so bent to enrich his family, that he almost ruined the order by the grants he made in his lifetime to his relations, in contempt of the laws and statutes of the society. What he left behind him was so very inconsiderable, that several knights, out of indignation to see that he had alienated his principal effects, and disposed of them to his nephews, proposed to have the care of his funeral left to them; but the lords of the council rejected this proposal as unbecoming the generosity and grandeur of the order. He was buried, as usual, at the expence of the order, and with a magnificence that was rather suited to his dignity than his personal merit.

A few days after his decease the chapter met to chuse him a successor; and the prior of Capua seemed to stand fairest to be elected. It had for a long time been the object of his wishes; and, in order to carry his point, he had gained several of the electors, who, when they met in the chapter, did not fail to set forth his courage, his valour, his great skill in military affairs and experience in command, with great eulogiums. But Vagion, or Gagnon, the great conservator, and one of the principal electors, rising up, spoke as follows to the rest of the committee: “ If, says he, in  
“ the choice we are obliged to make, we were only  
“ to chuse a great general, I don’t think we could in  
“ justice refuse giving our votes for the prior of Capua:  
“ but our present business is not barely to pitch upon  
“ an head full of valour, but on one who may be a com-  
“ mon father to our whole body, one who may be  
“ void of all spirit of party, who shall be equally in-  
“ dustrious to procure us the favour of all the princes  
“ of Christendom, and, above all things, to take care not  
“ to engage the order in their disputes: and this is  
“ what I dare not hope from the prior of Capua. You  
“ know, says he, his passion for the liberty of his  
“ country, a passion to which Philip Strozzi his father  
fell

“ fell the first victim ; if we should put him at our  
 “ head, when he sees himself master of our ships and  
 “ gallies, ought we not to apprehend that he will find  
 “ out some pretence or other, to turn all the forces of  
 “ the order against the house of Medicis ; and that,  
 “ with a view of revenging his father’s death, he will  
 “ fall upon their fleets, and destroy all the coast of  
 “ Tuscany with fire and sword ? In consequence of  
 “ which, the emperor, who considers the fortune and  
 “ grandeur of Medicis as the work of his own  
 “ hands, will not fail to make us answerable for all  
 “ the enterprises of the grand master. Cosmo, too,  
 “ the head of that family, a prince of excellent capa-  
 “ city, will easily find out a way to revenge himself,  
 “ and, in order to make a diversion, will raise us up  
 “ enemies among the potentates of Italy his allies :  
 “ nor is it improbable but that this new sovereign, who  
 “ is looked upon to be the greatest politician of his  
 “ age, and has correspondents and agents even in Con-  
 “ stantinople, may bring all the forces of the grand  
 “ seignior upon Malta : and if we should once make  
 “ ourselves suspected and odious to the emperor, who  
 “ is in possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,  
 “ from whence could we, in case we should be be-  
 “ sieged, expect any succours against the infidels ?”

THIS speech of the elector, which love only, and a  
 sincere attachment to the good of the order, had inspir-  
 ed, made a great impression on the rest of the commit-  
 tee. The commanders Pascatore and Bernardin Par-  
 paille spoke with great force in favour of these reflecti-  
 ons ; and even such as had secretly engaged themselves  
 to the prior of Capua and had first declared in his fav-  
 our, came over to Vagion’s opinion : they all exhorted  
 each other mutually, and agreed to have no regard  
 to any thing in the election they were going to make,  
*but the good of the order.* They per-

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE. sisted vigorously in this laudable reso-  
 lution ; in consequence of which, brother

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE, a knight of  
 the language of France, and grand hospitaller, was  
 unanimously.

unanimously elected their grand master. They chose him during his absence, and at a time when he was actually residing at Rome as ambassador of the order to the pope; which is a manifest proof that there was no cabal, nor any party-interest in his election, and that the committee which made it had acted only from a principle of justice, and according to the dictates of their conscience. As soon as the news of his election came to Rome, the pope gave particular orders to the governor of the castle of St. Angelo, to proclaim it by the fire of all his artillery. A kind of public festival was kept in Rome on this occasion: most of the cardinals, the ambassadors, the principal prelates of the court, and the barons of Rome made their visits, and complimented the grand master in form. The pope sent his chamberlain to congratulate him on his new dignity: and when he came to the palace to take the usual oath of obedience, his holiness made him dine with him in public, and paid him all the honours that were due to his merit and dignity.

THE grand master, as soon as he had passed through the ceremonial, and had made the visits he was obliged to pay, prepared to set out for Malta. The galleys of the order, commanded by the prior of Capua, came to take him on board at Terracina, when they carried him to Sicily, and he entered the Faro di Messina on the 12th of December. Don John de Vega, viceroy of the island was waiting for him in that city with great impatience. They were both of them at the siege and taking of Mehedra, as was observed in the eleventh book; ever since which time they had formed an intimacy, or rather a kind of correspondence between them, which was more polite than sincere. The Spaniard, who made pompous demonstrations as a proof of the satisfaction which his promotion gave him, designed to give him public testimonies of it, both at his entry into Messina, and during his stay there. However, that he might not be so profuse of the honours he intended to pay him, as to derogate in the least from his own dignity, he appointed some of

the ablest lawyers to examine into the rights and privileges of the grand masters, and the rank that was due to them. Oliveti, the king's advocate at Messina, quoted to him, on this occasion, a passage from Chasfane<sup>a</sup>, a famous lawyer, who in his treatise of *The glory of the world*, speaking of ecclesiastical dignities, gives that of grand master the preference, before even the dignity of cardinal. The viceroy, strengthened by this authority, had, before the grand master's arrival, sent an express to the emperor, to desire his orders in relation to the conduct he should observe towards him. That prince let him know, by a nobleman of his court, whose name was d'Acunha, that he need not be afraid of exceeding in the honours he was to pay to the head of an order, which served as a bulwark to his dominions in Italy. But as the emperor never took one single step without some secret views of interest, he had directed his envoy to make some proposals in his name to the grand master, which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this work.

THE viceroy being thus informed of the emperor's intentions, went up, at the head of the council, and the body of the gentry and magistrates of the city, to the admiral-galley of the order, to wait on the grand master on board his own ship; and, in order to do him more honour at their going out of it, he would needs walk alone immediately before the grand master, as he would have done before his own sovereign. This prince made his entry afterwards into Messina under the fire of the artillery, and with the garrison and townsmen under arms: he was lodged in the finest palace

<sup>a</sup> Crederem quod iste magnus magister Rhodi post papam præcedere deberet omnes patriarchas, cardinales, & alios pontifices ecclesiasticos; & cum videatur tantæ esse dignitatis cujus est patriarcha, quod post imperatorem, & alios principes, habentes jura imperii, ut sunt reges Franciæ & Hispaniæ, quod præcederet omnes principes recognoscentes superiorem, & non habentes jura imperii, puta reges subditos imperio, & quoscunque duces; habet enim sub se magnos principes, & est maxime honoratus.

lace of the city, and was received and served in that place, both at chapel and at his table, with the same honours as had been formerly paid to the antient kings of Sicily.

THE emperor's envoy, who was entrusted with his orders, congratulated him, in his master's name, on his new dignity; and in a private audience, which he had of him a few days after, he acquainted him with his instructions, and the proposals he had been ordered to make to him. The emperor's generals, as has been already observed, had, with the assistance of the knights of Malta, besieged and taken the town of Mehedia or Africa from Dragut the Corsair. But as this conquest lay at a great distance from the other dominions of the emperor, and that he was obliged to be at a vast expence in maintaining a large garrison in that place, his design was to engage the grand master to transport the whole convent thither, and to make it their settled habitation. He was more in hopes that the whole order, upon this new settlement, would interest itself in the defence of the fort of Goletta. and be a formidable support to his authority in the kingdom of Tunis, which was at that time a fief of the crown of Castile.

THE envoy, in order to bring this project to bear, had, in the audience which the grand master had granted him, assured him, that the emperor was sensibly affected with the loss that the order had sustained by the taking of Tripoli by the infidels; and that, in order to repair it, he was ready to give them the absolute property of that of Mehedia; a place, as he said, regularly fortified, and from whence the knights might extend their dominion by new conquests upon the continent of Africa; that as the taking of this place was owing to their valour, and that he himself had had so considerable a share in it, in case the order should remove its residence thither, he would justly be looked upon as the founder of this second Rhodes; and that by way of contribution to the expences necessary for the defence of the place, the emperor, who



always considered the interests of the order as his own, would assign them an annual pension of 72,000 livres, upon the revenues of Sicily, for ever.

THE grand master answered him, with great politeness, that he found on this occasion a fresh instance of the favours and the benevolence which his imperial majesty had constantly bestowed upon the order : but, that he might not engage himself unadvisedly in the affair, he told him, that he had no power to accept a proposal of such consequence, without the consent of the council : however, that if he would go along with him to Malta, the affair should be debated there in his presence, when he should see the sincere desire he had of obliging the emperor in all his demands.

THE grand master, attended with this ambassador, and a strong guard of Italian knights, went on board the galleys of the order, and, doubling cape Passaro, arrived safe in the channel of Malta, and landed in the road of St. Paul. As he drew near the Notable city, which was at that time the capital of that island, they proposed to him to enter into it : but as his election to the grand mastership gave him authority over the knights only, it was necessary for him to have a particular grant from the complete council, before he could exercise any over the inhabitants and subjects of the order ; for which reason, he put off his entry into that city till another time. The council soon passed the acts which were necessary for the establishing of his authority over the whole island ; and he was in a few days proclaimed prince of Malta and Goza with great solemnity.

HIS first care, after he had taken possession of his dignity, was to give audience to the emperor's ambassador. This ceremony was performed in full council. The grand master, in order to honour the emperor in the person of his minister, advanced some steps to meet him, made him sit down by his chair, and desired him to acquaint the house with the subject of his commission. D'Acunha presented his credentials, and, after the reading thereof, he represented to the council

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great affection which the emperor bore the order; that after the taking of Rhodes, when he saw them abandoned by most of the Christian princes, and wandering up and down the various provinces of Italy, he could not help being touched with their deplorable circumstances; upon which he generously parted with the isles of Malta and Goza, to gratify the knights; a noble present, says he, and worthy the piety of that great prince: that their loss of Tripoli had given him new concern; he therefore, out of a desire he had of repairing the damage they had sustained, had sent him on purpose to make them an offer of the town of Africa, or Mehedia, a place situated on the coast of Barbary, strongly fortified, and which lay very convenient for the enlarging their conquests on the continent. He went on to observe, that as the soil of Malta was barren, and incapable of bearing corn, the order was forced to be sending continually beyond sea to distant countries, to fetch it from those places for their subsistence; whereas, in the territory about Africa, they would meet with very fruitful tracts of land, which abounded with all kinds of corn. He concluded his discourse, with intreating the knights to consider, that the island of Malta was in want of fortified places, and that in case the grand seignior should send a fleet and an army to make a descent, and lay siege to the principal fortresses, as the order had reason to fear; they would certainly, in spite of all their valour, be forced to submit to the same unhappy fate which had attended them at Rhodes.

THE grand master, after thanking the emperor for the continuation of his favours, asked the assembly what was their opinion of the proposal: these, before they came to a final determination in the affair, resolved unanimously to send eight old commanders to Africa, to take a view of the situation of the place, the strength and the extent of the territory about it. These commissioners set out immediately; and upon their return, reported to the council, that the place was built upon a neck of land that jutted out into the sea, which sur-

rounded it on three sides; that it was of a large extent, and was very considerable on account of the great number of houses in it, and the strength of its fortifications; that the town and castle were surrounded with very high walls, of an extraordinary thickness, and flanked with towers well provided with artillery; that there was an arsenal in it stored with a great number of cannon; that nothing was wanting but a good harbour for the security of great ships; that the outworks of the place, and the adjacent rising grounds, were beautified with an agreeable variety of country seats, orchards and vineyards, and that all the arable ground in the territory terminated in a mountain which crosses it from east to west, and that behind it they had a prospect of vast plains and pasture grounds belonging to the Arabs of the country, which was generally covered with their flocks and herds of cattle that were grazing there.

THE commissioners declared further, that a place of such vast extent could never be maintained without keeping a large garrison constantly in it, to defend it against the princes and people of Africa, who would never suffer the order to settle quietly so near their dominions; so that they must expect to be daily fighting with the Arabs, who made incursions up to the very gates of the city: that in case of a siege they could have no room to hope for any speedy succour, considering its great distance from Europe: that it was neither agreeable to the design of their institution, nor consistent with the good of Christendom, to abandon, as it were, the sea, and the defence of all Christian ships, to make war within land, and encroach upon the frontiers of their neighbours; whereas their predecessors, though much more powerful than they were, had never attempted to enlarge their territories by conquests, which generally clash with justice; and that since that of Rhodes, which they had taken from the corsairs, the order had never employed its forces, but for the assistance of Christian princes, or for the security and defence of such private persons as frequented the Mediterranean. This report, made by old experi-  
enced

enced officers, and knights full of the warmest zeal for the discipline of their order, determined the council to continue at Malta. The considerations which chiefly prevailed upon them to take this resolution were, the distance of the place from Europe, the difficulty of the passage thither, and the reluctance which the princes and nobility of Christendom would probably have, to see their children, upon their being admitted into the order, confined, as it were, in the deserts of Africa. Upon which, the order dispatched two deputies to the emperor, and prevailed with him to approve of their conduct; notwithstanding which, the viceroy of Sicily still resented it, and, by way of revenge, prohibited the exportation of the corn with which the convent was usually supplied from that island. But in order to pacify him, the grand master and council having advice that its coasts were infested by a great number of corsairs, who had appeared before Palermo, sent five gallies thither well provided, under the command of the prior of Capua. Strozzi prepared to set sail immediately, considering himself at sea as in his own element; but he was moreover pushed on by another circumstance, which was, that he found he was looked upon with a less favourable eye at Malta, ever since the death of the conservator Gagnon, and the commanders Pascatore and Bernardin; Parpaille, one of his principal domestics, and who had the greatest share of his confidence, being suspected of having poisoned them all three, out of revenge for their having thrown out his master at the last election. This made him depart in a good deal of hurry.

HE was scarce arrived at Palermo when he received private letters from Peter Strozzi his eldest brother, giving him advice of his being entrusted with the command of the French army in Italy, and of his being desired by the king of France to solicit him to resume, at the same time, his former employment of the general of his gallies. He urged further, that they could never meet with a more favourable opportunity for revenging their father's death; that they might act in

concert

concert by sea and land; for which reason, he begged him to sacrifice his private resentments against the ministers of France, to the love and liberty of their country. Notwithstanding the disgust which the prior had entertained against the court of France, it yet was overruled by the pressing instances which his brother made, and gave way to the violent hatred he retained in his heart against Cosimo de Medicis. He made no other answer to his brother, than that he would be with him soon. The difficulty was to get out of the port of Palermo without giving the viceroy any jealousy, or affording him any reason to guess at his design.

WHETHER it were, that the king of Spain had been informed by his Spies, that the command of the gallies of France was designed for the prior; or that he only surmised, upon seeing his brother going to command in Italy, that he would not fail to use all his endeavours to engage the prior on the same side, this prince had sent private orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to keep a strict watch over the prior, in case he came into any port of the island, and to seize him upon the least token he should discover of any intelligence that was between the two brothers. He was but just arrived at Palermo, when he discovered, (through the thick disguise of civilities which the viceroy affected to shew him,) an air of uneasiness, that convinced him he was observed and suspected by him; in order therefore to get out of his hands, he sent out one of his officers, in whom he most confided, very early in the morning, in a light brigantine, under pretence of going to look out along the coasts of the island, with orders to return after he had been some hours at sea; and without bringing his brigantine into the harbour, to come directly to the viceroy's, and tell him, in his presence, however he might find him, that he had descried three Moorish galliots in a safe road not far off. The prior, after he had dismissed the officer, waited upon the viceroy in his palace, where he was to dine; and before they sat down to table, all the subject of his discourse,



ran upon the ill offices he had received from the constable de Montmorency, as well as of the dangerous designs which that French nobleman had, as he said, formed against his life, and the passionate desire he had to be revenged of him, if ever he found an opportunity : and in order to justify his resentments, shewed him several letters which he had received out of France, wherein some of his friends, who were not let into the secret of the king's intentions, gave him advice not to put into any port of that kingdom, if he were not desirous of being arrested.

THIS seeming confidence imposed upon the viceroy, who gave into the snare, and, with a view of getting him into the emperor his master's service, exaggerated the ingratitude of the French ; and assured him, that whenever he should quit the command of the gallies of the order, he would find, at the court of Spain, employments worthy his birth and valour. They were now set down at table, when, in the middle of the entertainment, the officer whom the prior had sent to sea, came into the room, and told him in a great hurry, that he had discovered some galliots of corsairs in a creek, and that provided he made haste, they might easily be surpris'd. The prior rose up suddenly with a specious air of satisfaction, and turning to the viceroy, " I'll give you a good account of them, says he to him, and hope to bring them into you before you rise from table."

THE gallies under his command being all ready, he sail'd out of the harbour and put to sea, keeping off from the coast ; and as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about and stood for Malta, where he landed without any obstacle. Upon his return, he resigned the generalship of the gallies, which perhaps might have been owing to his having been, ever since the death of the conservator and the two commanders, become suspected and odious to their relations and friends ; and the commander Parrifot de la Valette was appointed to succeed him. The prior having laid down that employment, gave out that he would go try his fortune

in cruising with his own two gallies, and a third which belonged to his brother; and that he was resolved to make war on his own account, upon all the corsairs he should meet with. Several young knights of all nations offered themselves to follow him, engaged to it by his reputation; which was so great, that all young people in general were for learning the arts of navigation under so excellent a captain. He received such as offered themselves on board his gallies, and immediately sailed out of the port; but when he came off of Goza, he acquainted them with his design, telling them, that he was going to command the French army; but that if any of them, from any just reason, might not think it proper to accompany him in that expedition, he then was ready to give them boats to carry them back to Malta. Some Spanish and Italian knights left him, as being subjects of the king of Spain; the rest, who were bound by no such considerations, resolved to follow his fortune, and he never failed to find soldiers, wherever there were men, whose minds were susceptible of that glory which is to be acquired by arms.

HE afterwards stood away for the coast of Tuscany, and landed at Portercole. The French were in possession of it, and the duke de Somme, who commanded for them in Grossuto, came to join him with a body of infantry. The gallies of Provence were ordered to the same place, to act under his command. Whilst the prior was waiting for their coming up, he, in order not to let his men lie idle, formed a design to seize on a small place in the neighbourhood called *Scarline*, lying within the territory of Piombino, and would needs, as was his usual custom, go and reconnoitre it himself; but he approached so near, that a peasant, who lay snug among some rushes, knowing him by the tallness of his stature, and by the boldness of his coming on, fired at him, and wounded him with a musket-ball in the side: he was immediately carried on board his gallies, and the next day to Castillon de Piscaya, where he died a few days afterwards. He was a nobleman whom we  
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may justly rank among the greatest captains of his order; and his very enemies gave out, that, had he been only less haughty, he would justly have deserved to have been raised to that rank, which he well merited by his uncommon valour. His great spirit indeed would not suffer him to submit to the authority of men, whom he looked upon as the mere creatures of fortune and favour. He was buried in the great church of Portercole; and the duke of Florence recovering that place the year following, the general of his troops had inhumanity enough to dig up his body and throw it into the sea: a scandalous kind of vengeance, that redounded as much to the prior's glory, as to the reproach of so mean-spirited an enemy.

LA VALETTE, the new general of the gallies of Malta, put to sea as soon as he was in possession of his post, and in a little time grew terrible to the corsairs of Barbary, whom he drove away from the coasts of Sicily and Naples, having taken several of them, and returned into the ports of the island with a good number of prizes. The richest commanders, encouraged by this success, fitted out privateers for cruising, and the private knights engaged themselves in these private armaments, according as their interest or inclinations led them. The continual war which the order made upon the infidels, the frequent ravages upon their coasts, the taking of such numbers of corsairs and merchant ships, and the security which their succours gave to the commerce of the christians, drew upon them the resentment of the grand seignior; and a report was spread abroad, that Solyman intended to attack them in Malta, and had boasted that he would drive them out of that island, as he had done about forty years before from that of Rhodes. But some expeditions which he made into Asia, and the civil wars that rose up in his lifetime between his children, diverted his arms for some time another way. The grand master, however, in order to prevent a surprize, ordered the new general of the gallies to put to sea again, and get up all the corn and warlike stores he could meet with in the  
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ports of Sicily, and along the coasts of Italy: with these he filled the public magazines; and we are also told, that the general scoured the sea up to the very mouth of the Nile, and carried off from thence three ships laden with corn for Constantinople and Egypt.

WHILST the general, and other privateers, were thus bringing prizes and provisions into the island of Malta, the grand master was employed in adding new fortifications to the fort of St. Elmo, to the isle of St. Michael, and the town, the ordinary residence of the convent. He sunk and widened the ditches, and ordered a spur or counterfort to be raised to strengthen the fort of St. Elmo; but the greatest expence he was at, and which indeed appeared the most necessary, was that which was laid out upon the isle of St. Michael. This narrow piece of land, which run out into the sea, was open on all sides, and had only a little castle for its defence. The grand master built thick walls about that part of the castle which lies over against the rock of Corradin, fortifying them with bulwarks, and bastions, with proper flanks in several places, and brought the sea water into the ditch and raised all these fortifications with his own money, he being a man who had never given into any expence, but what contributed to the security and defence of the place. By way, therefore, of acknowledgement for his great disinterestedness, and for the benefits which thereby accrued to the order, the knights gave his name to that peninsula, which was before called the isle of St. Michael, but which went ever after by the name of the isle de la Sangle.

BY his generous cares, and the valour of the knights, Malta grew every day more flourishing; when, upon the 23d of September, this general prosperity was suddenly interrupted by an unexpected accident. There arose in the harbour, about seven o'clock in the evening, a terrible hurricane, such as the seamen call a *gust of wind*, or *whirlwind*, and the modern Greeks *Syphon*. This storm, which was occasioned by the violence

lence and shock of several contrary winds that met together, swelled the waves, sunk several vessels, drove others ashore, shattered the brigantines and galliots to pieces; and, what was still more deplorable, turned four galleys upside-down, with their keels in the air, so that most of the officers, the soldiers, and the crew, were either drowned, or crushed to pieces by the weight of the vessels. The houses next the port were, in a moment, swallowed up, together with their inhabitants; the castle of St. Angelo itself trembled and shook; the great piece of wood, to which the standard of the order was fixed, was torn up, and carried half a mile off. The violence of the wind, the torrents of rain that fell from the sky, and the waves of the sea, which appeared either swelled into mountains, or lost in devouring gulphs, seemed to threaten Malta with utter destruction; when, in less than half an hour, this dreadful storm ceased as suddenly as it had risen, and calm and fair weather appeared at once; so that had it not been for the dismal havock of the houses which were blown down, and of the ships that had lost their masts, and were dashed to pieces, one could scarcely have believed, that the port, which was then so quiet, had been, but a moment before, the theatre of such a dreadful revolution.

THE grand master no sooner heard of it but he immediately repaired thither, with most of the knights of the convent; and though the storm still continued, he did all that lay in his power to assist such as could not swim, and to take up the floating bodies of those who were drowned; but as the night was coming on, they were obliged to wait till the next day, in order to raise up the galleys, and set them afloat. The return of day light shewed them this dismal spectacle in all its horror: above six hundred persons, knights, officers, soldiers, and slaves, were either drowned or crushed to pieces by the overturning of the galleys; and they found in the soldiers pockets the money which they had received for their pay the day before. The grand master hearing a noise that came from a galley that was



overturned, ordered a hole to be made in it, and some planks to be taken away ; the first thing that appeared was a monkey, who immediately leaped out ; then they drew out the chevalier de l'Escut, who was afterwards so famous under the name of Romegas, and several other knights, who had been all night up to the chin in water, clinging to the bottom of the keel with their hands, where they had scarce air enough to breathe. They were taken out of this dismal place, when they found them pale and benumbed with cold, and rather dead than alive, most of them fainting away as soon as they were exposed to the open air. All possible care was used for their relief ; and as soon as they came to themselves, they went immediately to the next church to return thanks to God for their preservation. The grand master set to work immediately about raising up and refitting the gallies ; they found that the largest of them was entirely ruined, and that it would be impossible ever to make it fit for service again ; the rest were repaired, but at a vast expence. The treasury furnished all the galley slaves they had ; and, to make up their complement, several peasants of the island offered themselves voluntarily to serve as rowers on board : some Christian princes, and all the commanders who had money and credit, exerted themselves in a suitable manner to repair so considerable a loss. The grand master, in order to set them an example, built a galley at his own expence in the port of Messina ; and the pope, who was greatly concerned at this terrible disaster, generously supplied it with a crew of slaves taken out of his prisons, and criminals who had been condemned by the secular arm.

PHILIP II. king of Spain, considering Malta as the bulwark of Sicily and his Italian dominions, made the order a present of two gallies well provided. Philip du Broc, an old knight of the language of Provence, and prior of St. Gilles, gave the order a great gallion, which the commander Paschal du Broc, his nephew, carried to Malta, laden with ammunition and provisions, with a good number of soldiers on board, and

completely fitted out for the sea service. Francis de Lorraine, grand prior of France, arrived about the same time in the harbour with two gallies, who, out of zeal for his order, was come to offer his service to the grand master. This young prince heightened afterwards, on several occasions, the reputation of valour, which seems to be hereditary in his illustrious family. The order, by reason of the prodigious loss it had sustained, stood in great want of these several succours; and the rather, because the corsairs of Barbary, in hopes of making their advantage of this disaster, infested the coasts of the island, and often kept the port in a manner blocked up. Above all, Dragut, that formidable enemy of the order, thinking he should find their forces in disorder, appeared off Malta with seven gallies well supplied with land forces, and, putting them on shore, ravaged the open country, taking a great number of prisoners; but before he had time to reembark, the commander Lewis de Lastic, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marshal of the order, fell upon him with a body of 300 knights, cut part of the corsairs to pieces, recovered the prisoners and the booty, and forced Dragut to make the best of his way to his ships. To revenge the insult, the prince of Lorraine immediately put out to sea with his own gallies, and two others belonging to the order, scoured all the coast of Barbary in his turn, came up with a brigantine of Assanbaly's, a famous corsair, between Malta and Tripoli, which he took; gave chase to Uluchialy; took from him a galley and galiot; and, before he returned back to the harbour of Malta, made prizes of two other vessels, laden with salt and various kinds of merchandise.

By the valour of this prince, and the resolution of their privateers, the order had recovered the same superiority in those seas, which it had enjoyed before the fury of the hurricane had been felt at Malta, when there happened a new accident, which caused a great disturbance, and gave rise to very unhappy dissensions in the society. In order to give the reader a right

notion of this dispute, in which the pope and the greatest princes of Europe interested themselves, 'twill be necessary to observe, that upon the prior of Capua's death, seignior Strozzi his brother had taken possession of his gallies as his own property, of which one indeed had always belonged to him; but as he was at the head of a land army, he could not command his gallies in person, and had therefore joined them to some French gallies that were in the port of Civita-Vecchia, under the command of the chevalier Sforza, prior of Lombardy, and brother to the cardinal of that name, high chamberlain to the pope. The king and Strozzi imagined that their gallies were very safe in that place; but the prior of Lombardy having quitted the French service at that time, to enter into that of Spain, in order to make himself more considerable in the new party in which he had engaged himself, he took his measures so well, in concert with the high chamberlain, whose dignity gave him a great authority in all the territories of the church, that he carried off two of the king's gallies, and brought them into the port of Naples; and, by his solicitations, and a like act of treachery, one Moret de Niffard, a native of Piedmont, seized on one of Strozzi's gallies, and retired with it into the harbour of Villa-Franca, where the duke of Savoy gave him his protection, and allowed him to set up his flag.

SUCH a notorious robbery, in breach of his oath, was a great blemish to the prior of Lombardy's honour, and raised the anger and resentment of the pope. Paul IV. was at that time in the papal chair, and had the government of the church in his hands, but was himself governed by one of his nephews, a knight of Malta, whom, upon his accession to the popedom, he had dignified with the Roman purple by the name of cardinal Caraffa. The uncle and nephew were actually at that very time negotiating a league with France against Spain; so that besides the violation of the sovereignty of the church by this outrage, it was their interest to persuade the king that they had no hand in it.

it. In order to this, they arrested cardinal Sforza, whom they threw into a loathsome prison, and threatned to put him to death, in case the French king's gallies were not immediately sent back to the port, from whence they had been carried off in so clandestine a manner. The prior, who knew the cardinal nephew's violent temper, sent them back immediately; and was forced, in order to procure his brother's liberty, to give 200,000 crowns security, that he should not stir out of Rome without the privity of the pope and his nephew. But they found it a more difficult matter to get back Strozzi's galley, which Moret had carried into the port of Villa-Franca; for, in order to elude the complaints and instances of the pope, the duke of Savoy sent it into the Levant, with his own flag, and a commission under his great seal. Cardinal Caraffa and Strozzi, thirsting to take revenge for so treacherous an action, no sooner heard of Moret's being at sea but they sent another galley after him, under the command of a French captain, called Fouroux, an excellent sea officer, devoted to the family of Strozzi, recommending to him at the same time, to employ cunning as well as valour, in order to recover the galley out of his hands. Fouroux, the better to conceal the design of his voyage, went first to Malta, where he obtained the grand master's leave to go a cruising in concert with his gallies, and under the flag of the order; upon which he sailed out of the harbour, in company with the admiral galley, and had not been long at sea, before he met the galley he was in quest of. Moret, who commanded her, taking the galley where Fouroux was on board for the admiral of the order, saluted her, got into his long boat, and went on board her, in order to talk with the general: but how great was his surprisè, when he found himself in the power of one of Strozzi's officers! He was immediately arrested and put in irons; and Fouroux afterwards coming up with his galley, as if he had brought  
 1557.  
 back the captain, the officers and soldiers, not mistrusting any thing, suffered him to approach; so that he

entered the galley, and made himself master of it, before they were so much as sensible that they had received their enemy on board.

THE general of the galleys of Malta, highly incensed to see the flag of the order made use of to surprisè the galley of a Christian prince, threatned to fight Fouroux, in case he did not release her immediately, and set Moret at liberty : but Fouroux shewing him positive orders for that purpose from the king, and an express commission from the pope, the first superior of the order, he did not think fit to take upon him to determine so critical an affair ; but having made Fouroux agree to follow him with his prize to Malta, they came a few days after before the port. The French captain immediately sent his commissions to the grand prior of France, and drew up a memorial, in which he gave him a particular account of the trick that Moret had played seignior Strozzi. The prince of Lorraine, having laid them before the grand master, obtained leave for Fouroux to enter the harbour with his own galley and his prize. These two galleys being entered into the port, captain Moret applied himself to the knights of Savoy and Piedmont, making bitter complaints that the flag of the order had been made use of to surprisè a galley which belonged to their sovereign, and that only out of resentment at his alliance with Spain. These knights immediately presented a petition to the council in his name, and the viceroy of Sicily used all his credit to support it. They likewise procured some merchants of Ragusa, and of the isle of Scio, to demand the cargo found on board Moret's galley, as being their property ; and the officers of the treasury put in their claim for the galley, as being part of the prior of Capua's personal estate, to which the order had a right to succeed. These different interests and pretensions caused grievous divisions in the convent, every one siding with his own language and nation. The council, whose views and actions ever tended to the common good of the order, could not help blaming the grand master for having suffered the two galleys in dispute



pute to enter the harbour without their privity ; a step that had involved them in a troublesome affair, the decision of which they could have wished had been wholly left to the princes whom it concerned. However, as there was no recalling what had passed, and that the two captains had each of them a strong party in Malta, the council appointed commissioners to examine into the claims and pretensions of both. Moret complained of his having been imposed upon, by the confidence which he had reposed in the galleys of the order ; and that that which belonged to the prince his master had been taken from him by treachery and surprize : he therefore demanded that it should be restored to him, employing at the same time the most pressing instances. Fouroux, not owning the authority of the council, gave himself no trouble about his defence ; so that he only produced his commissions, and said, that what he had done was in obedience to the pope's orders, in execution of which, he had retaken a galley that belonged to his holiness, and which had been scandalously carried off by Moret in the sight of all Italy ; and that in case the order did not think fit to punish that robber, the pope knew how to do himself justice, even upon those, who, out of politic considerations, and in opposition to the obedience which they owed him, should refuse to take notice of so flagrant a robbery.

It appearing upon proof, that the galley in dispute had been carried off out of the pope's harbours, the council ordered Moret, who had managed that affair, to be arrested, but left Fouroux only in the custody of the grand prior ; who, upon his giving his parole, answered readily for keeping him. The grand master immediately dispatched an ambassador to the pope, to receive his orders in relation to this dispute ; and wrote at the same time to the king of Spain, and his ministers in Italy, to acquaint them also with it. The pope and the king of France demanded by concert, that Fouroux should be sent to them with his prize, and the robber be delivered into their hands, to be punished by  
 martial

martial law. There was no disputing the pope's authority; they were forced to obey, and send back the galley to the port of Civita-Vecchia, and the cargo was restored to the owners. As for Moret, they kept him for some time in prison; but at last, out of regard to the king of Spain, they let him make his escape, which the council was glad to connive at; and the duke of Medina Celi, then viceroy of Sicily, sent a brigantine upon the coast to take him on board. The council examined witnesses about his escape, and sent an account of it to the pope, who, after the restitution of his galley, seemed to be well enough satisfied.

NOTWITHSTANDING that this affair had been managed and terminated with great prudence, nevertheless the division it occasioned in the convent, and the reproaches which dropped from the council with regard to the grand master's conduct in it, gave him so sensible a concern, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, followed by a languishing state of

August 18. health and soon after by a death truly

1557.

Christian. He would not dispose of any of his effects, though he had obtained leave to do so from a general chapter; and, notwithstanding the great sums he had laid out in fortifying the isle of Malta, he nevertheless left upwards of sixty thousand crowns behind him. The council could not but admire a spirit so nobly disinterested; and, to shew their sense of it, sent twelve thousand livres into France, to augment the portion of mademoiselle de Mont-Chanar his niece. They founded, pursuant to the intention of the deceased, a mass for ever in the chapel of the castle of St. Angelo; and laid out part of the money in ornaments for the church of the convent, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, on which they put the grand master de la Sangle's arms, as a monument both of his piety, and of the gratitude of the order.

THERE was no great difficulty in the choice of a successor; the bailiff of Lions, nephew to the marshal Vallier, had indeed some votes at first, notwithstanding

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ing that he was absent ; but no sooner had one of the electors proposed the command- JOHN er DE LA VALETTE, but all the votes - DE LA united in his favour. This nobleman had VALETTE. never left Malta since the time of his re- August 21. ception into the order, and had gradually 1557. filled up all the offices of it ; he had been a soldier, a captain, a general, an able politician, firm in his resolutions, and as much esteemed among the knights as formidable to the infidels. The order, under his administration, recovered its antient authority, which had been much impaired in some provinces of Germany, and in the territories of the republic of Venice.

EVER since the time that the Hussites had ruined most of the commanderies of Bohemia, the common treasury of the order could never draw any thing from that kingdom, and the adjoining provinces. They had been engaged in continual wars either in Hungary, or in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria ; which following close upon the insurrections raised by the Hussites, had interrupted the payment of the responsions, which the knights of that country were obliged to send either to Rhodes or Malta ; and the priors of those large provinces had assumed to themselves a right of nomination to the commanderies that fell vacant within their respective priories. The grand master, unable to suffer abuses which he saw were growing up into customs, and, which would in time plead a right of prescription, wrote about it in the strongest terms to those provinces ; and, in order to put an end to them the more effectually, he applied himself to the emperor, and to Ferdinand king of the Romans his brother. These princes, who knew what an excellent use the order made of its revenues, signified to the several priors and commanders whose commanderies lay within their territories, that it was their intention, they should give entire satisfaction to the grand master. The German knights met in a chapter, and immediately dispatched away Wenceslas de Hesse-Asseburg, prior of

of Bohemia; Sigisfund Romer, commander of Mielberg; and Henry de Rietchenau, commander of Estugna, as their deputies to Malta; who, in the name of all the knights of their language, took the oath of obedience to the grand master; promised to pay their responsions, and the taxes which should be laid upon their provinces by general chapters; and, by an instrument in form, in the name of all the priors of Germany, made a solemn renunciation of all manner of right to dispose of the commandries within their respective priories, one only excepted, which, according to the general custom of the whole order, they had a privilege of conferring once in five years.

THE Venetian commanders, by virtue of the protection which the senate gave them, were for following the example of the Germans, in getting themselves excused from paying their responsions, under pretence that they served their country against the Turks. But as these kinds of contributions were employed only in armaments against the infidels, the grand master represented the duty they owed, and their primary obligations, in so clear a light, and demanded their obedience with so much resolution and authority, that they all submitted to his orders, and a little after sent their responsions to Malta, as did likewise the Germans; both of which were ever afterwards regularly paid.

AFTER this regulation, which related to the provinces, and as it were the out parts of the convent, the grand master undertook an affair, which once had made a great noise at Malta, and indeed over all Europe; but which, like the greatest events, now grown so out of date that it was talked of no more. The marshal de Vallier, governor of Tripoli, whom the grand master d'Omèdes had prosecuted with so much vigour, was still living; and this old commander, whom before that unhappy affair, most of the knights intended to have chosen for their grand master, was then pining away in obscurity, but which suited his misfortunes. 'Tis indeed true, the grand master de la Sangle had set him at liberty; but various considerations, and the tender-

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ness and regard which he thought himself obliged to shew to the memory and friends of d'Omedes, had hindered him from restoring him to his honours.

BUT the grand master de la Valette, being naturally more intrepid, and thoroughly persuaded of the marshal's merit and good conduct, thought it his duty to do him justice; and, after having taken an exact review of the proceedings against him, and made an impartial enquiry into the merits of the case, he cleared him of the unjust accusations which his enemies had brought to blacken him, conferring upon him at the same time, the title of grand bailiff of Lango, as an attestation, and the seal of his innocence. He did not stop here; but that he might revenge him, and the whole order, for the insults and ill treatment they had met with from the infidels at the taking of Tripoli, he entered into a project, which John de la Creda, duke of Medina-Celi, viceroy of Sicily, had proposed to him for the recovery of that place.

DRAGUT was at that time in possession of it. This famous corsair, not succeeding in his views of obtaining from the Sultan the title of basha, and the post of lord high admiral of his empire, a dignity which had been conferred on Barbarossa, had resigned the sangiaship of Santa Maura; and, under pretence of zeal for master's service, and of defending the coasts of Africa against the incursions of the knights of Malta, had contented himself with the title of governor of Tripoli: but as the place lay at a vast distance from the porte, it was in reality a kind of little principality, which he governed with an authority that was in a manner absolute, altho' he, in order to continue himself the benefit of the grand seignior's protection, affected to shew himself entirely subservient to all his orders.

THIS corsair, ever since his settlement in Tripoli, had wholly employed himself in repairing its walls and in fortifying them with ramparts, designing to make it his place of arms, and the seat of his dominion. He had taken care to strengthen the fortifications with several bastions, and with all the works which the ground  
would



would admit of, or that art had invented at that time. Nor was the castle less strongly fortified; and notwithstanding that its situation was not very advantageous, he, by his continual pains, and a prodigious expence, had made it one of the strongest fortresses of Africa. The entrance of the port was secured by great towers, and well provided with artillery, so that it served for a secure retreat to the vessels of Dragut, and other corsairs who cruized under the grand seignior's flag; and 'twas from hence that all those infidel rovers sailed, who infested the coasts of Sicily and Naples, and insulted even those of Spain.

THE new viceroy of Sicily, in order to signalize his accession to that dignity, formed a scheme for besieging Tripoli; and, the better to carry his point, he endeavoured to engage the grand master in it: nor did he find it a difficult matter, to bring him into a design which was calculated to destroy that nest of pirates. They, by concert, wrote to Philip II. king of Spain, upon this subject; who, tho' he was not a very warlike prince, yet, as the security of his coasts, and the tranquility of his subjects were concerned in it, and that moreover he was apprehensive lest Dragut should attempt to reduce Goletta, approved a project which came recommended by the grand master's approbation; of whose valour and capacity he was highly sensible, and whose knights were to share in the expence and the dangers of the enterprise.

PHILIP sent orders to the duke of Sessa, governor of the Milanese; to the duke of Alcala, who commanded in the kingdom of Naples; and to John 1559. Andrew Doria, general of his gallies, to join their forces, and transport them to Sicily. The general command of the army was given to the duke of Medina-Celi, with express instructions to follow the grand master's advice in the whole conduct of this enterprise. But as the three noblemen above mentioned, by their distance from court, had taken upon themselves to obey no farther than they thought proper, and being jealous withal of the authority which the king their master

master had vested in the viceroy of Sicily, they found out various pretences to retard the execution of his orders; so that Philip was at last forced to send the commander de Guimerans, an old knight who chanced to be at his court, into Italy, in order to hasten the march of these several bodies of troops, and to lead them to Sicily.

THE grand master, seeing it very late in the year, was for putting off the enterprize to the next spring, and wrote to the viceroy to that purpose; but as that nobleman was afraid lest the king should change his mind, or that some court-cabal should supplant him in a commission, which he fancied would afford him an opportunity of acquiring no little share of glory, he made all the haste he could to set out; when appointing the general rendezvous of the fleet in the island of Malta, he, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, came thither about the middle of December, where he was received with all the honours due to his dignity, and the potent monarch he represented. The troops he had brought with him were put into good quarters; and the grand master reviewed in his presence those he designed for the expedition: they consisted of four hundred knights of the order, and fifteen hundred men in their service, besides volunteers. The chevalier de Urre de Tessieres, a great captain, and at that time general of the gallies was made their commander in chief; and the grand master and council reposed so much confidence in his valour and experience, that they left him the choice of his lieutenant, and the officer he should substitute in his place, either to command the land-forces, in case he should think fit to keep always at sea; or to stay on board the gallies, in case he should take upon himself the command of the troops which were to form the siege.

THE viceroy thanked the grand master for this strong reinforcement, and was particularly overjoyed at the sight of that body of brave men, being no less than four hundred, who were to go on board, all of them ancient knights, that had grown old in the service.

Nor was he less edified with the charitable care, which the other knights afterwards took of his officers and soldiers that fell ill; for during the two months that these foreign troops continued in the island, their sick were looked after, and attended with pious zeal, from which the order has never once deviated ever since its foundation.

IN fine, the Milanese and Neapolitan troops arriving at Malta in the beginning of February, several councils of war were held, in order to consider upon the operations of the campaign. The siege of Tripoli was, as we have said, the principal design of this armament; but as the viceroy had been informed of the new fortifications which had been made to the place, and particularly that Dragut, a formidable commander, had thrown himself into it with all his best troops, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions, the dangers of the enterprize, and the uncertainty of the success, enervated his courage; and as he was a much better courtier than a general, he proposed the conquest of the isle of Gelves, where he was in hopes of acquiring glory unattended with danger.

THE grand master readily agreed, that they indeed would meet with no great difficulties in reducing a small island, which was open on all sides, and which had no fortress in it, but one single castle that was but poorly fortified; but he also represented at the same time, that what rendered it so exceeding weak, and made the conquest of it so very easy, would likewise make it impracticable for them to keep it, and thereby put the infidels, as soon as the fleet should be retired, upon making an attempt to recover it; that the open country was peopled with Moors or Arabs, who would not fail to lay ambuscades in the forests of palm-trees, and hinder them in that dry country, from fetching water out of some wells which had been dug in the island; that moreover there was some reason to fear lest the grand seignior's fleet, with which they were threatened, should come upon them, whilst they were in the midst of the enterprize, and sink their galleys: whereas, if they  
could

could but reduce Tripoli, they should be secure in that port, and the banks of sand and flats, which lay along the coast thereabouts, would be of use to them against the great vessels of the Turkish navy.

THE viceroy, who thought his honour obliged him to adhere to his opinion, would not hearken to these reasons which were brought against it, but still maintained that he would reduce the island before such time as the grand seignior could be able to fit out a fleet, and send it to sea; and that, in order to secure their conquest, they had nothing to do but to fortify the castle with four bastions, which would put both it and the whole island in a sufficient state of defence. The members of the council of war were divided between these two opposite opinions; but as the greatest part of the officers had their dependence on the viceroy, very few durst declare themselves of a sentiment contrary to his. The grand master urged to him, that he, by changing the project and plan of the campaign, was going to act directly contrary to the intentions of the king his master, and the instructions which had been given him; but all in vain; la Cerda was obstinate, and adhered firmly to his opinion. La Valette, who foresaw the ill consequences which they might justly expect from this enterprize, told him plainly, that he might, if he pleased, employ his master's troops as he thought proper; but that in case he laid aside the first project, which had been approved of by the king of Spain, and communicated to the council of the order, he would not suffer a knight to stir out of the island. The viceroy was vexed to find the grand master so resolute; but not being able to pursue his designs without his reinforcement, he seemed to come over to his sentiments, and pretended to apply himself entirely to the first project. All the talk was now of the siege of Tripoli; but as the grand master discovered, that he had still some doubt of the sincerity of his intentions, the viceroy, in order to remove his suspicions, swore in a solemn manner, by the life of the king his sovereign, and by the head of Gastion de la Cerda his son, a young

nobleman, whom he had brought along with him, that he would sail directly for Tripoli, which he promised to invest. This however was the farthest off his thoughts; but he resolved to conceal his real design, till such time as he should be out at sea, where he would have the sole direction of the army, and, in consequence of that, steer which way he should judge proper.

THE embarkation was made upon the tenth of February; the grand master put, over and above the troops of the order, two hundred Maltese pioneers on board, to serve at the siege of Tripoli. The chevaliers Flotte and de la Roche had the charge of the artillery that was to be put on shore; and the hospital for the sick and wounded officers and soldiers, was committed to the care of the commander Garcia de Contreras, with some other knights for his assistants. The Christian fleet steered away for the coast of Africa, and arrived at Seches de Querquene. The isle of Gelves had been always subject to its own princes; but Dragut, ever since his being settled in Tripoli under the grand seignior's authority, had made those petty sovereigns tributary to the porte. The corsair, as soon as he had advice of the viceroy's being off the island with his fleet, sailed thither with two gallies, and put into the channel of Cantara, of which mention has been already made in the eleventh book. The Christian general, spying these two gallies, detached a greater number to take them; but the commodore of the Christian gallies, seeing two merchant-ships coming from Alexandria, bore down upon them and took them, a thirst after booty making him neglect the pursuit of Dragut's two gallies. Whilst he was busy in plundering these vessels, Dragut with his gallies, got out of the channel, and dispatched one of them, commanded by the corsair Uluchiali, to give advice to the porte, that a strong fleet, composed of the squadrons of the king of Spain, and the knights of Malta, was ravaging the coast of Barbary, and threatened to lay siege to Tripoli. By the same express he desired that succours might be immediately sent him; during which, he, after having left orders for the defence  
of



of the isle of Gelves, returned with as much diligence as he had come, and shut up himself in Tripoli. Solyman, as soon as he received the news, sent strict orders to all the ports of the Archipelago, to fit out immediately all such ships and gallies, as were in a condition to be put to sea : Cara Mustapha, his high admiral, who was to command the fleet, took the same care in the port of Constantinople.

IN the mean time, the viceroy was forced to land several times to take in fresh water, and never made a descent but he found the people of Gelves ready to oppose him. These, indeed, hated the Turks in their hearts, and were very uneasy under their yoke ; but this hatred gave way to the resentment which they conceived at the seizure of the merchant ships which belonged to them. Full of rage on that occasion, they fell upon the viceroy's detachments, and, in the skirmishes between them, Alvarez de Sande, one of the principal officers of the army, was wounded, and the Christians were forced to reembark with the loss of two hundred men, and five captains of foot. The fleet put to sea again, and made towards Tripoli, but stopped at the *Flats of Palo*, so called by reason of several currents, which sometimes leave that part of the sea dry. The viceroy came to an anchor near these currents, in expectation of the coming up of part of his troops, which could not set out from Malta with the body of the army : he landed some men on the neighbouring coast, to dig wells in several places. The water they met with here being clear and agreeable to taste, they carried a great quantity of it on board the fleet ; both officers and soldiers drinking of it with greediness : but experience soon shewed them its ill effects ; most of those who drank of it falling ill, and a great number of them died ; among whom were several of the most considerable knights of the order. Their fleet was at the same time attacked with a furious storm, and the admiral galley of Sicily, striking against the gallion of Malta, was shattered to pieces, and sunk to the bottom. These accidents, which are

common enough at sea, were only as so many preludes to a more deplorable misfortune.

THE viceroy, when the weather grew calm, proposed, in a council of war, the quitting of that station. The commander de Tessieres, pursuant to his instructions, proposed to him the going first to Languir, an healthy place, where there was good anchorage, and which lay very convenient for their passage to Tripoli; he represented further, that they, by taking that place, and particularly by being masters of the port, would thereby secure the fleet not only against storms, but also against the armada, which they said was coming from Constantinople; not to mention that the Moors and inhabitants of the country would declare themselves against the Turks with more confidence, when they should see the Christians masters of that place; and that after the reducing of Tripoli, that of Gelves would cost them but a visit.

BUT the viceroy, who was in no ways fond of difficult enterprizes, rejected the motion, under pretence that the winds were contrary. The officers who composed the council, being his dependants, durst not appear to be of a different opinion. Hereupon they returned to Gelves on the seventh of March; from whence the general of the Maltese gallies dispatched a frigate to the grand master, to give him an account of all that had passed; informing him at the same time, that the viceroy had not courage enough to advance to Tripoli.

THE Christians landed in the island without the least opposition, not a single Moor offering to dispute their descent: upon which, they advanced up into the country, to a place where there were some wells of fresh water, but they were filled up; when opening them, though with a great deal of difficulty, they found the water had a very bitter taste, occasioned by the great quantity of aloes-leaves which the people of Gelves had thrown into them. The Christian army encamped in this place; during which, some deputies, or rather spies, from the cheick, or lord of the island, arrived; who  
demand-

demanded an interview with the viceroy, under pretence of complaining of war having been made upon them without any occasion given on their part, or any declaration of it on his. They proposed in his name, that the army should quit the island, and that a conference should be held at la Rochette; where, they said, the Christians would find plenty of good water. The viceroy, without either directly accepting, or entirely rejecting this proposal, told them, that he was ready enough to enter into a conference with their master, but that it must be at the foot of the castle, whither he was going to set out immediately. These deputies, having by this means an opportunity of observing his forces, made their report of them accordingly to the cheick; who, finding it impossible for him to hold out so weak a place against a body of troops, considerable for their number as well as their experience, was disposed to capitulate. But his principal officers, and the young men, called out aloud for an engagement; and whether it were that he had a mind to try the fate of a battle before he came to a treaty; or that, perhaps, not having the inhabitants entirely at his command, he was not sorry that some loss and disappointment should make them more tractable for the future: be that as it will, he gave them a permission to do what it was not in his power to hinder. The Barbarians now sally out in a rage; and, thinking to surprize the Christians, advance with more impetuosity than order towards the camp. They failed however in their attempt, the viceroy having had notice from two Christian slaves, who had made their escape, that he should be attacked the next day. He did not think proper to wait for the coming up of his enemies; but, immediately marching his troops, he advanced in good order to meet them. The knights of Malta, with two companies of Germans, were in the van; the main battle was composed of 600 Italians and Sicilians, and the rear of 3000 Spaniards. This was the order the little army observed in its march; when the people of Gelves, to the  
number

number of about 2000, sallied out from behind an hill that covered them; and, rushing on with their usual shouts, attacked the vanguard sword in hand. But as they had neither horse, nor arquebusers, the knights, with one single fire of their muskets, killed a great number of them, and soon put all this multitude of peasants to flight. Upon this the Cheick, in order to prevent his own ruin, and the ravage of the island, entered into a treaty with the viceroy; delivered up to him the keys of the castle, acknowledged the king of Spain for his sovereign, and engaged to pay him tribute. La Cerda, all in raptures at his success, fell into extraordinary transports of joy. He boasted of his being the first general of his nation, who had made any conquest to enlarge the king his master's dominions, since his accession to the crown of Spain; and, in order to preserve such a monument of his valour, he resolved to build a fort there, in order to curb the fickle and mutinous temper of the Moors. This fortress, according to the plan he drew of it, was to be composed of four bastions: Andrew Gonzaga undertook the building of that which looked towards the east, as the knights of Malta did that which was of the opposite side, and which lay towards the west; the viceroy employed the Sicilian troops on that which lay southward; and John Andrew Doria, general of the gallies, set his crew to work on the last, which lay between that of the knights of Malta, and that of the viceroy. The side which ran from the west northward, was defended by the sea; and a thick wall, with good ramparts, was to enclose that side which ran from the north eastward.

THE knights, who had brought 200 pioneers, made a considerable progress in their work; but it went on heavily in other places, through the greediness of the soldiers, who, meeting with great plenty of wool and oil in the island, stole off from their work to run it privately on shipboard, being much more pleased with this employment than the laborious one of carrying earth and materials for the fort. Besides, both the  
army

army and the fleet began to be again infested with distempers, occasioned by the excessive heats of the climate, by the noxious qualities of the air, by the bitterness of the water, and particularly by their feeding on a kind of long-tailed mutton, which proved very unwholesome. This threw John Andrew Doria into a fit of sickness, and proved the death of Quirico Spinola, and several knights; and so great a number of the men were afflicted with such a variety of distempers, that the commander de Tessieres, general of the gallies of the order, was obliged to give the grand master advice of their condition, and to desire his orders how to act. The grand master was greatly troubled at the ill news; and, as a long experience had made him well acquainted with the country, and the seas about it, he saw with infinite concern, that in case the viceroy should make longer stay in the island, he would probably be surpris'd by the Turkish fleet. He wrote Tessieres word, that he was entirely against the building a fort in such a barren place, which lay out of the way of all succours, and which, moreover, was without water, or any harbour for vessels to put into. At the same time he dispatched a knight to the king of Spain, to acquaint him of the danger to which the viceroy exposed his army by his too long stay in the island. He gave the like notice to la Cerda, by an express which he sent to Africa, sending orders at the same time to the commander de Tessieres, that in case the viceroy should be resolv'd to carry on his work, and stay in such a dangerous post, he then had no more to do but to take his leave, and return immediately to Malta, where his troops would be more serviceable, in case the Turks should think fit to make a diversion, and attack the isles of the order. A few days afterwards he dispatched a second express with advice, that he had just received an account of the grand seignior's having sent away forty gallies to relieve Tripoli, which he imagined was besieged; that this squadron was to be reinforced by twenty ships of the corsairs, and, at its coming off the coast of Barbary, was also to be joined  
by



by twenty-two others, under the command of Dragut; and that there was a body of fresh troops on board the fleet, which, upon the junction of these several squadrons, would be much superior to that of the Christians, whose soldiers, being most on them in a sickly condition, would, for that reason, fall an easy prey to their enemies.

THE commander de Tessieres, and John Andrew Doria, laboured strenuously to engage the viceroy to quit his design for some time of building a fort, advising him to embark all his troops, and advance to meet the squadron of Constantinople in the Archipelago, and give the Turks battle before they should be joined by the galleys of the corsairs; at the same time, representing to him, that they, after having defeated the grand seignior's fleet, might return into Barbary, and lay siege to Tripoli, the reducing of which place would secure that of the isle of Gelves. But the viceroy was so prepossessed by the passion he had to finish his work, and to leave a fortress of his own name in Africa, that he was deaf to all remonstrances on this subject, and imagined that their advice proceeded only from a secret jealousy of his glory; so that it was impossible for them to get the better of his obstinacy. The commander de Tessieres seeing his ruin unavoidable, and most of the knights, soldiers and seamen, in a dying condition, took leave of him, and set sail with his troops, in order to return home. He lost in his passage nine knights more, who died of sickness; and he himself expired a few days after his arrival: The greatest part of his soldiers, mariners and slaves, were swept away by the mortality; insomuch, that those galleys were not, for a long time after, in a condition to put to sea.

THE grand master, having always the safety of the Christian fleet at heart, sent three other galleys to Africa, to supply their places, with a reinforcement of fresh troops on board, and manned with a new crew of slaves. The chevalier de Maldonat was to command at sea; and the commander de Gnimerau was general

neral of the land forces. This small reinforcement arrived at Gelves on the 27th of April, at the very time that two brigantines arrived from the viceroy of Naples's lieutenant; who, fearing lest the Turks should make a descent in that kingdom, had sent them into Africa, to bring back the old Spanish soldiers, whom he thought necessary for the defence of the country. Upon the 10th of May, there arrived another brigantine from Malta, having the chevalier Hugh de Copones on board, whom the grand master had sent to Doria, with advice that the Turkish fleet, consisting of eighty-five gallies, had appeared 1560. off the coast of Goza the 7th of that month.

Doria, who was sick, sent his letters to the viceroy, acquainting him at the same time, that in case he did not immediately put his troops on board in the night time, and before day-break, it would be impossible for him to escape the formidable power of the Turks. But nothing could remove the viceroy's infatuation; who, though he had no longer room to doubt of the arrival of the Ottoman fleet, still flattered himself that the admiral would go first to Tripoli to confer with Dragut, and that he, during that interval, would have time enough to embark his troops and artillery. Fatal was the event of this unseasonable obstinacy, the enemy's fleet appearing at day-break, under the command of Cara Mustapha; Piali basha, the grand seignior's favourite, being general of the land forces. When Doria saw this fleet bearing down upon him in good order, he cried out; "Well! the obstinacy of one man has ruined us all: but nevertheless, we shall have this satisfaction, that we shall not be vanquished without having foreseen our defeat."

THE sight of the Turkish armada threw the Christian fleet into a terrible consternation and disorder. The mortality had swept away such a number of the seamen and soldiers, that the gallies were not half manned; and in this confusion no body consulted any thing but his fears: they did not offer at an engagement, and every captain made the best of his way to get out of  
the

the reach of the artillery of the enemy. The Turks took twenty gallies, and fourteen great ships, with their crew, and all they had on board; some other Christian gallies were detained for want of water, among the banks of sand, which they called *les Seches*, or *the Flatts*: these the infidels (manning their boats with soldiers) seized on without resistance. The commander de Maldonat seeing all the fleet routed and dispersed, and his own three gallies pursued by the enemies, behaved himself like a man of bravery and judgment; and being as excellent a pilot, as he was a brave officer, he worked his vessels with so much art, and with so many feints, that, making as if he would run aground, he at last doubled the cape of Sphax, when tacking about to the right, he stood out to sea, and got safe to Malta.

THE Turks, seeing no enemy left to dispute the victory with them, celebrated it with a discharge of all their artillery, and other public demonstrations of joy; resolving to land their troops the next day, to seize upon the island, and make slaves of all such Christians as should be left upon it. Whilst all the men on board their fleet were celebrating their conquests with shouts and acclamations, the viceroy, overwhelmed with trouble for his defeat, and ashamed and confounded at his not having followed Doria's advice, resolved to apply to him in this extremity; and coming to his bedside, where he lay sick, "Doria, says he, you who  
 " are the only person that has judged wisely on this  
 " occasion, what would you advise me to do? Sir,  
 " replies Doria, as you are general of the land forces,  
 " 'tis your business to take such measures, as you  
 " shall think most conducive for their safety. As for  
 " our unhappy fleet, I have taken a resolution to be  
 " put on board a light brigantine this very night, when  
 " I will endeavour to get in the dark through the ene-  
 " mies fleet; and if I succeed in my attempt, will rally  
 " together as many of our scattered vessels as I shall

" meet

“ meet with, when I will sail for Messina, and there  
 “ wait for orders from court.”

THE viceroy told him that he would go along with him, and abandon himself entirely to his conduct ; and though there remained still near 5000 men in the fort, and other parts of the island, he yet chose to desert them, and fly, to survive his disgrace, rather than bury himself bravely in the ruins of the fortress. He left Alvarez de Sande, an excellent officer, who had gained great reputation in the wars of Piedmont, to command them, after which he went on board, together with some general officers. By Doria's skill and dexterity, he got clear of the Turkish vessels, and, touching at Malta, went from thence into Sicily, there to conceal his defeat and misfortunes : but those of the Christians, who were left behind in the island did not end with the rout of the fleet ; for the Turks landing their troops and artillery, laid siege to the fort, which they battered with 18 pieces of cannon. Had these been the only enemies whom de Sande had to oppose, his case would not have been so desperate ; but he, during three months that he sustained the siege with invincible courage, had not only men to fight with, but also famine, thirst, and, as it were, all the elements. All the water in their cisterns was spent, and there was no wood left in the fortress to dress their victuals. The greatest part of the soldiers, chusing rather to desert than die with thirst, delivered themselves up to the enemy. De Sande seeing his own cannon dismounted, and the fortifications of the place beaten down by that of the Turks ; and, moreover, finding himself destitute both of wood and water, and the soldiers he had left sick, emaciated and in a languishing condition, resolved to make a gallant sally, and either open himself a passage, or die honourably sword in hand. Then representing to his men that their safety depended on their courage, he put himself at their head, and sallied out at a time when he thought to surprisè the infidels ; but the Turks having been informed of his design by some deserters, were ready to receive him, so that he

was scarce out of the fort, when he was surrounded on all sides, and overpowered by different bodies of troops, who fell upon him. He had not even the satisfaction of dying in the field, but was taken by the infidels, and sent to the gallies with the rest of his officers and soldiers. The basha hereupon took possession of the place, but ordered all the fortifications to be demolished, for fear lest the Christians should recover it after his departure ; after which, he set out on his return to Constantinople, covered with glory, and leading an infinite number of prisoners, together with the Christian gallies, in triumph. Near fourteen thousand men perished in this unhappy expedition ; who were either destroyed by the sword, or by sickness, or else carried away into slavery. The Spaniards alone lost 23 gallies and 14 ships of burden, besides those of the pope, and two which belonged to Cosmo duke of Florence. Peter Machiavel, who commanded them, saved two other gallies at first ; but meeting afterwards with thirteen Algerine gallies, near the Isle of Giglio, they were forced to run upon the rocks that lye off of the island of Corsica. The officers and soldiers however saved themselves ashore ; but the infidels seized the hulls of the gallies, and set the crew of slaves, who were all Mahometans, at liberty.

'TWAS about this time that Cosmo duke of Florence, in order to secure himself for the future against their incursions, formed a body of seamen ; and the better to engage the officers of it in his interest, instituted an order of knighthood, which served afterwards as a nursery for the knights of Malta. This new order was dedicated to pope St. Stephen, whose feast is kept on the second of August, a day that was propitious to this prince, and on which his generals had a little before defeated the exiles of Florence, at the battle of Marciano. Cosmo settled the great convent of the order at Pisa, which he endowed with great revenues, and drew up the laws and statutes of it himself : and, as it might be of a dangerous consequence, in a new government, to leave a body of gentry under any other authority than



than his own, he made himself the head and grand master of it ; and the princes his sons, who were three in number, were the first knights of the order. Francis, whom he designed for his successor, and whom he afterwards sent to the court of Spain ; John, who was hardly sixteen years of age, when he was made a cardinal ; and Garfia, the youngest of the three, who was a prince of a savage temper. The two last had, from a spirit of jealousy and emulation, which began from their cradle, entertained a violent hatred against one another, that they could never be prevailed upon to lay aside, and which broke out at this time in a very fatal manner. Whilst Cosmo, attended with all his family, in order to settle his new body of knights, was visiting the ports and maritime places of his dominions, these two young princes, quarrelling at a party of hunting, which they had made in the forests near Grossetto, stole off, by concert, from their attendants, and retired into the middle of a wood, where they fought, when Garfia killed the cardinal with a dagger. This being done, he comes up to the rest of the company, and with a very unconcerned air, and as if he had only lost his way, asks what was become of his brother. As that young prince did not appear, and the night was drawing on, his officers dispersed themselves different ways to look for him ; and he who was particularly entrusted with the care of him, after having traversed all the forest, found him at last lying dead upon the ground, and weltring in his gore ; upon which he ran with all imaginable speed to acquaint Cosmo with the dismal news. Cosmo immediately suspected the person that had given the deadly blow ; yet, notwithstanding his being in the highest transports of grief, he still had command enough over himself to dissemble it, ordering the officer to keep it a secret, and when it was dark, to wrap his son's body in a carpet, and to bring it into his closet unseen to any one.

No sooner were his orders executed, but he sent for Garfia, and shutting his closet door, asked him what

was become of his brother. The young prince, with an assurance very uncommon at his age, answered him very gravely, that he had lost sight of him in the chase, in his eager pursuit of the stag. Cosmo then ordered him to lift up the carpet which covered the cardinal's body, from whose wounds the blood was still gushing out in great abundance. At this sad spectacle, the duke, no longer able to stifle his grief and resentment, cried out in a rage, "Thou wretch, see there the blood  
" of thy brother, that cries to heaven for vengeance  
" against thee! Have I given life to a parricide, who,  
" by the murder of his brother, has opened to himself  
" a way to assassinate his father also?" Garzia, in a fright, threw himself at his feet, confessed his guilt; and, to lessen the horror of his crime, alledged, that his brother had attacked him first, and that he had been forced to kill him in his own defence. But Cosmo rejecting this poor excuse, and giving him a furious look, "I must, says he, myself revenge the death of  
" the innocent by the destruction of the guilty, and  
" you must give back your life to him who gave it  
" you." As he was speaking these words, he snatched from him the dagger, with which he had killed his brother, and stabbed him to the heart. They were both buried afterwards in a very private manner; and, in order to conceal so dismal a catastrophe from the world, it was given out, that they died at a country-house of a contagious distemper, which at that time raged in Tuscany. Their obsequies were afterwards celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral church at Florence; and in the funeral oration, which was made on that occasion, the orator, by Cosmo's order, affected to expatiate chiefly on the praises of Garzia, purposely to take away all suspicion of the murder. 'Tis in this manner that Monsieur de Thou has related this tragical event in the 32d book of his history; though it is pretended that this fact is not mentioned in his first edition, but that it has been since inserted by the publishers of the later editions. Eleonora of Toledo, mother to the young princes, from whom  
they

they could not conceal the circumstances of their death, died of grief; but Cosmo, without sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, endeavoured to divert the thought of them by a close application to the affairs of government. His great business at this time was to put his new order on a flourishing footing; and in order to make this badge of distinction a means of uniting the principal families of Florence in the interest of his house, this able prince, one of the greatest politicians of his age, obtained leave from pope Pius IV. to dispense his new knights from the obligation of celibacy, which was observed in the order of Malta; and even such as had been twice married had the favour of being admitted into it. He gave them likewise the privilege, in default of legitimate issue, of bequeathing their estates to their bastards, upon condition, however, that they should leave the fourth part thereof to the order. His interest did not allow him to conform in all these points, to the rigour and severity of the statutes observed by the knights of Malta; and he only exhorted those of Sr. Stephen, to imitate them at least in the valour and zeal which they had shewed for so many ages against the Turks and infidels.

'T WAS with this view, and for the perfecting them in military discipline, that he ordered the commodores of his gallies, whenever they should meet those of Malta, to join and keep company with them, and fall by concert upon all such corsairs as they should meet with. Pursuant to these orders, Baccio Martelli knight of St. Stephen, being at sea with four Florentine gallies under his command, and meeting off of Cape Lupo with Vincent de Gonzaga, prior of Barletto, general of the gallies of the order, who had seven under him, saluted him first, and went on board, desiring leave to follow him: he readily obtained his request; and, during all the time they were out a cruising, was exact in observing the orders which he gave afterwards to his subaltern officers. The general, with this reinforcement of four gallies, finding himself at the head of a squadron of eleven gallies, all well provided, scoured the Le-

vant over, rescued a great number of vessels that were chased by the infidels, took several corsairs; and, when the campaign was over, he parted with the Florentines off of Corfu, and returned into the port of Malta; where, agreeable to the spirit of the order, he was welcomed with greater congratulations for the Christian vessels he had defended and rescued, than for those which he had taken from the infidels.

THIS was the reason why the gallies of the order were almost continually at sea. The grand master built likewise two new ones at his own expence, and his example was daily followed by the richest commanders; they always employing themselves generously, according to their several abilities, in fitting out different squadrons; so that the order had never been so powerful at sea as at that time. But nothing struck the infidels with greater terror, than that these squadrons were commanded by knights of great experience, who were grown old in the service, and who were most of them qualified to command considerable fleets: such were the commander Gozon de Melac, general of the gallies of the order; the commander de Guimeran, whom the king of Spain had desired of the grand master to command those of Sicily; the commanders de Giou and d'Elbeines, and the chevaliers de Thiange and la Motte, all excellent seamen, and of great reputation for their valour and experience. But among these several officers, there was not any one who took so many prizes, and so considerable at the same time, as the commander de Romegas, a knight who had followed cruising from his youth. No body was so well acquainted as he himself, with all the coasts, the ports, and even the smallest creeks and bays in the Mediteranean; he was brave and intrepid, was fearless of danger, and would never suffer any officers or soldiers to be aboard him, that had not as much courage and resolution as himself. The life which he had chiefly spent at sea, had given him a savage look, and he was accused of treating his prisoners with cruelty; but he pretended that he had acted so only

ly by way of reprisal, and in order to force the corsairs to treat the Christian slaves with more humanity. This apology, however, did not entirely remove the suspicion the world had entertained, viz. that he, in using these reprisals in that manner, had not committed any great violence upon his nature; and that his temper, which was naturally cruel and violent, had perhaps contributed as much to it as his politics.

BE that as it will, he, at this time, met off of the coast of Sicily, with a large galiot, under the command of a famous corsair, Yusuf Conciny by name, a Calabrian renegado; a man, who was the tyrant, or rather the executioner of the Christian slaves. Of these he had 200 in his ship, together with 250 soldiers on board. They were pretty near equal in strength, and the corsair did not decline the combat; the two galleys bore down upon one another, and, after firing their broad-sides, came to a close engagement. The fight was maintained a long time with equal advantage, so that there was no distinguishing which side would be victorious: when at last, Romegas, enraged at such a long resistance, put himself at the head of his bravest officers, leaped into the galiot sword in hand, and forced the bend or wale of it. The corsair received him with the same courage, and killed two knights with his own hand: happening to fall, by a blow which he received, upon one of the rowers benches, the slaves, to revenge the ill treatment they had received from him, no sooner saw Romegas master of the vessel, but they handed the corsair from one to another without his opposing it. Every one of them gave him a blow; some were so furious with revenge, that they tore him with their teeth; there was not one but would have a piece of him, so that before he was got to the last bench, there was scarce the least bit of him left. A renegado of Melazzo in Sicily did not meet with a better treatment; under him, several corsairs had surprized and plundered that little place, carried off several inhabitants of both sexes; and, to add lasciviousness to robbery, an infamous wretch, one Marabout had



had ravished some young Christian virgins ; of which, the gallies of Malta, in conjunction with those of Sicily, having advice, they pursued after the pirates, but could not come up with them. After this attempt, the squadrons separated ; and the Maltese gallies being lighter than the Sicilian, and their crews fresher, came up with the principal galley of the corsairs, which had the booty and slaves on board. As a single galley, which should pretend to resist a whole squadron, would probably only expose itself to be sunk, the infidels struck immediately. The prior of Barletto, who commanded on this occasion, set the Christian slaves at liberty, put fourscore Turks to the oar in their stead, and brought back to Melazzo the men and women who had been carried off from thence. The people, after having made him their acknowledgments in their way by great shouts and rejoicings, desired him to deliver up into their hands the renegado their countryman, who had guided the corsairs, and that insolent fellow Marabout, who had abused their daughters. The prior accordingly gave up the two villians, and the mob in a rage did justice upon them with their own hands, and tore them to pieces in a moment. Romegas, who was then at sea, gave more favourable treatment to a gallion which he met near the island of Scarpento, an island lying between those of Candia and Rhodes. This gallion came from Satalia, and was commanded by Kais Seid Mahomet Ugly, an officer of courage, and who had a great number of brave old soldiers on board. Romegas had at that time but two gallies, which belonged to the grand master ; and the chevalier de la Motte commanded the lesser. This knight, whose vessel was the lighter of the two, began the engagement : Romegas coming up, and drawing near the gallion, surveyed it carefully, and seeing it well provided with artillery, and the deck covered with musketeers, he plainly perceived, that in case he did not change the manner of the attack, it would be impossible for ten such gallies as those which he commanded, to take that stately vessel, which was so high,  
that

that it looked like a floating castle in comparison of the gallies. But as the knights never regarded the number and forces of their enemies; and as Romegas's temper was such, that he had rather die than that any body should be able to reproach him justly with having quitted an enterprize he had once engaged in, he resolved to cannonade this great carrack at a distance. Happily a calm succeeded, which hindered it from making any way; and the two gallies, advancing near the gallion by the help of their oars, poured a broad-side into it, and made off; and then charging again, returned with the same agility to fire another. Romegas taking his advantage of the calm, continued this way of fighting so long, that the gallion after having lost abundance of men by his guns and musquetry, was forced to strike. The knights boarding it, found it was laden with rich merchandize: but they had scarce taken possession of it when it sunk, having received some shot in its upper works; and all that they could do was to save the men, among whom was a venerble old man, seventy-eight years of age, who was sargiac of Grand Cairo; and near 600 persons, Turks, Moors, and Negroes, who, like him, were all bound for Constantinople.

WHILST the knights of Malta were continually exposing their lives against the infidels, the roman catholic church assembled in a general council at Trent, where its prelates exerted all their zeal and learning to oppose the innovations of the protestants. The grand master was also invited thither, as well as the other sovereigns of Christendom. This prince, and the council of Malta, deputed the chevaliers de Villegagnon, and Royas de Portalrouge, to go thither in quality of ambassadors of the order. The former could not attend, by reason of his great age, and a severe fit of sickness that seized him; so that Royas went thither alone, who, before he could be admitted, had great difficulties to surmount, from the opposition of the body of bishops, who represented, that it was not just, that a private religious, who was but deputy to a society of lay brothers, should have his seat among the embas-

embassadors, and as such, take place of the bishops. The affair however was made up, and it was agreed, that the ambassador of Malta should be placed among the other ambassadors of the Christian princes, without prejudice however to the protests of the episcopal order : in consequence of which regulation, Royas was admitted in the congregation that was held on the 7th of September A. D. 1563. He began his speech by an apology for the grand master and council, for their not having sent ambassadors sooner to the holy synod ; the reason of which, he said, was, that the island and channel of Malta were continually infested by corsairs, who seemed to be in expectation of the grand seignior's fleet, in order to attempt an entire conquest of the island. He next took notice of the original of the order, which, as he said, had been founded forty years before the first crusade. He next set forth the heroick exploits of their ancestors, saying, that if they did not equal them at that time, it was owing to the protestants having seized on some of their commandries ; as well as to the roman catholic prelates and princes, who, contrary to the usage and privileges of the order, often got the pope to bestow the richest priories and commanderies upon them. He entreated the fathers, in the name of the whole order, to consider its antiquity, its nobility, and the services it had done to Christendom, during a series of so many ages, to order the commandries which had been usurped to be restored, and to provide by a decree, that they should not for the future be ever enjoyed by any body but the knights, according to their seniority ; desiring them at the same time, to pass a solemn confirmation of all the privileges that had been granted to the order ever since its foundation.

THE proctor answered in general terms, and, in the name of the council, told him, that the fathers allowed his excuse for the order, for its having been so long in sending its ambassadors ; and that they would not be wanting in the preservation of the commandries  
and

and the privileges of the order, that was so useful to the church.

THE embassador presented some memorials to the legates of the council, relating to the confirmation of the immunities of the order; and particularly to get a decree, to disqualify all persons, of what dignity soever, from enjoying any priories and commandries, till after their having made the three vows of their institution, in the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The legates durst not propose such a decree in the congregation, till such time as they had first consulted the pope about it, and were acquainted with his intentions. Accordingly, they wrote to him upon that subject; but Pius IV. who then sat in the papal chair, and who was very vigilant to let nothing pass in the council that might limit his authority, was not ignorant that several of his predecessors had claimed a right of collating to the priories and commandries which fell vacant at the court of Rome, or within their territories; though indeed several other popes had made contrary declarations in favour of the order. He therefore wrote back to his legates, that the decree for which the grand master was soliciting, did not concern the council, and that it was no body's business, but his, to make such a regulation, when he should judge proper; and after the breaking up of the council, which had always given him a great deal of uneasiness, he entirely forgot the knights of Malta, and the continual services they were doing the Christian world, particularly to the people who inhabited the coasts of Sicily, Naples, Italy, and Spain, the last especially, who, since the conclusion of the council, had been put in a state of security, by the share the order had in the taking of Gomera de Velez, a place situated on the coast of Barbary, and not above forty leagues distant from Spain.

THIS harbour indeed was not capable of holding great ships, but it constantly sent out a number of fusts and galiots; and whenever they fitted out more considerable squadrons, the king of Fez, their neighbour, furnished them with soldiers, drawn chiefly out of the

moun-

mountainous country adjoining ; all of them bold fellows, and fearless of danger, when booty was the prize. About a mile from this town lay Pignon de Velez, in a little isle, or rather a rock, to which there is no going up, but by a way hewn in the rock itself ; which is divided from the continent by nothing but a very narrow channel, that serves for a kind of port to it, and which can hold no more than ten or twelve little vessels at most. This fort was a great security to the corsairs, who, whenever they were pursued, used to retire thither, as the cannon of the place kept their enemies at a distance. The king of Spain had made an unsuccessful attempt upon it the year before ; but resuming the same design this year, he assembled all his naval forces : after which he wrote in very pressing terms to the grand master, and to several princes of Italy his allies, desiring them to join their gallies with his. With these several squadrons he made up a strong fleet, the command of which he gave to Don Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, who had the direction of the enterprize. This general set sail from the port of Malaga on the 10th of August, with a favourable wind, and, arriving in two days on the coast of Barbary, landed his troops and artillery without any opposition. The van-guard was composed of Spanish troops and the knights of Malta ; the Portugueze and Italians made the main body ; and the Germans were put in the rear. The Christian army marching in good order, advanced up to the town of Gomera, which was not above six miles from the place of their landing. The Christian general, in order to cut off all communication between this town and the garrison of Pignon, and to prevent their receiving any succours from thence, resolved to begin his enterprize with the siege of that place. Gomera, like most of the inland towns of Barbary, was without any fortifications, and lay between two hills. The inhabitants had abandoned it upon the approach of the Christians, and were fled with what they could carry off into the fastnesses of the mountains. Garcia taking advantage of their



consternation, seized upon the town; and fortifying his camp with lines and good redoubts, he raised a battery of six great cannon upon an adjacent hill, which played upon the fort for a whole day together; at the same time that the gallies of Malta, and a great gallion battered it so furiously from the sea, that a large pannel of the wall, and part of the tower, or plat-form, were demolished. The governor in a fright, seeing no succours appear, resolved to abandon the place, and fly away with his family, and his most considerable effects. He had a little skiff or boat to carry them, which was hid at the foot of the rock; but fearing lest the garrison should either stop him, or offer to follow him, he told them that he was going to raise the mountaineers, that he would put himself at their head, and would either lose his life in the attempt, or force the Christians to raise the siege, meantime the garrison, which consisted only of thirty men, seeing no effect of his promises, and not troubling themselves about defending a place, which had been deserted by its governor, consulted only their own safety. Such soldiers as could swim got to shore at as great a distance as possible from the Christian camp; and such as could not opened the gates, and surrendered up the fort. Thus a place, which was looked upon as impregnable, and which the year before had held out against all the forces of Spain, was taken in a few days; this victory was as much owing to the cowardice of the governor, as to the valour and capacity of the Christian general.

THE noise of this conquest gave a terrible alarm to all the corsairs of Barbary, who carried the news to Constantinople, where they complained about it to Solyman; to whom they represented, that as the Spaniards were masters of Goletta, Fignon de Velez, and Tunis, they kept all the coast of Barbary, as it were, in chains. Solyman signified to them, that he would break them in a little time; and, as they informed him that the Maltese gallies had greatly contributed to the reducing of the place, he resolved, in order to secure the

liberty of Barbary, to begin by the conquest of the isle of Malta; and from that time, without communicating his design to any body but his ministers, he made preparations with all possible secrecy, for the fitting out of a strong naval force; the effects of which were felt in the following year. Another fine prize, which the knights took a little after, raised the grand seignior's resentment to the highest pitch, and made him more eager in fitting out his armada. After the taking of Pignon de Velez, the five gallies of the order, commanded by general de Giou, and the grand master's two gallies, under the particular command of Romegas, joining together, and cruising in company, met between the islands of Zante and Cephalonia, with a strong gallion, laden with the richest commodities of the east, and mounted with twenty large brass cannon, and a great number of a lesser size, having a body of good officers of artillery, and above 200 janizaries on board, all of them excellent arquebusers. This vessel was commanded by rais or captain Bairan-Ogli, and belonged to the kissir-aga, chief of the black eunuchs of the seraglio. This eunuch was the minister of his master's pleasures, and the guardian of those young ladies and beauties who were reserved for his use, several of whom had a share in the gallion. General Giou, seeing himself at the head of a squadron of seven gallies, first fired a cannon without ball, to make the captain of the vessel bring to; but the Turks answered him with a ball, and immediately hoisted up their flag, and all their colours, by way of defiance, and as a declaration of their being resolved to fight.

GENERAL Giou, and the commander Romegas, finding there was no likelihood of their taking the vessel but by force of arms, agreed to attack it first themselves; that after they had poured in their broad-sides as close as possible, the two commodores should be relieved by two other gallies, and these again by the three last, so as to make a continual fire without any intermission. But this order of battle was ill observed, from the jealousy and emulation of the two generals, who,

who, forgetting their first agreement of acting together in concert, each strove to engross the whole honour of the victory to himself. De Giou's galley coming up under the stern of this great vessel, was covered in a moment with fire-works; the knights and soldiers were plied warmly with volleys of stones and musket-shot: and the cannon, loaded with cartridges, made such havock amongst them, that the general was forced to remove to some distance. Romegas, on his side, attacked the gallion with his usual intrepidity; but a ball, which was shot from it, demolished the wale of his galley, and killed two and twenty of his men; and by another, twenty more of them were forced to leap into the sea. Romegas, fearing he should be sunk by a great cannon which he saw was levelled to take him betwixt wind and water, thought proper, though sore against his will, to retire further off; after which, the two next gallies advanced in their turn, and in concert fell upon the gallion, each on its side, and poured in such a terrible fire, that they killed and disabled several of the janizaries: but those brave fellows, who were part of a body of troops, in which the chief force of the Turkish empire consists, fought on with the same intrepidity. The three last gallies were then forced to advance to the succour of the rest; and the two commodores, getting their gallies in readiness, returned to the engagement with new fury. The battle lasted five whole hours before any judgment could be formed of the issue of it; and, notwithstanding the great bravery of the knights, they would perhaps have been forced to retire with loss, had the Turks been able to make use of all their artillery. But unfortunately for them, their best pieces, by the avarice of the merchants, were encumbered among the bales of goods, so that they were of no use to them; and the gallies making a superior fire, the knights at last boarded the vessel, and made themselves master of it. The victory was bloody; for above sixscore Christians, either knights or soldiers, lost their lives in it: among the former, those chiefly regretted were la Fonde, a Provençal; Berzet an Italian,

and Pacieco a Spaniard ; Anthony Fernandes, Posselia and Diego d'Inestrosa were mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards at Saragossa : Fernando Ruis de Correali, Ernand de Zuniga, Jerom Caraffa, a Neapolitan, and a great many more, were wounded in this long and obstinate engagement. The Turks, besides their wounded, lost fourscore janizaries, and several officers ; particularly an engineer, who, by his courage and skill in pointing the cannon, had contributed more to their making this gallant defence, than even the captain of the gallion himself.

THIS capture made a greater noise at Constantinople, especially in the seraglio, than the loss of an important place would have done. The kissir-aga, and the odalicki, or favourites of the grand seignior, who had shares in it, threw themselves at the sultan's feet, and entreated him to revenge them on the knights. Solyman, looking upon this capture as an insult offered to his own household, swore by his head, that he would extirpate the order ; and in order to comfort the ladies, and the kissir-aga, for their loss, he indemnified them by making them rich presents out of his own coffers. The greatest part of his officers, and the Mahometan priests, entered into his resentment ; and the musli, their chief, represented to him in a private audience, that as all musulmen were obliged to go once in their lives to visit their prophet's tomb, it would be impossible for his European subjects to discharge that duty any longer, without exposing themselves to be taken by the Christian corsairs ; that Malta was crouded with Turkish slaves ; and that a prince, who had so high a sense of religion, and whom providence had raised to so eminent a degree of power, ought to scruple the leaving so great a number of the faithful in slavery, and exposed to the danger of changing their religion. The kissir-aga, who was more incensed than any body else, and who carried on all this intrigue, in order to determine the grand seignior to lay aside all other enterprises, and to fall upon the island of Malta, engaged the iman, or preacher of the principal mosque, cunningly

ingly to insinuate a discourse upon that subject into his sermon. Solyman, who was a religious prince, going thither the Friday following, which is the Turkish sabbath, this orator, under the pretence of treating of the charity which ought to be shewn to the poor and wretched, introduced himself by deploring the disgrace and wretched state of those musulmen who were in slavery among the Christians. He did this at first in general terms; then, directing his discourse to the grand seignior, he, after extolling his valour, his conquests, and the mildness of his government, in such a manner as they justly deserved, added, that there was nothing wanting to complete his glory but only the delivering of such a great number of unhappy musulmen, as had been deprived of their fortunes and liberty by the Maltese. He afterwards entered into the particulars of all their captures, of which, 'tis probable, they had furnished him with an exact account; and shewed, that their rovers had, within the last five years, taken upwards of fifty vessels laden with the richest commodities of the east; not to mention the feluccas, brigantines, gallies, and galiots employed in the cruising service: "these vessels, says he to him, together with  
 " their cargoes and the men on board, have been all  
 " seized by those merciless corsairs; and nothing, Sir,  
 " but your invincible sword can rescue so many poor  
 " creatures out of slavery: the son calls upon you to  
 " restore him his father, and the wife her husband or  
 " her children: all, all expect from your justice and  
 " power, the vengeance which is due to their cruel  
 " enemies."

SUCH a bold and pathetic discourse, raised a confused murmuring in the congregation, which at last broke out into loud complaints, contrary to what is generally practised in their mosques, where a profound silence is always observed. Solyman seemed surprised and troubled at this unusual incident; but being told the reason of it, he, in order to quiet the people, signified to them by his grand vizier, that they should have their revenge and satisfaction in a little time; and ac-



cordingly went out of the mosque fully resolved, in case he was not prevented by the Hungarian war, to fall with all his forces upon Malta.

SOLYMAN had for a long time been warmly solli- cited to undertake this enterprife by Hassan basha, the viceroy of Algiers, son and successor to the famous Bar- barossa ; and by Dragut, governor of Tripoli. \* Both of these had frequently remonstrated to him, parti- cularly since the taking of Pignon de Velez, that the Christians, unless some remedy should be fallen up- on, would infallibly make themselves masters of all the coast of Barbary ; that so long as Malta should continue in the hands of the knights, it would be impossible to send out any reinforcements to them, or for them to receive any from their respective governments, with- out running a great hazard of their being intercepted ; and that this island, which was no more than a rock, was the only barrier that braved his power, and which, by the privateers and squadrons that it sent out, was continually interrupting the communication of Barbary with Asia and the isles of the Archipelago.

SOLYMAN was sensible of the importance of this conquest ; but as it might be attended with difficulties, he, like a prudent and wise prince, would not engage in it till such time as he had consulted his principal gen- erals. For this purpose, he, according to the Turkish custom, held a great council of war on horseback in the open field. The first thing debated in it was the necessity they were under of driving the knights out of an island, where they disturbed the commerce of the grand seignior's subjects, and interrupted the pilgri- mages to Mecca and Medina. They agreed, that their religion, as well as the state, were equally interested in their extirpation. After this, the next point ex- amined was the means of putting this project in exc- ution.

THE greatest part of the bashas, who guessed at the sultan's inclinations, like true courtiers, told him that the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might assure him of  
success

\* De Thou, Hist. l. 37.

success in the enterprize of Malta; that the knights, whom they called a pack of rascally corsairs, would never be able to hold out against the most inconsiderable part of the forces of his empire; and that he had no more to do than to send the gallies of Algiers and Tripoli, with a body of troops, to seize on some forts, which those rovers had built for the security of the ports and coasts of the island.

ALY, one of Dragut's lieutenants, whom he had sent on purpose to Constantinople, was present at this council, and represented in the name of his general, that in case they should make their first attempt by besieging Malta, there was no doubt but the knights would receive considerable succours from Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and from the Moors of Tunis, who were vassals to the crown of Castile, and enemies to the Turkish government; that Dragut was of opinion, they should open the campaign with the sieges of Goletta, and Pignon de Velez; and that when they should have cleared the coast of Barbary of the Christians, and reduced the inhabitants of the country, they then might employ the grand seignior's troops the year following in besieging Malta. Mahomet, the most anti-ent of all the bashas, an old experienced general, who was afterwards advanced to the dignity of grand vizier, was entirely against the enterprize of Malta; and, besides the reasons which Dragut's agent had alledged, he urged, that there was a great difference between the isle of Rhodes and that of Malta; that the former was situated in the midst of his territories, at a great distance from Europe, and out of the way of all succour from the Christians; and as its soil afforded plenty of corn and pasture, it easily furnished subsistence for his army: whereas, on the contrary, as Malta lay near Sicily, it could receive succours from thence every moment, and that the king of Spain, who considered it as the bulwark of his Italian dominions, would not fail to employ all his forces to relieve it; that most of the Christian princes would enter into the war, out of a principle of religion; that they would meet with nothing

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in Malta, but a steep barren rock, without either corn or pasture ground, and a body of brave knights to defend it, who were all resolved to die in the spot, rather than surrender; and that, even supposing they should take it, they yet ought to be sure of getting subsistence for the army, whilst they should be repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; that they had reason to be apprehensive of a new crusade, and a league between the princes of Christendom, who, in that case, would be able to send a numerous fleet in the spring with fresh troops on board, to block up the Turkish vessels in the isle of Malta; and that it would redound much more to the grand seignior's glory, and be more advantageous to his empire, to employ his troops in Hungary, or to attempt the conquest of Italy; nor indeed could he do better than to begin with Sicily; which being reduced, Malta would fall of course into his hands; and that after all, without his engaging in such a difficult enterprize as that proposed against the knights of St. John, they might easily provide for the security of the merchants of the sultan's empire, and the pilgrims, who went out of devotion to Mahomet's tomb, by sending out convoys along with them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solidity of these reasons, Solyman, who was easily wrought upon by motives of conscience, and who, moreover, was touched with the complaints and tears of his favourites, declared himself for the enterprize of Malta: the hopes too of raising his glory might probably have determined him to undertake it; and that after driving the knights out of Rhodes, and the other isles of the Archipelago, which depended on it, and the castles and lands they possessed upon the continent of Asia Minor, he might have flattered himself, that the conquest of Malta would make his name famous, and his power formidable in Europe and Africa. Whatever might be his motives, he sent express orders over all his empire for equipping all the ships and galleys that could be found in his ports fit for the sea service. Uluchialy, a Calabrian renegado,

renegado, brought him several from Alexandria ; the governor of Rhodes furnished what gallies he had ; and Hassan and Dragut, bashas or viceroys of Algiers and Tripoli, were ordered to join the Ottoman fleet, with all the corsairs of Barbary, as soon as they should hear of its arrival before Malta. Whilst these preparations were carrying on, he sent some able engineers thither in the habit of fishermen, who, under pretence of throwing their lines into the ditches, and selling their fish in the town, viewed the fortifications, and the height of the walls, and took an exact plan of the place, which the grand seignior laid before his generals.

OUT of these he made choice of two to head this expedition ; viz. Piali and Mustapha. Although Piali's extraction was unknown, he yet had a great share in this prince's favour, who had married him to one of his grand-children. Solyman, returning from his first campaign in Hungary, and after the taking of Belgrade, had found him in swaddling clothes, lying upon a plough-share, where probably his mother had left him in her fright at the march of the army. The grand seignior, who diverted himself with hunting on the road, gave orders that he should be brought to him, and, finding in his features, which were not yet formed, something that pleased him, he took care to give him a good education ; and, after he had passed gradually through all the posts of his army, he gave him one of his grand-daughters. He made him likewise basha of the sea, and as such he had the general command of the fleet on this occasion.

MUSTAPHA, who had acquired Solyman's esteem and confidence by several considerable victories which he had gained, was appointed general of the land-forces. He was an old officer, aged threescore and five ; was harsh and severe in command, cruel and bloody to all such enemies as fell into his hands ; and, particularly, was not ashamed to glory in breaking his word and oath with the Christians. Solyman, who had an equal confidence in both these generals, recommended

mended to them to live in good understanding with one another, to act always in concert, and above all, not to attempt any thing without first consulting Dragut, whom he considered not only as a sworn enemy to the knights, but as the greatest seaman he had then in his empire.

THE fitting out such numbers of ships and galleys, the marching of troops from all quarters to the ports of the Morea, and the various motions which were made all over the Ottoman empire, gave great uneasiness to those Christian princes, whose territories lay near those of the grand seignior; though they were ignorant at the same time where the storm would fall. Some pretended that this armada was designed against the fort of Goletta, which was the key of the kingdom, and particularly of the city of Tunis; or else against Pignon de Velez, which likewise opened an entrance into the kingdom of Algiers; others suspected, that this enterprise was intended against Malta only; and this opinion was confirmed by various letters that came from the Levant. In this uncertainty, the king of Spain, being particularly interested in the preservation and defence of Malta, as it served for a bulwark to Sicily, ordered the viceroy Don Garcia de Toledo to pass by Malta in his way to Goletto, and confer about it with the grand master. They communicated to each other all the different advices they had received, and agreed, in case of an attack, to assist one another with all their forces; and as the grand master represented to him the want he should be in both of corn and soldiers, in case he should be forced to sustain a siege, the viceroy promised, upon his return into Sicily, to send him a considerable quantity, with two companies of Spanish soldiers; and, in the mean time, left one of his sons with him, as it were in hostage, for the performance of his word, who afterwards took the habit of the order.

HE was but just gone from Malta, when fresh advices arrived from some trusty spies, whom the grand master kept at Constantinople: by their letters they assured



assured him, that the Turks would infallibly open the campaign with the siege of Malta, and, that after reducing the whole island, which Solymán took for granted, he had given orders to his generals to go into Africa, and employ all his forces to drive out the Spaniards from thence.

THE grand master was not in the least daunted at the news; however, he communicated it to the council of the order, and, by their consent, sent a general summons to all the knights who were dispersed up and down the different provinces of Christendom, to repair forthwith to Malta. The agents whom the order employed in Italy levied a body of 2000 foot, and the viceroy of Sicily sent the two Spanish companies he had promised him. The ships and galleys of the order were, till the beginning of the siege, continually employed in transporting arms, powder, ammunition and provisions to Malta; and the knights were daily arriving there in considerable numbers, eager to discharge the obligations of their profession, to signalize their zeal and courage against the infidels.

LA VALETTE made most of these knights captains and officers, who, by his order, disciplined the inhabitants of the towns and country, and formed them into new companies of soldiers fit for service; the greatest part of them being good arquebusiers, and there being very few among them but what had been out a cruising, and served on board the galleys of the order. These companies made up a body of 4000 foot; the grand master distributed them into different posts, where there was occasion for them; and that he might not omit any thing which might possibly contribute to his defence, he sent copies of the letters he had received from Constantinople to the pope, and to most of the Christian princes, to represent to them the danger with which the order was threatned, and to desire them to send succours to the knights, who wanted them only, to make head against the formidable enemy of all Christendom. Pius IV. who then sat upon the papal throne, paid in a sum of 10,000 crowns to  
Cambian,

Cambian, the Maltèse ambassador at Rome. Nothing was to be got from France, which was at this time weakened with intestine wars and divisions; but the king of Spain, out of fear lest the Turks should advance so near Sicily, resolved to employ all his forces to keep them at a distance. He wrote to his ministers in Italy, and to several princes of that nation, his allies, to form immediately a body of 20,000 foot, which should be ready to embark upon the first accounts of the designs of the infidels; and, by the same express, he ordered the viceroy of Sicily to take as much care for the defence of Malta, as he would use for the preservation of Sicily itself.

THE viceroy, persuaded that in the anxiety the grand master must needs be in, the giving him assurance that he would send him succours, would be in a manner the same as if he actually sent them him, imparted to him the orders he had received from the court of Madrid. The grand master could not help being pleased with such fine promises; however, he did not depend upon them so far, as to neglect preparing himself to sustain all the efforts of the formidable power of the Turks, with the forces of the order only. The perils which he foresaw were inevitable, served only to inspire him with greater bravery: he was informed with a resolution that was superior to all events; his natural courage had inspired him with a noble indifference for life; he had passed successively through all the employments of the order, and this gradual rise to new dignities had always been the testimony and recompence of the many memorable actions, which at last raised him to the dignity of grand master.

SUCH was brother John de la Valette, whose character will be better known by the relation of the siege of Malta, than by all that could be said before hand, of that magnanimity and courage, which distinguished him in the midst of the greatest dangers. Pursuant to the general summons, and in obedience to his orders, upwards of six hundred knights were already arrived at Malta, most of them attended with domestics, who  
were

were brave in their persons, and who afterwards proved good soldiers. Such commanders as could not leave their provinces, by reason of their age or infirmities, not being able to go thither in person, generously sent the best part of their effects to Malta; and some old priors were ordered by the grand master to stay in Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and about the person of the viceroy of Sicily, in order to hasten the succours he had promised, and to forward the embarkation of some French, Spanish, and German knights, who were not yet let out from their respective provinces. The grand master received them all with that pleasure which a good father feels upon seeing his children again, and had taken care to provide lodgings and subsistence for them beforehand. In all the vast variety, as well as importance, of the several affairs he had to manage, nothing was able to disconcert him; he would himself be acquainted with every single circumstance, and entered into the minutest particularities; he discharged, at the same time, the offices of soldier, captain, officer of the artillery, overseer of the sick, and engineer; with the same hand that he traced out a new fortification, he acted the pioneer in throwing up the ground; he was ever in motion, and in several places, as it were, at the same time; now he was among the workmen, the next moment he was visiting the magazines, and then immediately at the infirmary, busying himself in relieving the sick. Upon some fresh letters he received from different places confirming the former accounts that had been sent him, relating to the design the Turks had upon Malta, he assembled the knights who were then in the convent, in order to acquaint them with their contents; nor did he, on this occasion, either lessen the greatness of the danger to which they were exposed, or the uncertainty of the succour with which they had been flattered. “ A formidable army, (says he to them, with an heroic boldness,) and an infinite multitude of Barbarians, are coming to thunder down upon us; they are, my brethren, enemies to Jesus Christ; it is our business to stand up manfully

“ in defence of the faith ; and if the gospel must submit to the alcoran, God, on this occasion, demands back of us a life which we have already devoted to him by our profession ; thrice happy they who shall first fall a sacrifice to so good a cause. But in order to make ourselves worthy of that honour, let us go, my brethren, to the altar, there to renew our vows, and partake of the blessed sacraments, and let the blood of the saviour of mankind inspire us with such a noble contempt of death, as can alone make us invincible.”

HE set forwards at the same time towards the church, attended by all his knights, where the holy sacrament was at that time exposed. Not a knight among them all but was zealous to follow the grand master's example ; they employed that and the following days in going to confession, and in partaking of the blessed eucharist ; and they all rose from the lord's table like new men. By their partaking of that strengthening food, all their weaknesses were repaired, all divisions, all private resentments, were now laid aside ; and, what was still more difficult, they broke off all their tender engagements, so dear to the heart of man. From that day they left off all correspondence with persons of a different sex, how innocent soever it might be ; they were dead to all views of interest or ambition ; the certain danger to which they were exposed, and the consideration of death, which was in a manner unavoidable, had revived in them a contempt of life, and all the other virtues of their predecessors ; they all embraced each other with that tenderness, which charity inspires, and protested that they would lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of their religion and altars.

THE grand master was overjoyed to find them in this excellent disposition ; and, in order not to be prevented, and surpris'd by the enemy, he resolv'd to assign every language the posts which they were to defend. For the better understanding of this distribution of the several employments, and of the actions which happen-

happened in several parts of the island, it may not perhaps be improper, notwithstanding our having already given some account of the situation of Malta, in the foregoing book, to give a more particular one in this place.

MALTA is an island situated between Sicily and Africa, in the 29th degree of longitude, and the 35th of latitude. It is the most southern isle in Europe, lying about sixty miles from cape Passaro, and two hundred and seventy from Tripoli in Africa. Its circumference is sixty miles, its length twenty, and its breadth about twelve. It is washed on the east by the sea, which lies towards the island of Candia; it has the little isles or rocks of Pantalorea, Linosa, and Lanipadua on the west; Sicily on the north, and the kingdom of Tunis on the south. On the south coast towards Tripoli, nothing is to be seen but great rocks, without either roads or ports; but we meet eastward with the road of Marza-Scala; and turning back on the right towards the south-west, we find another road or creek called Marza-Sirocco, capable of holding several vessels. In going still forward, towards the south-west, we meet with two large bays, the one called Antife-ga, and the other Musiarro; and at the extremity of the island, on that side westward, there is a creek very proper for ships to ride in, called Meleca, which is divided from the isle of Goza by a channel about four miles over. In the midst of this channel lie the little isles of Comino and Cominote. If we coast along the island, when we come to that part of it which lies over against Sicily, we meet with the road of St. Paul, so called, because the ship in which that apostle was carried prisoner to Rome, was driven thither by a storm; and the road of St. George, which looks towards the North, is not far from that of St. Paul. Lastly, as we go on towards that part of the island, which lies directly opposite to cape Passaro, we meet with two large ports, one of which lying on the left is called Marza Muset, or port Muset; in the middle whereof lies a small island, near which all ships coming from



the Levant, or suspected places, are obliged to perform quarantine; the other is called barely Marza, or the great port, and lies towards the east.

THESE two ports are separated by a narrow slip of land, upon which the prior of Capua, as was before observed, built the fort of St. Elmo, to defend the entrance of them both. In the great port there are two narrow slips of land, parallel to each other, which run out into the sea in the form of two fingers, and are of a much greater length than breadth. The castle of St. Angelo was built on the extremity of that which lies nearest the mouth of the harbour, and was the only fort that was on the island at the time when the knights took possession of it. The grand master de l'Isle-Adam had fortified it with new ramparts, bastions, and ditches; it had likeways been supplied with cisterns, an arsenal, and magazines. This castle had, ever since that time, been the residence of the grand masters; but in this juncture, la Valette took up his lodging in the town, the better to have an opportunity of sending succours to all places where there might be occasion. What they call Il Borgia, was a little town lying behind the castle of St. Angelo, wherein the whole body of the convent had settled itself.

WE have already observed, that upon the point of the other narrow slip of land or rock, which runs out into the great port, and which lies upon the left hand, they had built a fort with a town; and that it was called the isle of La Sangle, after the name of the grand master who fortified it; though it was in reality no more than a peninsula. Between this town and the castle of St. Angelo, lay the port for the gallies, which was shut up every night with a great iron chain, that reached from the platform, at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo, to the point of the isle de la Sangle, where it was fastened with a large anchor, and was supported and carried cross the water by empty casks and beams of timber laid cross-ways at certain distances. In fine, behind this port de la Sangle, there was another, for such foreign ships as resorted to the island, either for  
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the sake of commerce, or that were forced to put in for fear of the corsairs. I shall wave saying any thing in this place about the *Notable city*, the capital of the island, which I have already mentioned in the foregoing book; and shall only observe, that it lies about six or seven miles from the two great ports above mentioned, which, in all probability, was the reason of its not being first attacked, as the other places and forts of the island were.

SUCH was its situation, which we have described, only in order to enable the reader to form the better judgment of what passed during the course of the siege. The grand master, before the enemy appeared, was desirous of knowing exactly what troops he had to oppose the infidels. in order to distribute them afterwards into the places and forts that should be attacked. Accordingly he made a general review, and found that they consisted of about 700 knights, besides serving brothers, and 8500 men, who were either soldiers of the galleys, and foreign troops in the service of the order, or else townsmen and peasants, who had been formed into companies. All the languages undertook to defend the several posts that should be assigned them, and the soldiers and militia were divided among them. The three languages of France had the guard of the town, the most important place of the island; and as it was of a large extent, they were joined by part of the language of Castile.

THE admiral de Monte, with all the knights of the language of Italy, undertook to defend the *isle de la Sangle*. The language of Arragon, which comprehended the knights of that kingdom, and those of the provinces of Catalonia and Navarre, took up all the quarter of the gate of Bormola, with the platform of earth adjoining to it. The language of England, part of that of Castile, with the Portuguese and German knights, were posted upon the mole towards the town, and extended themselves as far as the ditch of the castle of St. Angelo. The commander Ganzeranos, a Catalonian, was put with fifty knights, and five hundred

excellent soldiers in the castle; and the chevalier Mefguita, a Portuguese, in the *Notable city*, which, being a post of great consequence, they gave him, over and above the ordinary garrison, five companies of the country militia, under the command of the commander Vagnon. The commander Romegas, so famous for his captures, and so terrible in the Mediterranean, undertook, with the soldiers of his gallies, to defend the entrance of the great port; and the commander Guiral, a Castilian, and excellently well skilled in the management of the artillery, raised a battery of nine cannon, to play upon the enemy, in case they should attempt to break the chain that barred up the port where the gallies lay. The fort of St. Elmo had generally no more than sixty soldiers garrisoned in it, under the command of the chevalier Broglio, an old Piedmontese officer; but before the enemy appeared, the commander Deguarras, bailiff of Negrepont, was thrown into it with sixty knights; and the grand master, knowing the importance of that post, put likewise into it a company of Spanish foot, commanded by the chevalier John de la Cerda. The cruelties and havock the Turks had made in the isle of Goza, before their going upon the expedition of Tripoli, made several knights of the council propose the demolishing of the castle, in order to prevent its falling a second time into the hands of the infidels. But la Valette opposed it, and was of opinion, that they ought rather to augment the garrison; maintaining, that it were to be wished the enemy would first fall upon those separate forts, before they attacked the town and castle of St. Angelo, where the convent and the strength of the order resided; and that they would have just so much time as they should employ in it, to wait for the coming of the succours which they were promised; and that in case the remote posts could but hold out till the end of September, the Turks would hardly be able to keep the sea during that tempestuous season. He added, the better to enforce his opinion, that as the castle of Goza, the *Notable city*, and the castle of St. Angelo, were all feat-

ed upon hills, which were pretty near of the same height, and which lay not far from one another, it would not be difficult, in case the Turkish fleet should keep the mouth of the two ports blocked up, as undoubtedly they would, to make signals from these castles, and to advertise the order of all that passed at sea, especially when the succours should be coming up. He concluded by declaring, that they should immediately send a governor to Goza; that they should make choice of a man of resolute courage for that purpose, who should be capable of resisting the enemy as long as possible, and who, rather than submit to a capitulation, should sacrifice his life for the preservation of his order. All the council readily assented to the grand master's opinion; and, however dangerous that post might be, there was such a noble emulation among the knights, that there was not an old officer but made great interest to procure it for himself, or at least to serve under the person who should be nominated to it. The grand master and council at last pitched upon the chevalier Torreglias, a Majorcan, whose valour and intrepidity, which had been tried on many occasions, had justly qualified him for that employment.

BESIDES these various dispositions, the commander Copier, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marshal of the order, an old officer, was appointed to observe the fleet of the enemy, and to oppose their descents as far as lay in his power; to regulate his motions by theirs; and, when they should land, to fall upon such as should straggle from the main body of their army. He, in order to put these designs in execution, took with him a good number of knights, together with two hundred islanders on horseback, and a body of six hundred foot; with these he coasted along the sea-shore, in all those places where a descent seemed most practicable.

SUCH wise precautions were very necessary against so formidable a power as that of the Turks; but the main security of the island lay in the grand master's presence, who always appearing with an air of tranquillity,

ty, and the same intrepid look, inspired an heroic confidence into the knights and soldiers. He was continually visiting the several posts, fortifying those places which he thought weakest, telling each commander the motions he was to make in case of an attack, and the places to which he should successively retire, in case of his being forced out of his post; and wherever he came, he left an impression of his courage, that rendered his knights and soldiers invincible.

At length the Turkish fleet appeared off of Malta on the 18th of May. It consisted of 159 vessels with oars, as well gallies as galliots, having 30,000 land-forces on board, composed of janizaries, spahi's, and the bravest soldiers of the Ottoman empire. The fleet was followed by a considerable number of ships of burden, laden with the heavy artillery, the horses of the spahi's, and the ammunition and provisions for the forces. The chief pilot sailed half a mile before the rest of the fleet, in order to view the coast, and to find a safe place for to put in at, and made an attempt to bring it into a creek or road called *Mirza Sirocco*, which lies on the eastern side of the island. But a Greek and Levant wind blowing at that time, he did not think proper to put in there; but firing two cannon-shot to give notice that they were not to stop there, he kept on his way, passed with all the fleet between the island of Malta and the rock of Forfola, and about sunset the Turks came to an anchor at the entrance of the creek or bay of Magiarro. The marshal Copier, at the head of 200 knights, and a thousand arquebusiers, advanced with as much diligence as possible, to oppose their descent; but the Turkish admiral, detaching five and thirty gallies of his rear guard with 3000 men on board, in the night time, they landed without any opposition in the road of *St. Thomas*, called by others the *Port de l'Echelle*: on which occasion it may not be improper to observe, that though most historians dignify the creeks and bays which are in this island with the title of ports, yet they are generally, if we except the great port, and port Muffet, no more but so many



many roads, which are at most sheltered only from the land-winds.

WHILST the Turks were in the bay of Mugiirro, the chevalier de la Riviere planted himself with twelve knights in ambush behind some old rubbish, in hopes of surprizing some enemy who might be tempted to come ashore. A Portuguese knight, who had been sent on the same side to get intelligence, discovering la Riviere, and advancing towards him, received a musket-ball from a party of Turks who lay concealed in the neighbouring rocks, and died upon the spot. La Riviere, imagining he was only wounded, ran immediately to assist him; but the Turks firing another volley, dispersed this little convoy, and, having killed his horse, came up, and took him prisoner. They carried him immediately to the general, who examined him about the disposition of the grand master and of the knights, and the number and condition of their forces. La Riviere answered, that the knights were all to a man resolved to lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of an island, which they considered as their country; that all the forts were manned with strong garrisons, and well provided with ammunition and provisions; and that they expected from all the Christian princes of Europe a strong fleet, either to give him battle, or force him to retreat. The Turkish general, looking upon this discourse as a kind of bravado in his prisoner, commanded him to be put to the rack, in order to extort from him a more particular account of the state of the island. The knight bore the torture for a long time with an heroic constancy; but, at last, as if he had been overcome by the rigour of the torments he suffered, he, affecting an ingenious air, owned to Mustapha, that if Malta was to be taken, it could only be at the post of Castile, which he said was the worst fortified in the whole town, and indeed in the whole island.

THE basha relying on the sincerity of a confession drawn from him, as he imagined, by the violence of the torture, resolved to begin the siege of the town in  
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that quarter : but as he had a mind to reconnoitre the place himself before his engaging in the attempt, he sent the chevalier de la Riviere loaded with irons on board a galley designed for the prisoners. The wind changing, all the fleet weighed anchor the night following, and with the lanthorns lighted stood for the bay of Marza Sirocco, where the army landed early in the morning in good order. The first thing the general did was to order the building of two redoubts on each side at the entrance of this large bay ; after which, he put a good number of soldiers in them, and provided them with artillery for the security of his ships, as well as to keep the Christian fleet at a distance. The Turkish army advanced afterwards higher up into the country, and encamped near a village called St. Catharine. Mustapha, in order to take a view of the situation of the town, the castle of St. Angelo, and other forts, took some engineers with him, and went up an hill called *Mont Calcara*, from whence he had a prospect of almost the whole island. He obliged the chevalier de la Riviere his prisoner to follow him, whom he commanded to point out to him the forts of St. Elmo and la Sangle, the castle of St. Angelo and the town, and to give him likewise an exact account of the fortifications in every place, and the number of troops that were posted in them. The chevalier did not fail to make them twice as many as they were ; but the basha at length asking him which was the post of Castile, which he had represented as the weakest in the whole island, he had no sooner shewn it him, but Mustapha seeing it fortified with a large bulwark, a ravelin and casemates at the bottom and in the ditch, was presently convinced that la Riviere had imposed upon him, and had only pointed out that place to him in order to make him miscarry in his enterprize ; this put him into such a rage, that he gave him a blow with his cane, after which the soldiers of his guard knocked him on the head.

WHILST this cruel scene was acting upon Mont Calcara, the Turkish army spreading it self over the country,

country, set fire to the villages, murdered the peasants, and carried off the cattle which they had neglected to secure in time within the fortified places. The marshal Copier was all this while observing the enemy narrowly, and whenever any of them happened to straggle from the main body for the sake of plunder, he fell upon them, and either cut them to pieces or took them prisoners; so that he, on two or three occasions, and in different skirmishes, killed above 1500 of their men, without losing above fourscore of his own, among whom the chevalier d'Elbene, of an illustrious family in Florence, who was killed with a musket-ball, after having signalized himself in these private rencounters, was particularly regreted.

THE grand master permitted at first his soldiers to engage in these skirmishes with the Turks, in order to enter them as it were, and to accustom them to their looks and shouts; but as the result of these rencounters decided nothing, and that the least loss on his side would have been more prejudicial to him afterwards, than the killing of a much greater number of Turks could be of advantage, he recalled all his troops, and sent them back to their respective posts, judiciously reserving them for the defence of such forts as should be attacked.

THE next day the Turks held a great council of war, in order to consider of the place where they should begin their attack. Admiral Piali, pursuant to the grand seignior's orders, was for attempting nothing till the arrival of Dragut, who was daily expected; but the basha, who was uneasy at what the chevalier de la Riviere had told him concerning the succours that were preparing, maintained, that they, before they thought of conquering, ought, without losing a moment of time, to take their measures so well, as to prevent their being surpris'd or vanquish'd themselves; that in case the Christian army should come suddenly upon them, the grand seignior's fleet would be blocked up in the creek in which it lay, and that supposing they should have nothing of that nature to fear, it yet was not secured from

from easterly winds ; and therefore his opinion was, that they, without any further delay, should immediately lay siege to the fort of St. Elmo ; which, according to his calculation, could not hold out above five or six days ; urging further, that they, by the taking of it, would become masters of the port of Marza-Muzet, which was large enough to hold all their fleet ; when this being once secured, they should go on with more confidence to attack the other forts and places of the island. This advice was carried by a plurality of votes ; and accordingly the siege of fort St Elmo was resolved upon.

THIS fort, as we have already observed, was seated on the point of a rock, at the extremity of a narrow piece of land, which divides the two ports. It had been built by the prior of Capua ; but he had made it too small ; and whether it were, that the order was not at that time able to defray the expences necessary for making it larger and more regular, or that the prior, at his placing it on the point of a rock, had considered it only with respect to the sea, and the use that might be made of its batteries for defending the entrance of the harbour, the event shewed, that he had not enough reflected upon providing for its security on the land-side, he having built it in a place where the ground was so very strait and narrow, that there was no making any out works, or adding the necessary fortifications to it. However, as the island is one continual rock, and only covered over in some places with a stony soil, two or three foot in depth, the Turkish engineers foresaw, that the opening and carrying on of their trenches, would be a tedious and difficult work, and the rather, because the fort was well supplied with artillery, and likewise that it would be impossible for them to hinder the grand master from sending succours to it in light barks, by the way of port Muzet, and his relieving and changing the garrison from time to time. What made their anxiety still greater was, that the viceroy of Sicily gave out, tho' with much more ostentation than real effect, that he  
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would appear very soon before Malta, with the fleet of the king his master, in order to fight that of the sultan, and give battle to his forces.

BUT the Turkish general, who was an excellent officer, not any way discouraged by these difficulties, resolved to pursue his design. For this purpose, he first went to take a view of the place himself, after which, he brought on his troops, invested it on the land-side, and marked out the spot for his camp, and the several places where he would have his batteries erected. Hereupon his troops set to work about opening the trenches, and making their approaches: the basha was lavish of the lives of his pioneers; and, notwithstanding the continual fire of the place, and the hardness of the rock upon which the fort was built, they at last covered themselves in some places, and in others, where they could not cut the rock, he made them raise parapets, which served instead of trenches, they being made with thick planks and beams, stuffed behind with earth, which they fetched at a great distance, and afterwards moistened; and, to cement it together, they mixed it with rush and straw, and by that means formed a kind of wall which covered the soldiers.

THE Turks likewise, by help of the oxen they had taken in the island, carried their cannon as far as Mont St. Elmo; and, after raising their platforms, gabions and sheds, the basha, on the 24th of May, began to fire from a battery of ten cannon, which carried a ball of fourscore pound weight. Besides these cannon, he had two culverins that were sixty pounders, and a basilic, or great cannon, of a prodigious size, which 'tis pretended fired stone-bullets of 160 pound weight. This artillery made a dreadful fire; and though it was answered by that of the place, nevertheless, as the fort was small and narrow, there was scarce a shot but beat down some part of its works and defences. The infidels still increased their batteries; so that the bailiff of Negrepont, who commanded in it, saw plain enough, that it would soon be ruined by such a continual fire; and that as the fortifications would be beat down, it



would be impossible for him to preserve the fort, but by the number and courage of the garrison.

WITH this notion, he sent the chevalier la Cerda to desire a reinforcement from the grand master; and, in order to obtain it, that knight, whose fear made him eloquent, greatly exaggerated the danger the place was in. The grand master seemed surpris'd at it; and what heightened his indignation against him was, his being so imprudent as to tell him in the presence of a great number of knights, that he must not expect that a place, which was so weak, could possibly be tenable above a week longer. "Pray what loss have you sustained, (replies the grand master) that you cry out in this manner for succours? Sir, answered la Cerda, the castle is to be considered as a sick person reduced exceeding low, who cannot possibly be supported, but by continual remedies and cordials. I myself (says the grand master, with a secret indignation) will be the physician, and will take others with me, who, if they cannot prevail so far as to cure you of your fear, their bravery at least shall prevent the infidels from making themselves masters of the castle."

LA VALETTE indeed did not flatter himself so far, as to imagine it would be possible to hold out so weak a place, for any considerable time, against the continual attacks of the Turks; he was in reality concerned, from the bottom of his heart, at the dangers to which the knights in that post were exposed: but as the safety of the whole island depended on the length of the siege, and that a brave defence was necessary, in order to allow the viceroy of Sicily time to advance to his succour, he resolved to throw himself into the fort, and there bury himself, rather than see it lost by a weak defence, and an over-hasty capitulation, which would enable the infidels to attack the town and the castle of St. Angelo, the last resource the knights and the order would have left. La Valette was preparing to lead this succour into the fort; but the council, and all the convent in general, opposed it; when immediately

ately so great a number of knights offered themselves, and pressed to be sent on this commission, that the only trouble was, whom to make choice of for that purpose. The officers, whom the grand master pitched upon to lead this reinforcement, were the chevaliers Gonçales de Medran, and la Motte, who entered the fort at the head of the companies of foot under their command. Several knights got leave to go along with them; and historians have transmitted to us the name of one John de Sola, a Navarrese, a serving brother, and a brave soldier, who carried several others along with him, whom he inspired with the same intrepidity and resolution as himself; they all, like him, bravely losing their lives in one attack or other. Their places were afterwards supplied by several knights of different nations; viz. English, French, Flemings, and Germans, who, by reason of the distance of their respective provinces, did not arrive in Sicily, till after the Turks were landed at Malta, and that the castle of St. Elmo was besieged. The greatest part of them were so impatient to share with their brethren in the perils of the siege, that they would not stay for a convoy, but got into light barks, and filed off, one after another, as opportunities offered. Upon their landing at the town, they desired the grand master to give them leave to throw themselves into the fort that was attacked; when being gratified in their request, they immediately got into boats, that had neither masts nor sails; and, for fear of being discovered, crossed port Muzet, and got into the fort besieged. The grand master, to favour their passage, was continually cannonading the camp of the enemy from the castle of St. Angelo, which stood upon an eminence. A cannon-ball fired from thence, falling into the trenches, struck upon a large stone, and shattered it to pieces; one of the shivers chanced to hit admiral Piali, as he was visiting the works, and wounded him dangerously. His soldiers thought he was killed; and the grand master, observing the army and fleet were prodigiously alarmed at this accident, he, in order to draw some advantage from the confusion they

were in, thought it a proper opportunity for the sending out a vessel to press the coming up of the Sicilian succours, and prevent the loss of the fort: accordingly he dispatched the chevalier de la Valette Cornuffon, his nephew, and the commander Salvago, a Genoese, to the viceroy in the night, to beg him to lose no time in advancing with the reinforcements which the king his master had promised; and to send him at the same time two gallies of the order, which were returned from cruising, and were at Messina, and likewise all the knights that had rendezvoused there, who, by the help of the Spanish fleet, might find an opportunity of getting into the harbour. The commander de la Valette delivered him at the same time, a particular memorial, with respect to the course which it would be proper for the Christian fleet to hold, with a copy of the signals to be made on both sides, either at Goza, or in the adjoining roads that were proper for landing. The viceroy immediately sent an express, to assure him of a speedy reinforcement, and that he would ship it off by the 15th of June at farthest, desiring him in the mean time to be always supplying the fort of St. Elmo with fresh troops, in order to prevent the Turks from getting possession of it. The grand master, to encourage the garrison, acquainted them with the news he had received from the viceroy: The chevalier de Medran, who led the last reinforcement that had been sent thither, made a sally to retard the approaches of the Turks; fell into their trenches, surpris'd them, and by the help of the artillery of the castle, which was continually firing upon them, he at first cut to pieces all that stood in his way. But the Turks, recovering from their surpris'e, rallied in great numbers, charged again, and, after an obstinate engagement, recovered their trenches, and forced the Christians to retire into the fort. Unhappily for the Christians, the wind blew very strong, and drove back the smoke of the artillery, which gathered like a thick cloud over the counterescarp. The Turks, assisted by this obscurity, seized upon it unperceived, where they made a lodgment with trees, beams, wool-

wool-sacks, and gabions, which they had in readiness, and at the same time raised a battery upon it.

As soon as the smoke was blown off, the soldiers in the fort were strangely surprized to see Turkish colours planted upon the counterscarp; and the infidels, beginning to play from thence upon the ravelin, which, not being of a due height, was exposed to the fire of their small arms, so that not a man of the besieged could shew his head, but he was immediately killed by the janizaries, who were excellent marks-men: for which reason, captain de la Cerda proposed the undermining and blowing of it up, for fear, as he said, lest the infidels should make a lodgment in that advanced work. But they rejected this advice, which did not much redound to his honour, as they suspected it was given by a man, who was uneasy at the sight of danger, and who did not value what became of the siege, provided he could but see it at an end.

WHILST the Christians and infidels were thus continually engaged, Uluchialy a renegado, a famous corsair, joined the Turkish fleet with six gallies, which he had brought from Alexandria, having 900 land-forces on board; and a few days after, Dragut viceroy of Tripoli came up with 1600 more, on board thirteen gallies and two galliots. We have already observed, that the grand seignior had so high an esteem for his valour and capacity, that he had given express orders to his generals, both by sea and land, not to undertake any thing without his advice. His personal merit, and particularly the credit he had at the porte, was the occasion of their receiving him with a salvo of all the artillery, and the highest marks of deference and distinction; and, as soon as he was landed, he went to visit the camp, and the principal places of the island.

WHATEVER measures he might keep with the generals with respect to civility, he yet could not help discovering that he disapproved their having begun the enterprize with the siege of fort St. Elmo. He pretended, that they ought first to have attacked the castle of Goza, and afterwards the *Notable city*, which supplied

the town and the castle of St. Angelo with provisions ; alledging, that they, by the taking of those places, would not only have cut off the breasts that fed the rest of the island, but, which was of much greater consequence, would have stopped up all the avenues by which the Christians pretended to throw succours into the island.

THE basha, though invested with the post of general, was nevertheless afraid of the corsair's credit ; and therefore represented to him, that they, in order to secure the grand seignior's fleet from the violence of the winds, and from being surpris'd by the Christian forces, had been obliged to begin with attacking the fort, as the taking of it would open them a passage into port Muzet ; that however the siege was not so far advanced but they might raise it, and transport the army to Goza, or invest the city, if he thought proper. " That would not be an improper step, replied Dragut, if things had not been carried to too great lengths ; but after opening of the trenches, and attacking the fort for several days, there will be no raising the siege without exposing his highness's glory, and perhaps disheartning the soldiers." His opinion therefore was, that they should employ all the forces of the army in order to go through the enterprize with honour ; and as a proof that the liberty he had taken of speaking his sentiments did not arise from any mean envy and a spirit of malignity, the common vice of courtiers, he, from the moment it was resolv'd that they should continue the siege, employ'd himself in it with as much courage and assiduity as if he had been answerable for its success. No general officer scarce ever shew'd greater intrepidity : he spent whole days together in the trenches and on the batteries. He was master of a great many talents, but was particularly skilled in the management and direction of the artillery, in which no one excelled him ; this had been his first profession, as has been already observ'd in the foregoing book : by his orders, they, on the first of June, rais'd a second battery parallel to the first, but which was nearer the fort ; and,

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in order to keep up a continual fire, they played successively one after another upon a cavalier that covered the fort. He likewise planted four cannon towards port Muzet, to batter it on that side, and two others on the counterscarp, which shot downwards into the ditch, and played upon the casemate; and moreover, sent four culverins from his gallies to the point at the entrance of port Muzet, which ever since that time has been called *Cape Dragut*, or Dragut's point, where he planted them in order to batter the flank of the ravelin and the cavalier, and all the western-side of the fort.

THE Turkish musketeers firing continually upon the ravelin, their engineers sallied out of the trenches under the cover of the fire, and advanced openly with great resolution to the foot of the ravelin, in order to view the effect of their batteries, without meeting with the least opposition. Whether it were that the centinel was killed or asleep on his post, or whether it was the fault of the officers in not going the rounds themselves, but leaving it to the common soldiers, no one appeared, or offered to disturb them, so that these engineers viewed the ravelin at their leisure, and observed that there was no going from the cavalier to that outwork, but by a kind of bridge made of a few planks. They likewise discovered a port-hole for cannon made so very low, that one of the engineers getting upon another's shoulders, looked through it, and saw the Christian soldiers lying carelessly extended on the ground and fast asleep. These made their report; and a body of the Turks soon advanced, who, clapping their ladders to the ravelin, got into it by the port-hole, and cut most of the Christians to pieces: those who awoke first, seeing such a number of enemies about them, took to their heels; and several, to avoid falling by the Turkish sabres, threw themselves headlong from the bridge into the ditch. The Turks pursued their advantage, and leaped upon the bridge, in order to get into the cavalier, but were stopped by the serjeant-major Guerara, who, upon hearing the noise, had run thither

thither with some soldiers. He was soon sustained by the chevaliers de Vercoyran and de Medran, who came up with their companies, as did the bailiff of Negrepont at the head of several knights. They now fought on a more equal foot, and the Turks were presently repulsed; and as the ravelin had no defence on the side next the cavalier and the fort, the Christians levelled two cannon to play upon it, which, as it made some havock among the infidels, gave the Christians room to hope that they should recover it. But Mustapha ordered several detachments of foot to advance, who, not valuing the fire, threw themselves into the ravelin, and the pioneers coming up with wool-sacks, gabions, fascines, and planks, they made a lodgment, and all the efforts of the Christians could not drive them out.

THE Turks did not stop here; but seeing the bailiff and the knights retire into the cavalier, by a way that led up to it from the bottom of the ditch, they with a boldness which the hopes of victory inspired them with, threw themselves into it sword in hand, and pursued them with an eagerness which nothing could stop but the artillery of the fort, and a shower of fire-works, stones, musket and cannon shot, which made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to give over the pursuit, and retire out of the ditch. 'Tis said, however, that they, after rallying again, and receiving a fresh reinforcement, returned into it a second time, by a breach which was made in the counterscarp; and, clapping their ladders to the fort, they mounted in shoals, and with such intrepidity and resolution, that it would have been hard to judge of the success of this last attack, had not their ladders by good luck proved too short. In fine, they were at last forced to abandon them, but not without losing abundance of men; this engagement, which lasted from day-break till noon, cost them, as we are told, near 3000 of the bravest troops in their army. The order likewise, besides the loss of the ravelin, had twenty of its knights and near an hundred soldiers killed. The bailiff of Negrepont,  
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the serjeant-major Guerara, the chevalier Adorne, and la Roche Perura, a young Castilian knight, were wounded. Historians relate, that the chevalier Abel de Bridiers of la Gardampe being shot in the body, with a musket-ball, and some of his brother knights offering to help him, and carry him to a place where he might have his wound dressed, he, after having thanked them for their offer, said, "Don't trouble yourselves about me, I am a dead man; your care will be better employed in the defence of our surviving brethren." After which, he crawled to the chapel of the fort, and, commending his soul to God, expired before the altar, where he was found dead. The wounded were by the grand master's leave carried in the night-time to the town, in order to their being looked after; and an hundred men were sent the same way to supply their places, under the command of the chevalier Vagon. The artillery of the fort, and the batteries of the castle of St. Angelo and the isle de la Sangle, were very serviceable in securing their passage; and though the Turks had planted two cannon on the top of the grotto of Alicata, which played upon that part where there was entrance into the fort, and that the janizaries, who were excellent arquebusiers, and who used muskets of a large bore, that carried at a great distance, were continually firing upon the shore that lay nearest to the fort; they, nevertheless, had not yet been able to cut off this communication, nor hinder the passage of the little reinforcements, which the grand master sent thither.

'T WAS with great concern that he, upon the return of the wounded, received the particulars of the loss of the ravelin, and the several circumstances in this last engagement; nor was his indignation less, to see that la Cerda, under pretence of a slight wound, the marks of which were scarcely visible, had put himself in the number of the wounded. This cowardice, the like of which had never been known before in the order, was a sensible affliction to la Vallette; and though he pitied his weakness, he nevertheless had him arrested  
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and sent to prison; a punishment still too mild for a man, who, during the whole time of the siege, had used all the cunning and address he was master of, only to get out of the way of danger.

THE bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio, had leave sent them by the grand master to return to the convent; but they, though wounded, and very antient, refused it with great resolution, and answered, that they only desired leave to lose their lives in their posts, and die in the bed of honour. These venerable knights, whose faces were burnt and disfigured by the heat of the sun, were always under arms, and never stirred from those places where there was most danger; and though they were almost worn out with old age, they nevertheless laboured in carrying earth to those places that stood in need of being fortified, and were continually lending a helping hand to the other knights; some of whom, by reason of the narrowness of the place, were continually wounded. Nothing was there seen but cripples, arms hanging in slings, and mangled limbs that had been shot off, and which lay scattered up and down for want of their having had time to bury them; and nevertheless, these men, the greatest part of whom had but half of themselves left, still preserved their courage entire, did service about the artillery, crawled to the breaches, and appeared with intrepidity in all places.

THE grand master sent them from time to time all the reinforcements the place could contain; but as there was scarce a day in which the continual fire of the enemy did not destroy a considerable number of the knights and soldiers, he sent off a bark in the night-time for Sicily, with letters to the viceroy, by which he acquainted him with the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and expressed his surprise at his not having yet attempted to send back the two galleys of the order to Malta, with the knights who waited only for that opportunity, in order to repair to their respective posts, as their duty required; he likewise desired him to send an immediate reinforcement of a thousand

thousand soldiers, in order to supply the loss of those who perished daily in the fort. The viceroy's conduct, and the little eagerness he discovered to get the king of Spain's squadrons together, made him apprehensive, that he would never resolve with himself to try the fate of a sea engagement, and therefore told him, at the conclusion of his letter, that provided he would land only eight thousand men in the island, he did not question but he should be able, with that reinforcement, and the troops he had left, to force the enemy to raise the siege, and reembark on board their ships. The viceroy had no sooner received it, but he immediately sent back Salvago, who, by the grand master's orders, had continued near his person to hasten the succours, and another knight along with him, called Miranda, one of the most distinguished, as well as the most zealous of the whole order; charging them to assure the grand master, that he would not lose a moment's time in getting together such a fleet as should be sufficient to bring him the succours he expected; but that he had not as yet ships and gallies enough to hazard a battle with the Turkish fleet; that he wanted those of the order, which he desired him to send furthwith, the better to forward the embarkation of the troops.

THE two knights went on board a light brigantine, and took the two Maltese gallies, which the viceroy had detained in the port of Saragossa, by way of convoy, till they had doubled cape Passaro, when they sent them back, because they could not advance nearer the port without being discovered; after which they made a shift to get in the dark to port Muzet, and landed as near as they could to fort St. Elmo. They stayed there all the next day; and, after having visited the several posts of the place, and seen the ill condition it was in, they went on board again the night following, and landed at the town, to wait upon the grand master. He was prodigiously surpris'd to see them arrive without any reinforcement, and especially without the two gallies of the order, and to find that the viceroy, not  
satisfied



by the help of fascines, gabions, and wool-sacks, raised the ravelin higher than the parapet of the place, so that they could see every thing that passed within. The next thing they did, was to plant two cannon upon it; the continual fire of which, with that of their small arms, hindered the soldiers from coming near the parapet, so that they were forced to run trenches up to it, and march through a subterraneous passage in order to get thither. The basha, to ruin this defence, employed some masts, sail-yards, and large planks, to frame a bridge broad enough for six men to go a-breast; and for fear the Christians should throw fire-works upon it, in order to burn it down, they covered it with earth to a certain height. The Turks, by the help of this bridge, and the continual fire from the ravelin, pierced as far as the parapet, and fell to sapping as well as undermining the wall. La Miranda, who ran to every place where there was most danger, perceiving their design, was not very uneasy about the mine, which the infidels were endeavouring to run under a place where, he was very sensible, they would meet with a rock that would be too hard for their tools to enter.

BUT as their sap would insensibly ruin the parapet, he made them raise another behind it, which he fortified with a good ditch, and lined it with artillery; and the night following he made a sally at the head of the bravest soldiers of the garrison. Whilst one part of them amused the enemy with a false attack, by pretending to fall upon their trenches; the rest crept under the bridge, set fire to it, and never stirred till they saw it all over in a flame. The Turks, however, with indefatigable labour, repaired it the next day, and in the evening got down into the ditch, and clapped their ladders to the foot of the wall, as if they intended to make an assault, when the knights immediately presented themselves upon the breach with their usual intrepidity. The infidels thereupon retired on a sudden, having made that motion only to oblige them to shew themselves; and, at the same time, their artillery, which

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was charged with cartridge-shot, made such a terrible fire, that there were more knights of the order lost on this occasion, than had been before in the warmest attacks.

THOSE who were left, seeing the ravelin taken, which laid all the fort open, and commanded it; most of their cannon dismounted, and their defences ruined; large breaches made, and few soldiers to defend them; sent a deputation to the grand master, by which they represent to him the deplorable condition of the place, and desire him to send boats to carry them over to the town, and by that means prevent their being taken by storm. The besieged pitched upon the chevalier Medran for this disagreeable commission, as being a person whom the grand master greatly esteemed for his valour: so that his report could not be suspected of weakness or cowardice. He told la Valette plainly, that the fort was no longer tenable, and that if they should obstinately resolve to continue there but even a few days more, such a defence would be of no use, and only serve to destroy the rest of the garrison; and that nothing could possibly be of greater advantage to the Turks, than the order's sending from time to time new reinforcements into a place which was so dismantled; that it would insensibly consume the troops necessary for the defence of the other fortresses of the island: he concluded with declaring, that he was, nevertheless, commissioned to assure him of the blind and implicit obedience of the knights and garrison, whatever resolution he might think fit to take.

THE grand master acquainted the council with the occasion of the chevalier de Medran's coming, and the condition of the fort and garrison. Most of the great crosses, who composed the council, were for abandoning a place that swallowed up, as it were, its defenders, and which, by insensible degrees, under a pretence of being reinforced, would drain the other fortresses of their garrisons. These motives were just and reasonable; notwithstanding which, the grand master was of a contrary opinion: he agreed indeed that the

fort was not tenable, and even owned that he could not help bewailing the fate of the knights, who, in so dangerous a post, were exposed to be daily knocked on the head; but he insisted that there are some circumstances, in which it is necessary to hazard some of the limbs, in order to save the whole body; that he had received good information of the viceroy's having declared, that in case the fort should be either taken or abandoned, he would not hazard the fleet and forces of his master, to save the rest of the island; so that the whole safety of Malta depended entirely on the length of the siege, and that it was absolutely necessary, let it cost the order what it would, to spin it out as long as possible. The council came over to his opinion; when he, in concurrence with them, ordered Medran to represent, in his name, to the knights within the fort, that the preservation, or utter loss of the island, and perhaps of the order itself, depended on the time they should hold out the place; that they should call to mind the vows they had made at their profession; and that they were obliged to sacrifice their lives for the defence of the order; that he would not fail to send them reinforcements, which should be as strong as the smallness of the fort would admit of; and that he was resolved, whenever it should be necessary, to throw himself into the place, and there die with them.

WHEN Medran reported this answer, several knights, especially the most antient among them, protested they would bury themselves under the ruins of the fort, rather than abandon it; but the greatest part of them, as well as some officers of the garrison, thought the answer harsh and cruel, and complained that the council, and a set of men who had no share in the danger, were for exposing them to the slaughter, and to certain death, without the least prospect of advantage. These murmurs rose higher, on occasion of a mine, which the Turks were endeavouring to run under the first parapet; upon which they drew up a letter to the grand master, by which they desired leave

to retire into the town ; it was signed by fifty-three knights : they further declared, that in case they did not send boats for them the next night, in order to carry them off from a place, where they were all going to be destroyed, they were absolutely bent to take a desperate resolution, to sally out and be killed sword in hand, rather than continue in the fort, to no other purpose than to be smothered under its ruins ; or, in case of its being taken by storm, to have their throats cut like so many beasts, and be exposed to all the torments, which the ingenious cruelty of the Barbarians are ever sure of inventing.

THE commander du Cornet was the bearer of this letter : the grand master read it with great trouble and indignation ; but as he was inspired with a courage that was superior even to the worst events, he wrote them word back, that it was not enough for them to lose their lives sword in hand, in order to die with honour, which they seemed so fond of, but that they must likewise lose them in the practice of the obedience which they owed him, and in the occasions which he should prescribe them ; that in case they should desert the fort, and he should send boats to fetch them off, they must never expect to be relieved by the viceroy ; that the Turks would not fail to invest and besiege the town the next moment, where they would inevitably meet with the death they so vainly hoped to escape, by scandalously deserting a post, the defence of which had been committed to them by the order ; and that, after all, they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from mines, as they were in a fort that was built on one continued rock. In fine, la Valette, in hopes of reviving their drooping courage, or rather in order to gain time, sent three commissioners thither,<sup>a</sup> with orders to bring him a just account of the condition of the place, and how many days it might hold out longer.

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<sup>a</sup> The commander de Medina, a Spaniard ; the chevalier de la Roche, a Frenchman ; the chevalier Castriot, an Italian.

THESE commissioners, upon their arrival, spoke in terms of the highest civility and mildness to all the knights who were assembled to receive them; they highly extolled the courage and resolution which they had hitherto shewn, and exhorted them not to tarnish the lustre of their glory and reputation by an over-hasty retreat. Such of the knights as had signed the letter to the grand master, before they would make any answer, desired them to visit all the posts of the place. They shewed them that it was entirely commanded by the exhaussement, or high work, which the Turks, since their taking of the ravelin, had raised close to it; and that they might judge from the smallness and narrowness of the fort, that it was impossible but they must lose abundance of men every day, though indeed they could not be so thoroughly sensible of it, as if they had felt all the fury, and seen the havock of their great and small shot; and that after all, the more men they should send thither, the greater would be the loss, as it was a place where they had not room and earth sufficient to intrench themselves.

Two of the commissioners, both men of judgment and experience, were for trying what complaisance could do; and, in order therefore to bring over the malecontents, they owned that they could not possibly imagine how they had been able to hold out so long in a little fort, which was so dismantled, that it appeared to be no more than a heap of rubbish; after which they added, that they still flattered themselves, that they, who were such brave knights, would rouse their innate valour, which alone would enable them to hold it out some days longer, and, by that means, give the viceroy time to come to their relief, and raise the siege. The third commissioner was named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, and descended, as we are told, from the house of the famous Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, and of all Christendom. Castriot, who was naturally hot and furious in his zeal, without any regard to the temper and complaisance of his colleagues, warmly maintained, that the place was not yet reduced



ced to such extremity, but that it might hold out some time longer; that there were several ways of securing the fort from the artillery of the ravelin; that there was room on the inside of the breach to make cuts and intrenchments, which might be well secured with palisadoes; and that every body knew it was impossible to undermine a place which was built upon a rock.

THE knights, to whom he directed his discourse, took it for an affront, as if he had intended to reproach them with either not understanding the arts of war, or their not having courage enough to put in practice the dangerous expedients and remedies it prescribes. This alone was sufficient to raise the most unhappy disputes; every one maintained his sentiments with vehemence; the dispute grew hot, when some of the most passionate knights cried out, that they must absolutely keep such an able man in the place, and oblige him to put his own lessons in practice; and accordingly they ran to the gate of the fort in order to seize it, and keep him in. A dangerous tumult, of which the Turks might have taken advantage, was going to break out, when the bailiff of Negrepoint, and la Miranda, found a way to appease it, by causing an alarm to be sounded, which obliged all the knights to run to their respective posts.

THE commissioners, at their return to the town, gave the grand master an account of the ill condition the place was in, and told him frankly, that they did not believe the garrison could be able to stand an assault. Castriot, on the contrary, either through fondness for his first opinion, or perhaps through resentment at what had passed between him and the knights, pretended that the place was still tenable; and, at the same time, offered the grand master, provided he would give him leave, to levy some troops in the island, to throw himself into the fort, and hold it out against all the efforts of the infidels, till the succours should arrive.

PROBABLY there might be more courage and resolution in these assertions, than knowledge of the real condition of the place; and the grand master knew very well what he had to trust to; but as he was under an absolute necessity of prolonging the siege at any rate, he accepted Castriot's offer, hoping to make use of it for several purposes. Accordingly, he gave him great encomiums in public, and the bishop of Malta, actuated by a zeal so becoming his dignity, in concert with him, advanced the sums necessary for making the new levies that were to relieve the knights; and accordingly, they immediately beat up for them in the town and fortresses. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the country, and some of the chief citizens listed themselves; and there was an emulation who should enter into the service first. The knights who were in the fort, heard this news with a surprise that was mixed with vexation; and what increased it still more, was the grand master's writing to them afterwards in harsh and dry terms, and with an air of state, that he was ready to give them their discharge; that for one knight, who seemed to despair of holding out the siege any longer, ten brave soldiers offered themselves, who were inspired with a true spirit of zeal and courage, and eagerly sought to obtain leave to throw themselves into the fort; that he would immediately send a new garrison to relieve them; that they had no more to do but to deliver up their posts to the officers who were to head it, and that they might come back to the town in the vessels on which the others were to be transported. "Return my brethren, said he, to the convent; you will be more in safety there; and as for me, I shall then be less in pain about the preservation of fort St. Elmo, tho' it be of such importance, that the preservation of the island, and all our order, depends entirely upon it."

THESE few lines were written with an air of so much indifference, and even contempt, that the discontented knights were piqued to the last degree. They could not so much as think of delivering up the place

to the new soldiers and recruits, without being sensible of the shame and confusion they were going to bring upon themselves in the sight of the whole order. “ How (said they one to another) shall we be able to bear the sight of the grand master, and the reproach of our fellow knights ? And if this new garrison should have the good fortune to hold out the place till such time as the succours arrive, what corner of the earth shall we be able to find, remote enough from all human society to retire to, and there to bury our shame and confusion ? ” Full of these sad reflections, they resolved to lose their lives to a man, rather than give up their post to the new soldiers, or abandon the place to the Turks ; and accordingly intreated the bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio to acquaint the grand master with their repentance, and the resolution they had made to lose the last drop of their blood in the defence of the place. As it was still day-light, and that they were desirous of preventing the arrival of the boats, the governor dispatched an excellent swimmer with a letter to him, in which he took notice of the happy change ; and, in the name of the malecontents, begged him to pardon their fault, and give them leave to wipe it out by an intrepidity and resolution that would be proof against the greatest dangers.

THIS repentance was just what the grand master wanted to bring the malecontents to ; and, tho’ he had foreseen it, and even paved the way to it, by the jealousy and emulation which he inspired, he nevertheless thought proper not to comply with the governor’s request at first ; and therefore told him in his letter, that he would always prefer a body of new troops that obeyed the laws of military discipline to a number of old warriors, who pretended to be above controul. The knights, in a consternation at his steadiness and resolution, begged pardon in the most submissive terms. La Valette, considering that it would be dangerous to drive them to despair, suffered himself to be wrought upon, and was pleased to be pacified ; accordingly, the

new levies were dismissed, and the inhabitants were sent back to their respective posts which had been assigned them before Castriot's proposal.

DURING these transactions, the commander Salvago was returned back into Sicily, and, landing at Syragosa, he found the viceroy still starting one excuse or other, to defer the departure of the succours; for which reason, he, in the grand master's name, ordered the the commander de Cornuffon, that prince's nephew, and the commander de St. Aubin, captains of the two galleys of the order which were in that port, to embark immediately for Malta, and to carry thither all the knights and volunteers who were arrived in that place, together with a company of foot which had been levied at the order's expence, and was commanded by the chevalier Augustin Ricca. These two galleys, with this little re-inforcement on board, got, after various workings, into the isle of Goza. Their design was to land in the safest creek or road of Malta. But they were prevented by Dragut, who had notice of their departure from the spies he kept in Sicily, and had therefore sent several squadrons along the coasts, to hinder the Christian vessels from coming near them.

THE knights who commanded the two galleys, not thinking proper to hazard the reinforcement they were carrying to Malta, against the superior forces of Dragut, resolved to return to Syragosa. Their departure was a very sensible affliction to the grand master, he having depended on that little reinforcement in order to repair the continual losses he suffered in the defence of the fort. Accordingly, he reprimanded his nephew in the severest terms upon that account, and told him in his letters, with a kind of contempt, that glory was very seldom the share of a captain who acted with so much caution; and added, that it was the duty of a knight of Malta, to dare more than any other warrior.

He wrote by the same express, to the commander Salvago, who continued near the viceroy's person, in order to hasten the succours, and press the departure of the fleet; ordering him to acquaint that nobleman with  
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the extremity to which fort St. Elmo was reduced, and to beseech him, in case all his forces were not yet joined, to send him at least the two gallies of the order; to reinforce them with two others of the Squadron of Sicily, and to put on board them all such knights and volunteers as were at his court, and in the ports of that island, together with a regiment of foot to fill up the places of such soldiers of the order, as were either dead, or disabled by their wounds.

THE viceroy, who ever made pompous promises, and who, in hopes to frighten the Turks, was eternally talking of the great preparations he was making for the relief of Malta, would in some measure have given himself the lye, had he declined sending so small a reinforcement. In order therefore to keep the world still in a belief of the advantageous reports he had spread with relation to his forces, he appointed two gallies to set out immediately, with the two belonging to Malta, without waiting for the great reinforcement; and at the same time ordered Melchior Robles, colonel of the Sicilian brigade, to go on board the gallies with his regiment. But this embarkation, was, by the affected dilatoriness of both land and sea-officers, deferred from day to day, under various pretences: and the viceroy, who was not for dividing his forces, at the very time that he boasted even of the service he should do the order by this small reinforcement, gave secret orders to prevent its setting out.

THOUGH every thing seemed to conspire against the fort's receiving any reinforcement, the grand master did not, upon that account, abate any thing of his usual vigilance and activity: by his orders they were continually sending recruits to the besieged by night, together with provisions, ammunition, and fire works. He had himself invented one of a particular fort, proper to be used at an assault: they made hoops of very light wood, which were first dipped in brandy, or else rubbed over with boiling oil, then covered them with wool or cotton, which they steeped in other combustible liquors, mixed with salt-petre and gun-powder;

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after this preparation was grown cold, they repeated it, as above, three several times, and, when an assault was made, they set these hoops on fire, took them up with tongs, and threw them into the thickest of the enemy's battalions; when two or three soldiers, being hooked together in these burning hoops, they had no way to escape being burnt alive, but by plunging immediately into the water, and staying there till the fire was extinguished. The knights who defended the fort had the utmost need of all these different succours, to oppose such formidable enemies as they had to deal with.

FROM the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a single day passed without some engagement; as the fort was but indifferently flanked, the infidels daily attempted to carry it by scalado; but were as often repulsed with the loss of their bravest soldiers. The basha, ashamed at having thrown away so much time before a place, whose fortifications were so weak, resolved to come before it on the 16th, with all his forces, and give a general assault. To facilitate the attack, he employed the 15th in battering the breach, when the artillery playing all day long without intermission, the wall was entirely demolished, to the very rock on which it had been built.

ON the 16th of June, the day appointed for the assault, the Turkish galleys drew up by day-break over against the castle towards the sea, and battered it with all the artillery of their ships; at the same time that a land battery, of thirty six large cannon, beat to pieces all the fortifications that were left standing. The Turks, at the beat of drum, and sound of their hautboys, and other barbarous instruments, entered the ditch which they had almost filled up; and no sooner was a cannon fired, which was the signal for the assault, but they all ran on with great resolution. Four thousand archers, or arquebusiers, being planted in the trenches, were of great service to them by the continual fire they made upon those who appeared on the breach. It was lined with several ranks of Christian soldiers, in which they, between every three soldiers, had placed a knight, in  
order

order to sustain and encourage them. This was the only strength and defence of the castle. These brave warriors, with their half-pikes in their hand, formed a kind of new wall, that was proof against all the efforts of the enemy, who soon began the attack, which was the warmest that had been made ever since the beginning of the siege: for it often happened, that the Christians and Turks, after having spent their fire, and broke their swords and pikes, grappled together, when the dagger determined the fate of the combatants, according to their vigour or activity. The great and small shot played on both sides without intermission, and each party annoyed his adversary with fire-works: 'twas on this occasion that the burning hoops above-mentioned were of great service to the Christians; they threw them into the midst of their enemies, when most of those who were caught in them were burnt alive. The cries of these wretches, those of the combatants, the groans of the wounded and expiring, the noise and thunder of the cannon and muskets; all this spread a kind of terror on both sides, which nevertheless could not make the Turks retire, nor would the knights abandon an inch of ground.

THE distance between fort St. Elmo and the castle of St. Angelo and the town, was no more than the breadth of the harbour, so that one could plainly see from thence all that passed in this terrible and bloody engagement. The knights, and the people who were spectators of it, were very uneasy, and in pain about the success of it, and appeared as passionately concerned, as if they themselves had stood the assault; so that one might see alternately, by their cries and in their change of countenance, a lively image of the advantages or losses of either party. The grand master, whose courage and capacity would not suffer him in particular to be an idle spectator of the combat, fired continually upon the besiegers from the batteries of the castle of St. Angelo, the town, and the isle de la Sangle.

WHILST the island was in a manner all over in a flame, thirty Turkish rais, or galley-officers, observing that all the forces of the besieged were drawn to the quarter where the assault was made, endeavoured to make themselves masters of a bulwark that was not so well guarded: accordingly they clapped ladders to the wall, and got up to the point of the bastion without any opposition; which the grand master perceiving, immediately levelled two cannon on that side, and killed twenty of them with the first discharge; which frightening the ten remaining, they fled away as fast as possible to their trenches.

THE Turks had no better success at the great cavalier, which covered the front of the fort. They had battered it for a long time together, with all their artillery without being able even so much as to move that unwieldy mountain of earth, which supported itself by its own weight. They afterwards attempted to scale it, and with great bravery mounted up their ladders sword in hand; but the chevalier John Anthony Giugno, an Italian, who commanded in that post, being well seconded by several other knights, and particularly by a serving brother of the town of Marseilles, called Chanaut, they threw the flaming hoops abovementioned with so much dexterity, that the Turks, terrified at the fire machines, abandoned the attack. Not even the most intrepid janizary, who advanced boldly sable in hand to attack the bravest knight, but abandoned his post at the sight of the fire burning hoops, and fled away with precipitation; nor could all the prayers, the threats or blows of his officers prevail upon him to stop his flight. At length, the knights, after having sustained an assault for six hours together, notwithstanding their being covered over with wounds, burnt with the scorching rays of the sun, and quite spent with the length of the engagement, had the satisfaction of seeing Turks retire first, and give over the attack; for the basha, after having lost upwards of 2000 men, was at length forced to command a retreat to be sounded. The Christians of the fort on this occasion

caſion ſet up a general ſhout, which was echoed back from the town, and answered by the people with loud acclamations. This good ſucceſs, greater than any one had even dared to hope for, conſidering the weakneſs of the place, was entirely owing to the generous deſpair of the greateſt part of the knights, who had devoted themſelves, as it were, to death; and who, during the whole engagement, were leſs ſollicitous to gain the victory, than to ſacrifice their enemies, tho' at the expence of their own lives.

THE order loſt, in this aſſault, ſeventeen knights, who were all killed upon the breach: among whom were particularly regretted the chevalier de Medran, who had juſt wreſted a ſtandard out of the hands of a Turkiſh officer that fell by his hand, when he himſelf was killed by a muſket-shot. The grand maſter, to do honour to his memory, ordered him to be buried among the great croſſes, a dignity that was juſtly due to his great valour, and which he would certainly have obtained, had he not fallen on this occaſion. They likewiſe loſt the chevaliers de Vagnon and la Motte, the latter dying of his wounds two days after the attack; and the commander de Morgut, who, as he was going from the fort to the town, in order to have his wounds dreſſed, had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball. Beſides the knights, they reckoned upwards of 200 ſoldiers, who were either killed or diſabled. The grand maſter drew off 150 others to fill up their places, the ſmallneſs of the fort not allowing him to ſend a greater number; this detachment was compoſed only of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as offered themſelves for the ſervice, he not caring to interpoſe his authority to order any body in particular to ſuch a dangerous and bloody poſt.

THE baſha, judging that theſe recruits, which were ſlinging off continually from the town to the fort, might make the ſiege continue as long as there ſhould be any knights in the other parts of the iſland, reſolved to endeavour to cut off the communication between them. For this end he held a kind of council of war in the

trenches, with Dragut, a sangiac, and his principal engineer.

DRAGUT, either from his natural intrepidity, or because he, as happens to old soldiers, despised dangers by being inured to them, going openly out of the trenches, to view the situation of the ground, was struck in the head, near the right ear, with the shiver from a stone, which a cannon-ball from the castle of St. Angelo had shattered to pieces, and which killed the sangiac upon the spot. Dragut was not much better; he lost his speech, and fell down in a swoon, the blood streaming forth at his mouth, his nose, and his ears. The basha, in order not to discourage the soldiers, commanded them to throw something over him, and carry him into his tent; when advancing with great sedateness and intrepidity to the place, where he made his observations, he consulted with the engineer, how they might best prevent the sending of any succours to the fort. The result of their consultation was, to erect a battery upon Mount Calcara, and, if possible, to carry on their lines from the castle to the sea.

THIS post, as we have already observed, had been reserved for the viceroy of Algiers and his troops; but as he was not yet arrived, Mustapha ordered a battalion of janizaries to post themselves there, who extended themselves, particularly along the shore from the gallows point, and so on to the Renella, to the point of San Salvador. Calcara hill was taken within the lines, and they raised another battery upon it, the fire of which, together with shot of the janizaries, who were continually firing from their long pieces, killed all such as attempted to pass. But they did not continue long in their post; for before they could make their lodgment, and finish their intrenchments, the grand master, who was aware of the consequences of it, ordered the marshal Copier to make a sally at the head of a good number of knights and the bravest soldiers, who charged the infidels so vigorously, that they cut part of them



to pieces, and forced the rest to fly for their lives, and retire behind the intrenchments of their camp.

THE basha, however, did not despond at this ill success; but resolving, cost what it would, to prevent the garrison of the fort from receiving any succours from the town, he, by his engineer's advice, ordered a kind of covered way to be made behind the trenches, which were below the counterscarp, and which were afterwards carried on to the sea side over against Renella. They lined them with a great number of arquebusiers; and as the Turks worked night and day in carrying them on, the fort was at last invested on all sides, so that no boat could come near it, without being immediately either intercepted or sunk.

THE grand master saw plainly, that it would now be impossible for the fort to hold out any considerable time, without such a strong reinforcement, as might be able to raise the siege. Upon which he sent immediate advice of it to the commander Salvago, his resident at the viceroy of Sicily's court, with orders to renew his instances for dispatching away the succours. That knight did not fail to represent the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and to put him in mind of his repeated promises to the grand master; and in order not to omit any thing that might affect him, he insisted on the sacred and express promise of his catholic majesty: notwithstanding all which, Gasia, such was his perplexity and irresolution, would willingly have deferred it longer. But being continually solicited in the warmest terms by Gatinara prior of Messina, and above fourscore of knights that were come thither from different countries, who besought him to give them, in case the whole fleet was not yet ready to sail, a few vessels only to carry them to Malta; the viceroy, having no other way to get rid of the importunity of these knights, who besieged him as it were in his own palace, was forced, through shame rather than their intreaties, to consent at last to their going on board the two gallies which the chevalier de Cornuffon, the grand master's nephew, had brought back from Saragossa. He rein-

forced them with two more, and put a regiment of Spanish foot on board them. giving the command of this little squadron to Don John de Cardona his creature, with private orders, in case he heard of fort St. Elmo's being taken, to return immediately without landing his troops. Cardona set sail, and advanced into the channel of Malta; when he, either under pretence of contrary winds, or else to avoid meeting the Turkish squadron which lay along the coasts. instead of putting into some road, spent so much time in different motions, which were generally needless, that one would have thought he was come from Sicily, rather to shew the reinforcement at a distance, than to land it.

IF we were to have considered the viceroy's conduct, barely in it self, we should naturally have concluded, that he either acted with very little sincerity when he made his promises, or else wanted courage to execute them: and indeed his affected dilatoriness to succour Malta, occasioned his being generally suspected, and made him odious to the knights. But then they did not reflect, that his principal concern was the preservation and defence of Sicily, for which his head was to answer; and that in case Malta should be taken, he had just reason to fear that the Turks would come and attack him in his government; and that he had orders from the king of Spain, to act in such a manner in his endeavours to succour the grand master, so as not rashly to hazard his fleet and army, since it was the only security and guard of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and even of the coasts of Spain.

THE Turks taking advantage of this excess of caution, made another storm on the 21st. Their whole army was either drawn up in their trenches, or engaged under the walls. The basha in hopes of carrying the place, was not sparing of the lives of his men, who met with the same courage and resistance in all their attacks. The infidels came on thrice to this dreadful assault, and were as often forced to retire. Abundance of the knights perished in these continual engagements; and

and if the night, which was coming on, had not put an end to them, it would have been impossible for them to have held out against the prodigious number of enemies with which they were attacked. The night, by affording them a little intermission, shewed them at the same time the greatness of their loss. They spent it in the midst of the groans of men who were just expiring, and in dressing each other's wounds. The bailiff of Negropont, la Miranda, the chevalier de Mas, and other principal officers, distinguished themselves by their charitable assistance towards the poor soldiers, worthily acquitting themselves, like true knights hospitallers, of the duties of their profession; and in order not to omit any thing that might contribute to their preservation, or at least to suspend their destruction, they dispatched an excellent swimmer cross the port, to acquaint the grand master with the deplorable condition of the place, which he said would inevitably be lost, together with all the Christians that were left in it, in case they did not find a way to send them a strong reinforcement.

THE grand master was not so much surpris'd with this dismal news, which he naturally expected, as he was concerned for the loss the order was like to sustain in the persons of such gallant men; for which reason, he left no method untried, that might enable him to send them succours: accordingly he ordered five large boats to be immediately fitted out, which were soon crowded with a great number of zealous and courageous knights. But notwithstanding all their efforts, they could not possibly get to the fort. Mustapha had lined the shore with his artillery, and a body of musketeers; and the Turkish admiral, in concert with him, advanced with fourcore galleys to the mouth of port Mazet: and to make all sure, he posted fifteen boats, light frigates and brigantines, in the front of his fleet, having a good number of excellent arquebusiers on board, who made such a continual fire, that they forced the knights to retire.

THE besieged in the fort being now out of all hopes of succour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Christians and true religious : for which purpose, they were all night long preparing themselves for it, by receiving the sacraments of the church : when this was over, and that nothing remained but the giving up their souls to God, they embraced one another with tenderness, and retired to their several posts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands, and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reason of their wounds, had themselves carried in chairs to the side of the breach, where, armed with swords, which they held with both their hands, they waited with an heroic resolution, till such time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, should come and attack them in their posts.

THE next day, being the 23d of June, the Turks at day-break came on to the assault with great shouts, as if they were going to a victory which it would be impossible to dispute with them : but the Christian soldiers defended themselves with invincible bravery. One would have thought, that the certainty of an approaching death, which they were to share in common with the knights, had put them on the same level with respect to courage and valour : some threw stones and fire-works, others advanced to meet the enemy with as much intrepidity, as if they had beat them ; and such as could not walk, fired on the enemy with their pieces ; and when, by reason of their continual discharges, they had spent all their powder, they supplied themselves from the pouches of their comrades who had dropped by their side. In fine, the knights after having sustained an assault for four hours together, had but sixty persons left to defend the breach ; but these were something more than men, who by a noble contempt of death, still made their enemies tremble. The commander la Miranda, of the language of Castile, an excellent officer, who had signalized himself in the siege, seeing the place on the point of being forced by the  
Turks,

Turks, recalled some Christian soldiers, who till then had maintained themselves upon the cavalier which lay before the fort. The basha seeing the breach fortified with this small reinforcement, discontinued the assault in an instant, as if he had been again disheartened by such an obstinate resistance, and pretended to retire; but it was only in order to make his janizaries seize not only on the cavalier, which was abandoned, but likewise on all the posts that were higher than the breach, and which overlooked the inside of the fort. The besieged employed this little suspension from fighting in dressing their wounds, not so much for the sake of preserving the poor remains of life, as to enable themselves to fight for some moments longer with greater vigour. At eleven in the morning, the Turks returned to the assault with new vigour, and the janizaries, who, from the top of the cavalier and the other posts, commanded the place with their muskets, pointed out all such persons as they had a mind to kill. The greatest part of them perished by the enemies fire; the bailiff of Negropont the chevalier Paul Avogadre, la Miranda, together with most of the knights and soldiers that were left, being overwhelmed with numbers, died upon the breach; and this terrible assault was discontinued only for want of combatants, it not ending but with the death of the last knight. The Turkish fleet then entered the port of Marza Muzet in a kind of triumph, their cannon firing, their trumpets and other military instruments sounding, and all the infidels shouting for joy. Some of Dragut's officers running to his tent to acquaint him with the taking of the fort, found him just giving up the ghost; but altho' he had lost his speech, he still expressed his satisfaction by signs; when lifting up his eyes, as it were to give thanks to heaven, he expired a moment afterwards. He was a captain of exquisite valour, and more humane than corsairs generally are.

THE basha entering the fort, and judging from its smallness, what difficulty he should meet with from the town, cried out, "What will not the father cost

" us,



“ us, when the son, who is so small, has cost us the  
“ bravest of our soldiers.” And indeed ’tis generally agreed, that the Turks lost at least 8000 men in the siege of this fort, which weakened their army considerably. Mustapha, of a cruel and bloody nature, by way of revenge, and at the same time to terrify the knights that were in the town, and the other fortresses of the island, ordered such as were found lying among the dead, and had still any marks of life left, to be ripped open, and their hearts to be plucked out. To this unexampled piece of barbarity, the basha, in order to insult the instrument of our salvation, which the knights wore as the badge of the order, had gashes made over their body in form of a cross, when putting their subvests upon them, they tyed them to planks, and threw them into the sea, hoping, as indeed fell out, that the tide would carry them to the foot of the town, and the castle of St. Angelo.

THIS dismal and shocking spectacle drew tears from the grand master. His first sensations were those of grief; but his next were those of anger and indignation; in consequence of which, and by way of reprisals, he, in order to teach the basha to make war with less barbarity, ordered all the Turkish prisoners to be immediately executed; and ramming their heads into his cannon, had them shot, all covered with blood as they were, instead of ball, into the camp of the infidels.

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*John Burns*

# H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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B O O K XIII.

**T**HOUGH the taking of Fort St. Elmo had cost the infidels one of their generals, and the choicest of their troops, yet, nevertheless, great as their loss was, that of the order, in the vigorous defence it made, was not less considerable in proportion. 'Tis computed that one hundred and thirty knights, and above one thousand three hundred men lost their lives in this particular siege; and the cruelties which the Turks had exercised at the conclusion of it, had thrown the rest into a kind of consternation. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at so great a loss,

JOHN DE LA  
VALETTE.

loss, but very prudently dissembled his concern ; and, in order to encourage some knights, whom he observed to be seized with a kind of terror, he summoned a general and extraordinary assembly of all such knights as could be spared from their posts, and who could attend without prejudice to the security of the place. When appearing among them with his usual constancy, and a magnanimity that was superior to all events, he began his discourse with a panegyric upon those knights who had been killed on this occasion, asserting, that as they had generously sacrificed their lives in defence of the faith, they had lived enough for their glory and their salvation. He went on in recommending their zeal and courage to the assembly, as a fit pattern for them to imitate ; and in order to inspire them with recruited ardour, and animate them with greater confidence, he represented to them, that the knights whom they had lost, had not been so much overcome by the valour, as overwhelmed by the multitudes of infidels ; but that now the number of their merciless enemies was considerably diminished ; that their army was wasting away continually with the bloody flux, and other contagious distempers with which it was infected ; that they began to be in want of ammunition and provisions, and that though they had sent to the coasts of Africa, to Greece, and into the archipelago for fresh supplies, yet they had no news of the return of their ships ; neither did the fort which they had taken give them any manner of advantage over the town and other fortresses which were situated at a distance from it ; that all the forces of the order were shut up in these places ; that succours might be thrown into them without any difficulty ; and, in fine, that he hoped either to give the Turks battle, or to make them all lose their lives before the bastions and other fortifications.

THIS discourse, which he pronounced with an heroic assurance, the fire which sparkled in his eyes, and the sense they had of his valour and capacity, all these circumstances raised the spirits, and confirmed the confidence

fidence of the assembly, and not a knight of them but protested solemnly, that he would fight to the last drop of his blood for the defence of the island, and the preservation of the order.

'T WAS with a sensible pleasure that the grand master perceived all his knights inspired with the same sentiments as himself; and, in order to animate the common soldiers with the same bravery, he visited every post, when, addressing himself to them with a familiarity that was very engaging; "We are, says he, (my brave comrades) the soldiers of the LORD JESUS as well as you, and if you should have the misfortune to lose us and all your officers, I am thoroughly persuaded, that you will still fight on with the same intrepidity and resolution, and that your own courage will in that case supply the defect of orders." Therefore, to reinforce and raise the confidence of his troops, he drew four companies out of the *Notable city*, which was in less danger from the Turks, and brought them into the Town. He chose, at the same time, four of the principal commanders, whom he made captains of reserve, to be ready to run on all occasions to such places as should be most in danger. Each of these commanders had ten knights, subject to his particular orders, who were to serve in quality of aids de camp; and he afterwards nominated three others to act as serjeant-majors of the place. Although he had got a prodigious quantity of provisions, yet he took care of their being distributed with oeconomy, and ordered all the corn and wine that was in private hands to be brought into the public magazines, paying the price thereof to the proprietors.

AFTER these regulations, so truly worthy of a great general, his next step was to forbid the making of any prisoners for the future, giving express orders, that, after having got out of them all the informations possible relating to the basha's designs, they would put them all to the sword, and not give them the least quarter. The motive of this rigour was, not only to shew the Turks that they durst revenge the cruelties which

they had exercised upon the knights of the fort, but likewise to put his own soldiers and the inhabitants, whatever extremes they might be reduced to, out of all hopes of capitulating, and to make them sensible, that their own preservation and that of the place were inseparable.

THE basha, who knew nothing of this desperate resolution, and vainly flattered himself that the grand master and the knights, startled at their late loss, might hearken to a capitulation with pleasure, sent an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town. He had with him a Christian slave, in quality of an interpreter, and had orders to try if the grand master was disposed to enter into a negotiation; but he was refused admittance into the town. The slave however, who had served thirty years on board the grand seignior's galleys, was admitted in, and brought to la Valette, whom he met in the great square; but, at the first word he mentioned about capitulating, the grand master, without hearing a syllable more, ordered him to be immediately hanged. However, he privately told the knight, who was appointed to see his execution performed, that he should only frighten him with it, and that when he had got from him all possible informations relating to the state of the Turkish army, and the design of the basha, he should afterwards let him go.

THEY found that this slave was a poor fellow, seventy years old, whom they had released from the galleys for the sake only of sending him upon so dangerous a commission, and that he was entirely ignorant of the projects of the Turkish general. They offered to keep him with them in the town; but as he was persuaded that the infidels would soon be masters of it, when he was afraid he should be treated as a deserter, he chose rather to return back to his slavery, than to have only a taste, as he thought, of a precarious liberty, which, if he should lose a second time, would be attended with the most dreadful torments; for which reasons he desired leave to be gone. The knight, who  
had



had orders to let him out of town, led him through several lines of soldiers, who had been commanded to appear there under arms; and when he had conducted him to the counterescarp, he shewed him the bulwarks and bastions of the place, when pointing particularly to the ditch, which was very deep, "See there," says he to him, the only spot we can afford the basha, and we reserve it in order to bury him in it, "with all his janizaries."

THE basha saw plainly, by the bold answer which he had given the slave, that there would be no reducing the island but by force of arms. He therefore ordered his troops to invest, on the land side, the castle of St. Angelo, the town, and the peninsula de la Sangle, which formerly went by the name of the town and castle of St. Michael, all situated upon two necks of land that run out into the great port, and which are divided from one another only by a channel, that served for a port appropriated to the gallies of the order. The army of the infidels extended itself from the hill or rock of Coradin, and from Bormole, a kind of fort contiguous to the town of St. Michael, as far as mount St. Margaret, and the Belvedera, where the basha had fixed his own quarters. They then began to open the trenches, and in such places as they could not dig, by reason of the hardness of the rock, the basha made them build walls of dry stone. He resolved to batter at one and the same time the town and the peninsula on which the castle of St. Michael, then called the Isle de la Sangle, stood; for which purpose the christian slaves were employed in drawing seventy pieces of heavy cannon to the several places where he proposed to erect his batteries, of which at last he had no less than nine.

WHILST the Turks were thus busied in carrying on their works, Don John de Cardonna before mentioned, who commanded the four gallies which were sent with succours, appeared again near Malta, in order to endeavour to learn, pursuant to his instructions, if Fort St. Elmo still held out. He had before made some at-

tempts to land his men ; but the bad weather, or perhaps the fear with which he was seized, had rendered them ineffectual ; but now he put colonel Robles, and the chevalier de Quiney ashore, with a small party for their guard. The colonel, out of complaisance to the sentiments of his general, had constantly maintained, in all the councils of war, that it would be impossible for them to take too much precaution about a landing, and was on that account highly in his confidence. They were no sooner come ashore, but they were informed by some poor inhabitants, who had hid themselves in the holes of the neighbouring rocks, that the fort was lost. This was enough to make him reembark without more ado, but the chevalier de Quiney earnestly dissuading from it, and his own courage inspiring him with a resolution of contributing to the relief of Malta, he resolved to conceal the truth from Don John, and to engage him to land immediately the troops that were on board his galleys. With this view, and for fear lest his soldiers should, at their return, acquaint Don John with the loss of the fort, he sent them to the *Notable city*, which was of easy access, under pretence of bringing guides and horses from thence, in order to conduct the succours to the town ; by the same express he informed the governor, that he was going to land the troops in the road of *Pietra Nigra*, that he should detain the soldiers who should deliver him his letter, and send him other guides to lead the succours to the town, with conveniencies to carry the baggage. After this he went on board again with Quiney, and both of them joined in telling the general an useful untruth, assuring him that the fort still held out, but that they had been informed there was no hopes of saving it without immediate succours ; for which reason they had sent the soldiers to the city, in order to bring them carriages from thence. Cardonna, still unresolved what to do, would fain have put off the landing a little longer, but the knights, and about forty gentlemen that were on board his galley, exclaimed so much against it, and the very soldiers discovered so

much

much eagerness and zeal to be fighting with the infidels, that Don John out of fear of their resentment, and of his being exposed to the reproach of the world, by the complaints which they threatened to make against him, was forced to put them ashore. Accordingly they landed in the creek of Pietra Nigra, and Cardonna had no sooner discharged this part of his commission, but he sailed with his four gallies for Sicily.

THE difficulty was how to get this small succour into the town, the infidels having invested and blocked it up on the land side. The grand master having advice of their landing from Melquita, had sent them guides to conduct them through by-roads to the port or road Della Scala, with assurances that they would meet with boats ready to transport them safe over to the town. They set out immediately, and, taking the advantage of a great fog, they got safe to the port Della Scala, without being discovered; when getting on board, they crossed the great port, and arrived at the town, where they were welcomed by the knights and soldiers, with all the expressions of joy that were due to their zeal, and answerable to the want they stood in of such a reinforcement.

THE isle de la Sangle, with the castle and town, which was the weakest part of it, and that against which the Turks employed their greatest efforts, was the post which colonel Robles and the generality of the knights and secular gentlemen, earnestly solicited the grand master to give them; who accordingly at their requests were sent thither. They had planted several batteries at the hermitage, and on mount Sceberras, which played continually on the place, and another was raised upon mount Coradin, which lay so high, that it commanded it like a cavalier, so that they from thence, could easily see every thing that passed within. The basha, in order to straiten it still more, made an intrenchment before the Coradin rock, of a height sufficient to cover those who were posted there. The besieged were now shut up on all sides, except towards the port and the sea: the basha therefore, in order to cut

cut off this communication, which might be of service to them in introducing succours, and to invest the Christians on all sides, proposed, in a council of war, the attacking of the great Spur, on the point of the Peninsula. For the execution of this project, they were under an absolute necessity of bringing a considerable number of boats, well armed and provided with soldiers, into the great port; but they represented to him, that, besides the chain which went cross the mouth of the port, it would be impossible for those boats to make their way without their being exposed to the danger of being shattered to pieces and sunk by the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, which commanded and played upon all that part of the port: so that they would have given over the design, had not the Turkish admiral found out a way to bring the boats into the great port, without their passing under the castle of St. Angelo. As he was master of port Muffet, which was divided from the great port only by the neck of land of mount Sceberras, on which the fort of St. Elmo stood, he undertook to make the Christian slaves, and the crew of his galleys, draw a sufficient number of boats cross this neck of land, by the strength of their arms, and to launch them in the great port; after which, they might put a body of soldiers and arquebusiers on board them, in order to attack the Spur on the side towards the mills, at the same time that the land army should attempt a storm on that side where the castle lay.

THE council highly applauded this expedient, the which, as the knights had been no ways apprehensive of it, might probably have occasioned the loss of those works, had it not been for a Turkish officer, a Christian, and a Greek by birth, who having been present at the council, and being touched with a sudden remorse of conscience, was resolved to get over to the island, and to run the hazard of his life in giving the governor notice of it. This officer was called Lascaris, of the illustrious house of that name, which had given several emperors to the east. The Turks, at the taking of Patras, a town of the Morea, had made him  
a slave,

a slave, at a time when he was so very young, that he was hardly sensible of the misery of his condition. They brought him up in the Turkish religion, and out of some regard to his high extraction, great care was taken of his education. He served in his early youth among the Spahi, and by his valour, had raised himself to the first posts in that body of cavalry. His thoughts had perhaps hitherto been employed only in the making of his fortune, but the sight of Malta, ready to sink under the power of the infidels, revived in his memory the indelible character of a Christian, which he had received at his baptism. The heroic valour, of which the knights daily gave such distinguished proofs, raised his compassion; and he could not forbear reproaching himself for fighting on the side of barbarians, who had put most of the princes of his family to death, and had forced the rest, since the taking of Constantinople, to fly for refuge into foreign countries. Full of these different reflections, he goes down to the sea side, to a place that lay directly opposite to the Spur of St. Michael, where waving his turbant, he made signs for them to send a boat to carry him over to the island. A knight named Savoguerre, who commanded at the point of the fort, seeing by the rich cloaths he had on, that he was a considerable officer, gave immediate advice of it to the grand master, and desired leave to send a skiff for him, which was readily granted. But before the soldier, whom he had dispatched to the town, could return, some Turks observing Lascaris making his signals, and judging from thence that he intended to desert, and go over to the Christians, they ran to seize him. Though he scarce knew how to swim, he yet, to prevent his being taken, threw himself into the sea; and of two inevitable dangers, he preferred that in which he might possibly be succoured. Savoguerre, who had never taken his eyes off him, observing from the other side the difficulty he had to cross over, immediately sent off three Maltese, who were excellent swimmers, who came up to him when his strength was almost exhausted, and by their assistance he got safe to shore.



shore. After they had made him throw up the water he had swallowed, they conducted him to the grand master, whom he acquainted with the basha's and admiral's projects, and shewed, at the same time, the several places where they proposed to erect their batteries. The grand master, who was thoroughly sensible of the great importance of these advices, extolled the generous resolution he had taken to hazard his life for the safety of the Christians, and therefore settled a large pension on him; and Lascaris, during the time the siege lasted, made it manifest, by his bravery and counsels, that he had no way degenerated from the virtue of his ancestors.

THE grand master was at first struck with the admiral's bold and difficult design; but afterwards recovering from his surprise, he set himself about defeating the success of it. For this end, he fortified all those places towards the port, where the Turks, by the help of their boats, might possibly make a descent. He likewise ordered the walls of the town of St. Michael to be raised higher, and lined the shore with several pieces of cannon, in order to clear the port of every enemy that should appear. As their chief business was to hinder the Turks from advancing up to the walls of St. Michael, the grand master proposed that affair to the council; but as their opinions were different, and that he was persuaded that even men, though of the greatest capacity, do not yet see into every thing, he did not disdain to consult two Maltese pilots, whom he had ever found to be, not only men of great capacity and experience in naval affairs, but who had likewise discovered the greatest zeal and fidelity for the order. He told them the design of Turkish admiral, and asked them what they thought was to be done, in order to defeat it, and hinder the embarkation of the troops, which they had drawn down to the shore of mount Sceberras in the isle de la Sangle. Both the pilots agreed in opinion, and told him, that it would be proper to make a staccado with piles drove into the sea, from the Coradin rock to the Spær, which was at the  
point

point of the isle, and to fix iron rings to the top of these piles, and draw a long chain across to stop up the spaces between them: and whereas it would not be possible to drive in the piles in some places, by reason of the depth of the water, or the hardness of the rocky bottom, it would be necessary for them, in that case, to stop up the passage with their longest sail-yards and masts nailed together, which, with the chain, would make it altogether impracticable.

THE grand master laying their proposal before the council, it was unanimously approved of, and accordingly they set to work about it the night following. La Valette, who plainly perceived the great use of such a staccado, gave orders for the making of others, to hinder any landing on the side of the posts of England, Germany, and the great infirmary. He likewise secured the post for the gallies with an iron chain, which was defended by several batteries on both sides. As the Turkish artillery did not allow them to carry on these works in the day time, they could only work at them by night: but the grand master, knowing of what importance they would be, employed so many hands about them, that in nine nights time all these staccado's and defences were finished.

THE basha was strangely surpris'd to see so many works rise up as it were on a sudden out of the sea, to oppose the passage of his boats and the descent of his troops; but as he was a man of true courage and great abilities, he would not give over his first project, and fancied he could find a way to carry off some of the piles of the staccado, and by that means open a passage for his little fleet through the several gaps. For this end, some Turks, with axes at their girdles, swam, by his orders, to the pallisado, got upon the sail-yards, and worked hard to cut them asunder. This could not be done without a noise, which soon discovered their design; upon which they were immediately plied with cannon and musket-ball, but as the firing was made from an higher ground, and directed downwards, it did no execution. The admiral de Monte, who com-  
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manded in the island, seeing this had no effect, resolved to attack them in their own way, and for that purpose sent some Maltese soldiers, who were excellent swimmers, to them; these stripping themselves, and holding their swords in their teeth, came up with the Turks, beat them off the staccado, killed and wounded a good number of them, and pursued the rest, who made off as fast as possible, and got with great difficulty to the other side of the port. They returned however the next day, and before they were perceived had tied some cables to the masts and sail-yards, which had been laid for the security of the pallisado, and endeavoured to move and carry off the piles by the force of the capstanes of their ships, which were placed on the shore. But all the Maltese were excellent swimmers, so that they no sooner discovered this new kind of attack, but several Maltese, threw themselves into the water, and with their sabres cut all the cables, and baffled this second attempt of the basha.

AFTER these little attacks, which were of no very great consequence on either side, Mustapha, on the fifth of July began to fire from all his batteries together. That which was placed upon mount St. Margaret battered the quarter called la Bormole, and the bastion of Provence: but the officers of the artillery seeing it did little mischief, turned it against the fort or castle St. Michael. The Turks had another upon the Coradin rock, which fired continually upon the bastion that lay over against them, and the cannon which they planted upon fort St. Elmo and mount Sceberras played upon the castle of St. Angelo. There were other batteries raised upon mount Salvator, that of Calcara, and on other eminences adjacent, which battered the great town, and the posts of Castile, Germany and England. That of Arragon was in a manner demolished already. All these batteries, and those of the Christians which answered them, made such a dreadful and continual fire, that the island seemed to be a volcano, and looked like another mount Etna. The Turks, under cover of their artillery, ran their trenches up to the ditch side, but  
being

being stopped by a small redoubt that covered it, they battered that work with so much fury, that the knights finding themselves unable to defend it any longer, blew it up, and retired within the island.

THE point of land on which the castle and town of St. Michael stood, had no manner of communication with the great town and the castle of St. Angelo, and could get no succours from thence, but by means of a ferry-boat, which being heavy, and its motion very slow, exposed all such as crossed over to the fire of the infidels. The grand master, by the advice of John Anthony Bosio, a young knight, and brother to the analist of the order, caused a bridge of his invention to be made of pipes and hogsheds well pitched, which he afterwards covered over with planks. They placed it out of the reach of the fire of the enemies muskets, and as they run very nimbly upon it, they were not hurt by the fire of the artillery. This bridge proved afterwards very serviceable for the passage of those succours which they were obliged to send to fort St. Michael.

THE Turks knowing it to be the weakest part in the whole island, plied it hard with cannon-shot. Nor did their batteries make less execution upon the great town: considerable breaches were soon made in some places, but the basha did not think fit to attempt a storm till after he had entirely ruined all the out-works; besides, he was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Hassan, viceroy of Algiers, who had sent him word, that he would immediately advance with a good reinforcement, composed of the flower of all his forces.

THE grand master, surpris'd at his having no news of the viceroy of Sicily's armada, wrote in the strongest terms on that subject to the commander Salvago, who resided at his court, in order to hasten the succours. He was an able minister, and could not be reproached with either want of zeal and assiduity, or of remissness in executing the several orders he received from the grand master. But he had to deal with a

proud and haughty Spaniard, with whom he thought himself obliged to observe certain measures for fear lest he should ruin the affair by being too earnest in his solicitations, and by that means afford him the pretext he wanted, in order to excuse himself from sending the succours he had promised. The grand master's letter, the loss of fort St. Elmo, and the danger to which the isle de la Sangle was exposed, put him out of all patience; so that he went without farther ceremony to the viceroy, and complained, in the grand master's name, of his slowness in dispatching the succours; telling him moreover, that the basha was laying close siege to the great town and the castle of St. Michael at the same time, and that his troops were already advanced up to the walls. He added, in the utmost transports of zeal and grief, that Malta was on the point of being lost, but that all the nations of the Christian world would eternally reproach his memory, for having suffered the flower of all the gentry in Christendom, to be cut to pieces by his affected delays; and finding that the viceroy answered him only in general and ambiguous terms, he flung out of the palace, and coming up to the people who were assembled in the great square, he cried out, that Garcia was playing a double game, and that he, by his continual shifts and evasions, was going to deliver up the grand master and his knights into the hands of the infidels.

THE complaints of the agent of Malta were indeed but too well founded; but after all, the viceroy was not in reality so much the author as the minister of these delays, he having received private orders not to be too forward; and indeed under a prince who was as imperious and secret in all his actions as Philip II. and who sacrificed every thing to appearances, he would have been equally ruined, had he either been too hasty in sending away the succours, or had let the world see that it was not in his power to send them whenever he pleased. However, finding that Salvago's complaints made a great impression upon the minds of the people, he said, to save his own reputation, that he  
could



could not rashly expose his master's fleet, that he would ask the advice of such of his ministers and principal officers as were in Italy; that he would afterwards call a great council of war, when all the necessary measures for sending immediately a strong body of troops to the relief of Malta should be adjusted. But this was far from being his real intention, much less that of the king his master, whose slow and uncertain policy put him always upon waiting for the benefit of time, which he often lost. Philip and his minister contenting themselves with a vain ostentation of his forces, imagined that the bravery of the knights alone would be sufficient to baffle the enterprize of the Turks, and that at most they had no more to do, than to have the succours in a readiness to be sent off, in case they found that they were too closely attacked, and that there should be a real necessity for them.

SUCH were the private views of the council of Spain. John Andrew Doria, who was not let into the secret, and was at this time with his gallies in the port of Messina, offered the viceroy to transport two thousand men to Malta, till such time as all the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. He shewed him the way he would take to carry them, and said, that before the Turks could have weighed up their anchors, or have cut their cables, he, by the strength of oars, should be got into the great port as far as the castle of St. Angelo, and that, provided he could but land his troops and his crew, which would serve for soldiers and pioneers, he did not value if he afterwards lost the hulks of his gallies.

THE viceroy at first applauded the generosity of the proposal, and came so far into the project, that he made Doria swear to put it immediately in execution; but whether it were from a secret jealousy, for fear lest all the honour of the enterprize should accrue to him, or else that he was not willing to engage in it, till such time as he had received fresh orders from Madrid, he sent Doria with his gallies to Genoa and the coast of Tuscany, on pretence of fetching from thence some necessaries for this particular expedition, and by this fetch

cluded the opportunity of dividing his forces. However, as Salvago and a great number of knights, who were daily arriving from all parts of Christendom at Messina, in their passage to Malta, were continually soliciting for the succours, he ordered two gallies to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to Pompeo Colonna, with a good number of knights on board. But whether it were that the commodore had private orders to run no hazard, or that he had not the same zeal to succour the grand master as Doria had, he advanced only at a certain distance from the great port, when finding the entrance of it shut up and guarded by the Turkish fleet, he tacked about and came into the ports of Sicily, and at his return, reported to the viceroy, that he must absolutely have all his forces united in one body, otherwise it would be impossible for them ever to open a passage, or force the infidels to raise the siege.

HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrived at the camp about this time with two thousand five hundred men, all of them old and resolute soldiers, and commonly called the bravo's of Algiers. When he saw fort St. Elmo, and considered its smallness, he could not forbear crying out, that had his soldiers been at the siege, it would not have held out so long. This young Turk was son to Barbarossa, and son-in-law to Dragut: proud of those celebrated names, and in hopes of making his own as illustrious, he desired the basha to entrust him with the attack of fort St. Michael, boasting that he would carry it sword in hand. Mustapha, who was an old general, and who would not have been sorry that this bold youth should learn, at his own expence, how dangerous it was to come within reach of the sword of the knights, answered him in a very obliging manner, That as he did not doubt of his success, he freely consented that the sultan should bestow upon him all the honour that so brave an action merited; and, in order to enable him to carry his point, and attack the isle both by sea and land, he gave him six thousand men, assuring him at the same time, that he  
would

would sustain him on the land side at the head of all his troops.

HASSAN, with his Algerines, resolved to attack the peninsula both by sea and land; towards the continent, in that part where it joined to the main land, and towards the port on the other side. He left this last attack to Candelissa his lieutenant; he was a Greek renegado, and an old corsair, of a cruel and bloody disposition, but an excellent seaman, having spent his whole life under Barbarossa, and commanded at this time the Algerines, who followed Hassan to the siege, he having divided them between himself and his lieutenant on this occasion. To prepare for this double attack, the Turks for several days together kept a continual fire with their artillery from several batteries. They had raised one of three cannons upon mount St. Elmo, which played upon the Spur or point of the island. There was another of thirteen cannons and a double culverin planted upon the Corradin rock, which fired continually on the courtin of the castle of St. Michael. The front of the castle was battered by three cannons from a place called the Hermitage. They had raised on mount St. Margaret another battery of six cannons, which played upon the fortifications of the castle of St. Michael, and made great havock among the houses within. One would have thought hitherto that the Turks were minded only to make war at a distance, and to carry it on with their artillery; but on the fifteenth of July, at day-break, the scene changed, and they came to a long and bloody engagement, in which the bravest of both parties lost their lives.

WHILST the Turks, through the ruins which their artillery had made, were endeavouring to force their way into the island, their slaves had drawn, by strength of arms, a prodigious number of boats from port Muffet, cross mount Sceberras, and had launched them in the great port, and Candelissa had put part of the Algerine soldiers on board them, together with upwards of 2000 men, whom the basha had given him for this enterprize. This little fleet, if we consider the size of their vessels,

being well armed, and numerous enough to cover the great port in a manner, set out from the coast of mount Sceberras, with drums beating, haut-boys, and other barbarous instruments playing, as they moved along. It was preceded by a bark full of mahometan priests and dervises, some of whom were imploring the assistance of heaven with hymns and prayers, whilst others were reading out of books which they held in their hands, imprecations against the Christians. This ceremony soon gave way to arms of a more formidable nature, when the Turks advanced boldly to the staccado. Candelissa imagined he should be able to make his way through some part of it and break it; or, in case of disappointment, his design was to make his soldiers climb over the staccado, and, by the help of a great number of planks, one end of which was to be laid upon the top of the piles, and the other upon the shore, he thought to make a kind of a bridge to land his men: But he was mistaken in his conjectures, the shore being farther off than he imagined, and the planks proving too short; and when he attempted to break the chain, or cut the sail-yards, which fastened the piles that formed the staccado, the Turks were in a moment overwhelmed by the fire from the muskets: and the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, with all the batteries of the isle which looked towards the port, firing upon them at the same time, sunk a good number of their boats, and forced the rest to make off.

THEIR general however rallied them together, and observing that the staccado did not so entirely cover the point of the isle, but that it left a place where he might attempt to make a descent, he accordingly made towards it. 'Twas a kind of cape or promontory, on which they had made a strong entrenchment, that was lined by a good number of arquebusiers, and washed to the bottom by the water of the port. This point of land was defended by a battery of six cannons, (playing level with the water of the port) which the grand master had planted just below two wind-mills that stood upon the eminence. The commander de Guimeran,

meran, an old knight, of whom mention has been often made, and ever with honour, commanded at this post : he suffered the boats of the enemy to advance near the shore, but as soon as he saw them within reach, he gave them such a fire, with his great and small shot, that several of their boats were sunk, and we are told that near 400 Turks were killed by this volley.

CANDELISSA, who had been brought up, as it were, in the midst of fire, and inured to all the dangers of war, made to the shore, whilst the Christian cannoneers were charging their artillery again, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But he here met with new perils ; for Guimeran, when he fired his cannons, had reserved two loaden with cartridge shot, which he now poured in upon the Turks. Great numbers of them dropped, but their intrepid general, seeing part of his soldiers give way, and several of them making back to their boats, did all that lay in his power, by making use of intreaties and menaces : but, above all, endeavouring, by his own example and resolution, to oblige them to stand their ground on the shore ; and in order to cut off all hopes of retreating, commanded the boats to make off. This was telling his soldiers that they must either vanquish or die ; and indeed it was manifested on this occasion, that despair often pushes us on to actions that are superior to courage, or the ordinary strength of nature. The Algerines, who were in the front of the attack, with a sabre in one hand, and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to get upon the entrenchment. They all strove who should first seize upon so dangerous a post, and unanimously pressed forward with a generous contempt of death. There was a dreadful slaughter made in the engagement, which was a very long one : the blood ran down in streams to the foot of the intrenchment : but the Barbarians attacked it with so much fury and resolution, that they, at last, after an engagement of about five hours, gained the top of the intrenchment, and planted seven ensigns upon it.



At the sight of these standards, the knights, though reduced to a small number, being ashamed of their retreat, faced about upon the enemy with a noble indignation. Admiral Monti put himself at their head; and, after a fresh volley of small shot on both sides, they closed, and engaged one another with their half pikes, swords and daggers: fortune however seemed in suspense on the side of the knights, of whom so great a number had been slain, and those who survived were so wearied and spent, that they had just reason to fear the worst; when the grand master, whose vigilance extended to every scene of action, having notice of the extremity to which those who defended the Spur of St. Michael were reduced, sent the commander de Giou, general of the gallies, and the chevaliers de Quiney, and Ruiz de Medina, with a party to their assistance. This succour was preceded by another of a very singular kind: a company of boys, near 200 in number, armed with slings, which they used with great dexterity, crying out succour and victory, poured in showers of stones upon the enemy. The commander de Giou, advancing immediately at the head of his men, with his pike in his hand, charged the infidels, tore down their standards, drove them before him, and forced them to quit the rampart where they were going to make a lodgment. The knights pursued them close with their drawn swords, and forced the greatest part of them to throw themselves headlong down: Candelissa, their commander, was one of the first that fled; and though he had ever hitherto discovered the utmost intrepidity and courage, it yet was damped before the engagement was ended. He had no sooner lost all hopes of vanquishing, but his intrepidity fled away at the same moment; and the fear of falling into the hands of the knights, who gave no quarter, obliged him to call back his boats, and he himself was the first that leaped in. His own soldiers, ashamed of his precipitate flight, which dishonoured their body, called him afterwards by no other name than that of the Greek traitor. They gave out that he was a renegado in a  
double

double sense ; and that he, after having renounced the Christian religion, and embraced that of Mahomet, had not been willing to complete the advantage he had gained through the hopes of his meeting with a more favourable reception among the Christians upon his return to them, which had been the reason of his delivering them up to the fury of the knights.

HOWEVER, the algerine bravo's, notwithstanding their being deserted by their leader, still fought on as they retreated with great courage ; but serjeant major Sada, the chevaliers Adorne, a Genoese, Paul Ferrier, of the language of France, and a Florentine gentleman named Corbinelli, incensed at their obstinate resistance, sallied out at a casemate with a party of soldiers ; surprised and charged the infidels so warmly, that after having killed great numbers of them, they forced the rest to fly for their lives to the boats and shallops which were returned to take them in.

THE sea was not much more favourable to them than the land, they being obliged to make their way through the fire of all the batteries that had annoyed them so much at their approach, and upon their landing, and which now sunk several of them in their retreat. Even those who had thrown themselves on board, crowding in too great numbers, sunk down to the bottom ; such as could not get boats embraced the knees of the victorious soldiers, and begged for quarter ; but they received no other answer, than that they should have St. Elme's pay ; and accordingly were, by way of reprisal, all cut to pieces. There were others who, in order to avoid this kind of death, flung themselves into the sea, though they could not swim, and were either drowned, or killed with the fire from the muskets. The water of the port was in a little time covered with dead bodies, with heads, arms and mangled limbs. Scarce had there ever been seen a more hideous and dreadful spectacle ; and of four thousand men whom the general had put on board for this enterprise, there hardly escaped five hundred, and most of these were grievously wounded.

THE order, not to reckon the private soldiers, lost near an hundred persons of distinction, who were either knights or secular gentlemen, and whom a zeal for the Christian religion had brought to Malta. Among these they particularly regreted the loss of brother Frederic de Toledo, son to the viceroy of Sicily, a young knight, whom the grand master, out of regard to his father, who was vastly fond of him, had always kept near his person; but the young gentleman, hearing the distress that the knights who defended the Spur of St. Michael were in, stole away from him, and ran to that part which was most in danger, where he was killed by a cannon-ball. His death proved fatal to the chevalier de Savoguerre, who, being close by him, was killed by a splinter of his cuirass. At the same time another ball killed the chevalier Simon de Soufa, a Portuguese, and shot off the arm of the chevalier Gaspard de Pontevez, of the language of Provence. The chevaliers Simiane de Gordes serjeant-major, Mello a Portuguese, Roderic de Cardinez, and Brunefay de Quiney, who had brought the first succours into the island, though wounded, would not yet quit their post. The grand master could not prevail upon them to retire into the infirmary; but they, getting themselves dressed on the spot, stayed on the place where they had received their wounds.

NOR was less blood shed on both sides at the viceroy of Algier's attack. This commander, after having ordered the signal for the assault to be given by a cannon-ball, advanced boldly at the head of his troops to the several breaches which the artillery had made on the side of the Bormole, and the castle of St. Michael. The Algerine troops, which he had kept with him, were in the front of the attack, and came forward with so much heat and resolution, that they soon planted their ensigns along the parapets. Colonel Robles, a person of celebrated valour, and yet more so for his experience in war, commanded at that post: he, in order to stop the first impetuosity of the infidels, saluted them with the fire of all his artillery, which they had

had purposely charged with cartridges; and the shot flying through the thickest of their battalions, made at first an horrible massacre, and whilst they were putting fresh charges into the cannon, and the mortar pieces, a good number of Castilian and Portuguese knights, who were posted along the flank of the Bormole, discharged such a terrible fire from their small arms, that the Algerines, in spite of all their bravery and resolution, were not able to withstand the fury of it, so that their commander drew them off, and marching along the side of the parapet, led them to another breach, where, as some deserters had informed him, he should meet with less resistance.

THE chevaliers Carlo-Rufo, and la Ricca, both captains of galleys, commanded at that post; who, in order to secure their soldiers from some batteries which the Turks had raised upon the adjoining hills, had hollowed and sunk the earth on the inside of the wall. But the courtin, by this digging away the ground, was made so high, that they were obliged, in order to defend the breach and stand an assault, to throw up immediately a kind of bridge or gallery; and by reason of the little time that was allowed for that purpose, the work was so ill performed, and withal so narrow, that several knights, and a great number of soldiers, were there destroyed by the fire-works which the Turks were continually throwing at them. The chevaliers Rufo and la Ricca exposing themselves in all places, were dangerously wounded, and quite disabled. They were succeeded by admiral Monti, who commanded in chief. This officer immediately sent for a reinforcement of a party of those knights who had signalized themselves in the defence of the spur, and had just before repulsed the infidels with so much vigour. A considerable number of these, and among the rest Quiney, and the serjeant-major Simione de Gordes, notwithstanding their being wounded, would needs share in these new dangers: they ran to the breach at the head of a company of brave inhabitants; and, as if the first advantage which they had gained had been a certain earnest

earnest of victory, their presence soon changed the face of the combat. The few knights and soldiers who were left at this post, at the sight of this reinforcement, were inspired with fresh courage, and they all fought with so much intrepidity and resolution, that the viceroy, unable to withstand them any longer, was forced to order a retreat to be sounded, having seen most of his Algerine bravo's drop by his side.

THE basha, despairing to vanquish the knights any other way than by exhausting and wearing them out, resolved not to give them a moment's rest; and therefore, after having engaged them for five hours together successively, he renewed the assault, and, instead of the Algerines, sent on the Janizaries, whom the grand seignior had given him for this expedition. These soldiers, the main strength of the Ottoman empire, advanced up to it with a bravery that is proof to every kind of danger. 'Twas against this formidable body that the Christians, parched with heat and thirst, and quite spent with fatigue, were forced to take up arms. However, they, as if they had been insensible to the cravings both of hunger and thirst, and to the raging heat of the dog-days, and had been invulnerable, gave the enemy a fresh volley with their small arms, came up with them, and attacked them sword in hand. They now close together, each man seizing his opposite adversary, so that in the midst of a general engagement, there were frequently as many private duels as there were combatants. The Janizaries discovered as much intrepidity as the knights, nor were less backward in braving dangers. The peril and fury of the troops were equal on both sides; when a Turk, perceiving the slaughter the chevalier de Quiney made of his comrades, and not valuing what became of himself, provided he could but kill him, advanced up to him, and, firing his piece, shot him through the head, but he himself fell the same moment by the sword of another knight. However, the death of this Janizary was but a poor satisfaction for the loss the order sustained by that of so brave a knight. The chevalier de  
Simiane



Simiane survived him but a few moments ; he had put himself at the head of a party of the inhabitants, composed of men, women, and children ; and whilst the latter were throwing stones, fire-works, and boiling oil upon the enemy, he charged them with so much fury, that the Turks, unable to stand it, quitted the breach, and took to their heels, in spite of all the cries and menaces of the basha. Simiane, in order to prevent their officers from bringing them on to a fresh engagement, immediately set pioneers to work, who, in his presence, and by his directions, laid wool-sacks and gabions upon the breach, and dug cuts behind the first barricado, which they fortified with good intrenchments. But as he, regardless of his own safety, was employing himself in so urgent a work, and which was so necessary for the security of the place, his head was struck off by a cannon-ball. Thus died a knight, who was one of the most distinguished of his language, on account of his birth, and still more so by his bravery and skill in the art of war. Upwards of forty more, and about two hundred soldiers, lost their lives in this last attack. As they fought with very little intermission, and that numbers of them were daily killed and wounded, they were obliged to fill up their places with new officers ; so that the commander Anthony du Fay, of the family of St. Romain, was made serjeant-major, and the post of Carlo-ruso and la Ricca, who were both mortally wounded, was given to the chevaliers John Antonio Grugno, and Julio Malvicino, who had both some skill in fortifications, and in the art of attacking and defending of fortresses.

THE basha, whom neither the greatness of dangers, nor the difficulties he met with could dishearten, ordered a bridge to be framed after the model of that which he had made at the siege of St. Elmo, composed of the sail-yards and masts of ships. The grand master, who foresaw the consequences of it, and the advantage it would be of to the Turks in storming the place, attempted twice to set it on fire in the night : but his soldiers were repulsed both times, and the en-

terprise appeared so difficult, that they were convinced it would be impossible for them to succeed in it but in the day-time. The danger was evident from the great number of Janizaries, all of them excellent musketeers, who were posted on the counterescarp. The grand master, as a proof that his nearest relations were not dearer to him than the other knights, ordered Henry de la Valette, his brother's son, to make the attempt. The young knight, who was full of fire and spirit, in company with the chevalier de Polastron, his particular friend, sallied out at the head of a good number of soldiers, in broad day-light. As the bridge was not yet well fixed, he thought to break it down by tying strong ropes and cables to the posts and principal beams that supported it, and afterwards to draw them by main force out of their place, and so make the whole work fall to pieces. The soldiers at first set about it with resolution enough; but as they worked in a place which was exposed to the enemies fire, they were demolished in a moment by a storm of small shot, which killed abundance of them, and forced the rest to retire for shelter under the fortifications of the castle. Young Valette, and the chevalier de Polastron, were too brave to follow the example of their soldiers; and, not minding whether they followed them or not, endeavoured to supply what was defective on their part, and to fasten the ropes themselves to the props of the bridge. But they met with the same fate as their soldiers; for they were scarce got down to the foot of the bridge, when they were shot by two musket balls, that killed them on the spot. As the basha had offered a reward for every knight's head that should be brought him, some Janizaries advanced immediately to cut off those of la Valette and Polastron. But the Christian soldiers were in such concern at having deserted their officers, that they chose rather to lose their lives as they had done, than to return back into the town without at least bringing off their bodies along with them. This brought on an engagement between the two parties; and the dispute who should get possession of the dead  
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bodies, was the occasion that many lost their lives on both sides. But the Christians, being either stronger, or more obstinate in the engagement, gained their point at last, and retired back into the place with this sorrowful advantage.

THE grand master bore the death of his nephew with great constancy of mind, and added this virtue to the shining qualities which he discovered during the whole course of the siege; and when some old knights were going to condole with him on his loss, "All the knights, says he to them, are alike dear to me; I consider them all as my children, and I am as sensibly concerned at Polatton's death, as that of la Valette: after all, they have only got the start of us for some days: and in case the Sicilian succours do not arrive, and that there is no possibility of saving Malta, we must all die to a man, and be buried under its ruins." Whereupon an old commander telling him, that he had been informed by a deserter, that the basha had sworn, in case he should take Malta, to put all the knights to the sword, and reserve only the grand master, in order to present him to the grand seignior: "I shall take care to prevent him, replied la Valette; and if the siege, so contrary to my hopes, should end in so fatal a manner, I declare, says he, before you all, addressing himself to the knights who were about him, that I am resolved, in that extremity, rather than they shall ever see, whilst I am alive, a grand master carried in chains to Constantinople, to dress my self like a private soldier, and rush into the midst of the enemies battalions, there to be killed, and there die with my children and brethren."

SUCH were the sentiments of this great man, so truly worthy of his dignity; and we may justly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main strength of the island lay in the virtue, the courage, the resolution, and foresight of la Valette, and that the safety of Malta depended entirely upon his preservation. However, he valued his own life less

than he did that of others ; and after having been in person to reconnoitre the bridge, where his nephew had been killed, he ordered an hole to be made in the wall over against it, and on the same level, where he planted a piece of artillery, which fired with such success, that it soon shattered the bridge, and the night following they set fire to it, and burnt it to ashes.

THE basha, enraged at such a resistance, and fearing that the ill success of the siege might draw upon him the sultan's displeasure, called an extraordinary council of war. He there first gave them an account of all he had hitherto transacted for the taking of the several fortresses of the island, and then represented to them, that the only reason of his attacking fort St. Michael, was, because it seemed the weakest in the whole island, which, if he could once take, it would open him a way for the reducing of the great town and castle of St. Angelo ; that however, he had not neglected to batter incessantly this last place, with his artillery from mount Salvator, and other adjacent posts ; and that the subject of their present meeting was to consider whether they should give over the attack of the isle de la Sangle, in order to unite all their forces against the castle of St. Angelo ; or whether it were not better, in order to divide and weaken the forces of the besieged, to carry on the attack in different places at the same time.

THE council, after a mature consideration of the reasons on both sides, agreed to the last proposal ; and it was accordingly resolved, that the basha, with the viceroy of Algiers, should continue the attack of the isle, whilst admiral Piali, with his marines, should lay siege to the great town and the castle of St. Angelo : and that, in order to prevent the viceroy of Sicily's throwing any succours into these places, Candieffa, Haffan's lieutenant, should guard the sea with fourscore gallies well armed.

THE basha, pursuant to this scheme, renewed his batteries against the isle de la Sangle ; so that not only the walls and bastions of the fort were demolished, but

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the very houses of the town, and the inside of the castle were likewise very much damaged, and there was scarce a place in it but what bore some marks of the fury of the cannon. Admiral Piali, on his side, that he might not be out-done by Mustapha, in his eagerness for pushing forward his work, raised a new battery upon mount Salvator of twenty cannons, among which were three basilises, or great cannons, and two mortars, some of which threw stone-bullets of three hundred pound weight, and others iron balls of sixty, and some of fourscore pounds. All these different batteries played incessantly upon the post of Castile, the flank of the post of Auvergne, and all other parts of the fortifications, as far as the infirmary.

His engineers directed their principal attack against the post of Castile, so that the trenches and other works were very far advanced-on that side. They laboured at them night and day with indefatigable industry, not so much as resting in the hottest part of the day; inso-much that in a little time they ran them up to the walls of the place, and intrenched themselves so well with the earth which they dug up, and the stones which were shot against the town, that the workmen were all under covert.

THE siege grew more and more bloody every day, and worse to be dreaded for its consequences; the infidels did not allow the besieged a moment's rest; one while they attacked a single place, and anon they assaulted several together at the same time. The Christians indeed repulied them with vigour, and killed them abundance of men; but yet, considering the disproportion of their forces, they might be said to lose more than the Turks, and their garrisons were daily weakened. The basha, after having harassed them for four days together with continual skirmishes, and offers of attempting a scalado in several places, made, August the second, a fresh assault on fort St. Michael. The infidels, in hopes of plunder, advanced up to the breach with great resolution. The besieged sustained the attack courageously, and repulied the enemy; their



officers, during the six hours that the attack lasted, brought them on five several times to the assault; but they were always received with the same intrepidity. As their troops, and particularly the Janizaries, exposed themselves boldly, the knights made an horrible slaughter of them, and the basha, fearing lest all the rest should be cut to pieces, ordered a retreat to be founded.

FIVE days afterwards, which was the seventh of the same month, Mustapha made another assault; and, in order to oblige the besieged to divide their forces, sent three thousand men to attack the bastion of Castile, whilst he himself marched at the head of eight thousand to storm the fort of St. Michael. The only weapons that were chiefly fought with at the post of Castile, were arrows and small arms: their design was to draw the principal forces of the order on that side; for which purpose the Turkish musketeers and archers advanced but slowly to the storm. But their greatest efforts, and the real attack was against fort St. Michael. The Janizaries, who were in the front, advanced boldly with great shouts, according to their usual custom; they were answered by a terrible fire from the place, which killed them abundance of men before they could come near the walls: but they, without being daunted at seeing nothing but death all around them, marched with intrepidity over the bodies of their comrades, and forced their way to the top of the breach, where both parties, as if they had been in the field, fought with equal fury for four hours together; the Turks were for keeping the posts they had seized upon, and the Christians exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to prevent their making a lodgement there. Among the latter, all, even to the very women, signalized themselves against the infidels: and whilst the peasant and the citizen were defending their country, their wives and children fought with an intrepidity which equalled, in some measure, the resolute bravery of the knights: and if paternal or conjugal love inspired those men with a courage and force, to which they had  
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been hitherto insensible, there were not wanting heroic women, who ran to the assistance of their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands, and who generously exposed themselves to the greatest dangers.

SOME of these brought stones, arrows, victuals and refreshments to the combatants, whilst others of a more dauntless spirit mixed in the fray, and threw fire-works, scalding water, and melted pitch upon the Turks: the fear they had of losing their honour and their liberty, in case they should fall into the hands of the infidels, inspired these brave women with a contempt of all the horrors of impending death. The Turks, still furious and eager for fighting, and enraged to see their courage opposed by such feeble enemies, fell upon them without mercy, so that several of them died by their weapons, and the fire-works which they threw at them. The breach and the castle seemed all on fire, and the tumult of the combatants, the clashing of their arms, the cries of the soldiers, the groans of the wounded, and of the persons of both sexes who were just expiring, and lay confounded together upon the ground, formed a spectacle that was as moving as it was dreadful.

THE basha, who had posted himself at the foot of the breach, ran with his sabre in hand, on all sides, exhorting, intreating and threatening his soldiers, and crying out, that if they would but exert themselves a little more, they would certainly carry the place. He, with his own hand, killed two janizaries who had thrown themselves down from the breach, in order to prevent their falling by the sword of the knights. The rest of his soldiers, terrified by this action, and seeing that the swords of their officers were as fatal as those of their enemies, laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to the engagement any otherwise than by cutting all the besieged to pieces. Each single janizary fought with as much eagerness, as if the victory had depended on himself only. In fine, after the assault had lasted upwards of four hours, and at a time when the grand master was in some pain about the success of it; the basha,

basha, to the great astonishment of the Christians, as well as of the Turks, ordered a retreat to be founded. They were afterwards informed, that the commander Mesqueta, governor of the Notable-city, had been the occasion of it.

MUSQUETA, who was an old officer, and a man whose vigilance extended it self to all places, seeing, from the highest part of the city, that the castle of St. Michael looked as if all in a blaze, made no question, but that the Turks were attempting a storm, and that the besieged were attacked with the utmost vigour; upon which he ordered a body of cavalry to march out of the place, each trooper carrying a foot-soldier behind him, in order to make a diversion. The chevaliers de Lugny and Vertura commanded this detachment, who were ordered to go and discover how things stood at the fountain of la Marza, and moreover, to attempt to surprize and carry off the sick and wounded soldiers, whom the basha had lodged in that place, for the sake of water, and the coolness of the place; but he had not given them a strong enough guard. The chevalier de Lugny, leaving his infantry in ambush in a neighbouring village or hamlet, called Azabugi, in order to secure his retreat, advanced to the fountain, and, finding that the guards of the hospital were dispersed up and down the neighbouring hills, the better to view the two assaults, he ordered his troopers to alight, who, falling upon the sick and wounded, made a dreadful havock among them. The surprize and confusion that generally attend on such unexpected attacks, the cries and groans of the dying, the flight of such of the wounded as could escape the fury of the Christians, all these circumstances united, spread a general terror over the Turkish camp; the fugitives gave out it was the van of the Sicilian army, and of the Christian succours, which being landed near that place, were marching forward to raise the siege. This report soon came to the basha's ears; and as in a general consternation, reason often serves to no other purpose than to augment the terror and belief of the danger, Mustapha, though

an excellent officer, was imposed upon by the current mistake. This had been the occasion of his commanding a retreat to be founded; when rallying his troops, he put himself at their head, and advanced towards the place where he expected to meet the enemy: but he found a general solitude in all places. For the chevalier de Lugny, after executing his general's orders, had judiciously withdrawn himself. The basha, arriving at the fountain of la Marza, and being informed that this bold enterprise had been atchieved by a party of the garrison of the city only, he fell into a violent passion; and that which particularly made his rage and shame still greater was, that he had suffered himself to be imposed upon so vastly, and had discontinued an assault at a time when he had reason to hope he should succeed in it. Whereupon he was firmly resolved to return to the breach, renew the attack, and either die upon it, or carry the place. But his principal officers represented to him, that night was coming on; that his troops were excessively fatigued with the heat and obstinacy of the battle, and that it was absolutely necessary to allow them time to refresh themselves. These reasons prevailed upon him to return back to the camp, when they waited upon him to his tent, where he spent the night in forming new projects, in order to make himself master of the bulwark of Castile, and the fort of St. Michael.

THE basha had not omitted one of those various kinds of attacks, which the fatal science of war had invented for the taking of fortresses; trenches, places of arms, redoubts, cavaliers, saps, mines, scaladoes, batteries upon batteries, planted in various places, and assaults renewed almost every day; in a word, every thing had been hitherto attempted, and generally baffled by the valour of the knights. Their presence upon the breach, and their intrepidity, had supplied the places of the strongest bastions. The Turkish general, in order to conceal his design, and prevent their taking measures to oppose it, had again recourse to mines: his pioneers and soldiers worked at them continually. The  
knights

knights at the same time exerting themselves to the utmost, in order to discover and countermine them, when they often met with the infidels, and came to an engagement with them in those subterraneous passages. The great dispute in these combats was, who should keep possession of the chamber of the mine, and it frequently happened that both parties were destroyed, either by the mine's taking fire, or by the falling and weight of the earth that was blown up into the air, and which fell back again upon the combatants. But the grand master and his officers could not discover all these mines; several escaped the observations and search of the ablest engineers: The Turks had run some by different channels under fort St. Michael, and the bulwark of Castile, both which places were entirely undermined.

THE grand master and his knights, being always in a manner between two fires, were not even safe on the ground they stood upon; and they had as much reason to dread the effects of the cannon as that of the mine, which springing up at once, and without any previous notice, was equally formidable.

IN this dreadful state of things, la Valette wrote to the viceroy of Sicily, to represent to him the great need he had of speedy succours, acquainting him that the fortifications of the island were intirely ruined; that he had lost on different occasions the flower of his knights who had rushed fearless into danger; that such intrepid warriors were not long lived; that most of those who survived were shut up in the infirmary; that the enemy was strongly intrenched before the walls; and that he conjured him, in consideration of the great distress he was in, without either fortifications, troops, or succours, to dispatch away, at least, the two gallees of the order, which lay in the port of Messina, with the knights who were come thither from the remotest countries; it not being just, as he observed at the conclusion of his letter, to be tender of a part, and of a particular limb, when the whole body is exposed to an almost inevitable destruction.



GARSIA, though ever wavering and irresolute, yet seeing it highly concerned both his master's honour as well as his own, to come to a final resolution, proposed the affair in council. John Andrew Doria, whose courage justly merited him the illustrious name of his great uncle, made him a proposal of sitting out all the naval forces of his catholic majesty, and of fighting the infidels at sea. But the viceroy immediately declared, that he had no authority to venture a battle ; nor were the reasons strong enough to engage him to hazard the royal navy : that in case the Turks should happen to be victorious, the coasts of all his catholic majesty's dominions would by that means remain unguarded, and lie exposed to the invasions of the Turks ; so that all that they had to consider was, whether it was the the king's interest to send a part of his troops to Malta : and that, supposing they should come to that resolution, whether it would be practicable to carry over the succours, and land them without danger, and without the knowledge or even in spite of all the opposition the infidels might make. There was no great difficulty as to the last article. The sea officers, whose opinion was first asked, unanimously agreed and demonstrated, that a body of troops might be easily landed in the island. But the land officers were divided in opinion, with regard to the second question, Alvarez de Sande, a famous captain, of whom mention has been already made, with respect to the siege which he sustained in the isle of Garbes, was intirely against the enterprize, and maintained stiffly, that the king of Spain was neither bound in justice, nor engaged by his own interest, to hazard his troops ; that it was la Valette's business to consider his own circumstances, and the condition of his forces, before he carried matters to too great an extremity, and that he, in imitation of the grand master Villiers de Lisle Adam, one of his latest predecessors, might enter into a treaty with the enemy, and quit the island upon tolerable conditions.

SUCH as were acquainted with Sande's valour, and heard him deliver his opinion with so much weakness, could

could not possibly dive into the motives of it. Some ascribed it to the fear he was under of falling again into the hands of the Turks, who had treated him cruelly during his captivity ; others suspected, that he did it only in order to make his court to the viceroy, and perhaps to Philip himself, who, as we have already observed, minded nothing but shew, and who, after having got together a numerous fleet, levied troops in all his territories, and filled all Europe with the noise and expectation of the succour he pretended to send, would not perhaps have been displeas'd that a council of war, compos'd of the ablest generals of the age, should have thought it improper for him to hazard a part of his army.

BUT Ascanio della Corna, who had gained a great reputation in the wars of Piedmont and Italy, maintained warmly, on the contrary, that they could not decline sending succours to the knights of Malta, without exposing themselves to an eternity of reproaches. He represented that they, ever since their establishment at Malta, had always exerted themselves with the utmost bravery in the defence of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; that whenever the infidels were to be engaged at sea, or that a war was to be carried on in Africa, they had always joined the fleets and armies of his catholic majesty, and had been ever forward to expose themselves to the greatest dangers for his service ; that the business then in question was the preservation of an illustrious order, an order which, without any ambitious views, and without ever attempting to make one single conquest for its own private advantage, was continually in arms, and daily sacrificing its lives for the defence of the territories and subjects of all Christian princes with the utmost impartiality. He then descended to particulars, and remonstrated, that as the sea officers had agreed that they might convey and afterwards land the succours in the island without any danger, so those who were to command on shore might, by posting themselves advantageously, and by the favour of the rocks, the hills, and passes, with which the island abound-

abounded, easily advance within sight of the places besieged; in which case the Turks, as they had not at that time above 15 or 16,000 men left, and all of them extremely harrassed, would be obliged either to raise the siege, or be themselves invested; that the infidels would be obliged to oppose the attacks of the Christian army, and the sallies of the knights, and that at one and the same time, and in the midst of such engagements, it would be an easy matter for them to throw succours into the forts, and to change, or at least reinforce the garrisons.

THIS advice, being more generous, was carried by a plurality of voices; the viceroy himself came into it, and, in order to apologize for his affected delays, he wrote immediately to the grand master, by which he informed him, that he had just received orders from Madrid which left him at liberty to follow the dictates of his zeal and inclination for the order; that he would be at Malta towards the latter end of the month with 12000 land forces; that Doria and Vitelli were to bring 4000 more from Italy, and that he would immediately send away the two gallies of the order, under the command of the chevaliers de Cornuſton, and St. Aubin, with upwards of 200 knights, besides a great many gentlemen of different nations, who were come to Messina in order to signalize themselves in the defence of Malta; that indeed, the king of Spain his master, had ordered him, as soon as he should have landed the troops, to return back with the ships and gallies to Sicily; that notwithstanding the earnest desire he had to distinguish himself at the head of his army, he was indispeniably obliged to obey; but that he, pursuant to his prince's intentions, would, before his setting out, leave express orders with his general officers, to submit to him as to their commander in chief.

How agreeable soever these positive assurances might be, the grand master, who depended only on his own forces, was still as careful and vigilant as ever: he was continually visiting the advanced posts, was ever exhorting and encouraging the soldiers, and as he expos-

ed himself in places of the greatest danger, he was frequently the first man who engaged the enemy.

THE knights, under the conduct of so heroic a general, were all of them continually fighting, or busied in some labour; and if the historians of that time did not assure us of the fact, we could hardly think it probable, that such an handful of warriors could have been able to hold out so long as they did, against such a number of attacks as they sustained, or bear up during such a series of watching, wounds, and fatigues. Nor did the Turks discover less bravery; and, above all, their generals could not so much as reflect upon the obstinacy of their defence, without shame and vexation. Mustapha and Piali, from a mutual emulation, attempted every thing that open force could do, and employed all the stratagems that the science of war could suggest; and exposed their own persons to the greatest dangers, as freely as they did those of their soldiers, in the hopes they had, that he who should first make himself master of the post he attacked, would be honoured by the Sultan with the merits of the whole enterprise.

THIS emulation inspired the two generals with a resolution of either dying in the breach, or carrying the forts which they attacked. In pursuance of which, they agreed to attempt a new storm; to continue it, if necessary, for several days, and even nights together, and by that means weary out the knights, and vanquish them at least by exhausting their strength, in case they could not triumph over their valour.

PURSUANT to this resolution, they, on the 18th of the month, at noon, in the greatest heat of the day, advanced at the head of their several bodies, imagining they should find the knights asleep, and retired under the shade and shelter of their intrenchments. The basha commanded his soldiers to storm the breach of St. Michael, and the Turkish admiral that of the bastion of Castile. Both the attacks were made with great resolution, but with various success at first.

SOME hours before the attack began at fort St. Michael, the infidels had made such a terrible fire upon it, that

that they did not leave so much as the least piece of a wall, fortification, or even intrenchment, standing. The basha then ordered his men to attempt a storm; and, as they were the very flower of his troops, were brave, and fought under the eye of their general, they performed wonders. The knights received them with an intrepid courage; and, though worn out with fatigue, and the greatest part wounded, they never had before discovered so utter a contempt of danger. No sooner did one drop, but another stepped up in his place; and, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted for upwards of six hours together, they repulsed the enemy, more indeed by the greatness of their courage, than by the vigour of their strength.

THE Turkish admiral's attack on the bastion of Castile was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred attempting the storm for some time, in hopes that the grand master, when he should see that he made no motion, would detach some of the troops that were to oppose him, in order to succour the fort of St. Michael, by which means he might make an advantage of their absence; but not finding that any body stirred, he sprung a mine in a place where it was least suspected, which threw down a pannel of the wall. As soon as it had done execution, the besiegers, who were ready for the storm, set up a great shout, mounted the breach in a trice; and the place had been certainly lost, if the knights upon guard there, who were not prepared for their reception, had been susceptible of fear. A chaplain of the order, brother William by name, seeing the Turkish standards set up at the foot of the parapet, ran in a terrible fright to the grand master, and made him signs at a distance to retire immediately into the castle of St. Angelo. But the intrepid old man, clapping on a light head-piece, without staying to put on his cuirass, advanced resolutely with his half-pike in his hand to meet the infidels, when he, and the knights who were with him, gave them such a furious onset, that they could not stand it, and seeing the inhabitants running in crowds to the grand master's assistance, they

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began to retire, but still making a terrible fire from their small arms all the time. Mendossa, who commanded at that post, seeing the grand master standing by him, and fearing lest some ball should take him off, begged him on his knees to retire, representing to him that the safety of the island, the lives, the liberty and honour of the women and maidens, depended on his preservation, and that if they should lose him all would be lost. But the grand master pointing to the Turkish standards, which were still hoisted and waving in the wind, told him, that he must first see those trophies of the infidels demolished; upon which all the knights who were about him rushed forwards immediately, when a new combat ensued, in which the bravest men fell on both sides: at last the standards were tore down, and the infidels forced to retire in disorder, covered with blood and wounds. The grand master made no question but that their leaders would soon bring them on to the same attack, and therefore ordered quarters to be got ready for him there: the knights did not fail to represent to him, that he had made choice of a place which lay exposed to the enemy's artillery; but as he was sensible of the importance of that post, and how necessary his presence was to defend it, nothing could prevail upon him to remove from it. So after thanking the knights for the testimonies they gave him of their affection, "Will it be possible for me, says he to them, at the age of seventy one, to end my life more gloriously, than in fighting with my brethren and my friends for the service of God, and the defence of our holy religion?"

THE Turks, as the grand master had foreseen, returned that very night to storm both places: the attack was chiefly carried on with small shot, and the besieged on their side plied their enemies on all sides with granadoes, flaming hoops, and fire-works, so that they fought almost by no other light, than that which was made by the fire of the artillery and small arms. The Turkish soldiers at the foot of the breach, not knowing how to direct their own shot, or secure themselves

ſelves from that of the Chriſtians, gave over the attack ſeveral times; but their officers ſtriking and cutting them with their canes and ſcimiters, forced them back as often. The ſoldiers who were as much incenſed at this treatment, as diſheartened by the reſiſtance of the knights, and being unable either to advance upon the works or retire, reſolved to impoſe upon their generals; when, as if they had been ſtill attacking the knights, they only ſtruck their ſwords upon their bucklers, and let up their ſhouts as uſual in battle. But the baſha perceiving at laſt, notwithstanding the darkneſs, that all the cries and noiſe they made was a meer ſham, thought proper to defer the attack till day ſhould appear, and immediately ordered a retreat to be ſounded.

I CANNOT tell whether I may not have juſt reaſon to fear, that the reader will be tired with the repetitions of ſo many assaults, ſo little different from one another; but as both parties diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe ſcenes by performing the moſt brave, and the moſt heroic actions, and as the knights particularly, though reduced to a ſmall number, ſuſtained for ſome months, both day and night, the continual attacks of a numberleſs multitude of enemies, who relieved one another by turns, but never allowed them a moment's reſt, I imagined that this detail might be of uſe, as it gives a more juſt idea of the intrepidity of the combatants; and that I was moreover obliged to it, in order that my narration might not be wanting in exactneſs.

BE that as it will, the baſha the day following, being Auguſt 19, gave the ſignal for an aſſault at both attacks, by a general diſcharge of his batteries. The Turks came on with freſh reſolution to that of St. Michael, hoping to make themſelves maſters at leaſt of the ravelin. What gave room to theſe hopes was a machine, being a kind of carcaſſe, but much larger, made in the ſhape of a long barrel, covered over with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, chains, nails, bullets, and all kind of iron inſtruments. The engineer, after having faſtened a mach of a proper length to it, found means to throw it upon the ravelin,

where it fell among the knights who defended it. But they, no way daunted at this smoking machine, caught it up before it took fire, and threw it back upon the enemy, who were crowding to mount the breach : it burst a moment after, and, tearing every thing to pieces that came in its way, sent heads, legs, and arms, up into the air. The Turks, in a fright, immediately dispersed themselves ; some fled as far as their trenches, when the Christian soldiers, animated with this dismal spectacle, and in order to make their advantage of the terror their enemies were in, fell in among them sword in hand, made a terrible havock, and forced the rest to retire.

PIALI's attack at the bastion of Castile was more dangerous, and lasted a considerable while longer. The infidels came on with an air of resolution, and in spite of the continual fire of the Christians, which killed them abundance of men, they forced their way to the top of the parapet, and fixed their standards upon it. At the shouts the Turks gave, who fancied they were masters of the place, la Valette, who was not far off, ran thither with pike in hand, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. The infidels resisted them with the same intrepidity, when they fought together with their pieces at their adversaries breast. The commander of Bonnefigne lost his eye by a musket-ball, as he was fighting by the grand master's side ; others fell by the sword and fire-works. The grand master, advancing too far in the danger not to have his share of it, was wounded dangerously in the leg by the splinter of a grenado. He generously disregarded it as long as the combat lasted, continuing still, by his speeches as well as example, to animate his men, and thereby prevailed upon the common soldiers to fight, and behave themselves like so many officers, and as men who were inspired with a true sense of glory. A zeal for religion had the like effect upon the minds of the peasants and townsmen, by making them slight all the horrors of surrounding death, and put all the combatants as it were upon a level. A considerable number  
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of knights, braving the impending danger, met here with an honourable period to their lives. Cencio Casconi, an old knight, who commanded at the Spur of St. Michael, informed of the danger to which the grand master was exposed, ran to his succour with a body of soldiers and inhabitants, and was the first who mounted on the parapet, together with the chevaliers Bergia, Mendossa, Don John, and de la Roche Peryra. Pikes and swords were then the only weapons used; the Turks and Christians often grappled together, and fought with a rage and fury as if every private man had been revenging an old quarrel, and gratifying a personal hatred. Both parties were continually sending new reinforcements to the combatants, which made the battle last till night. In fine, the knights who fought in the grand master's presence, made such powerful efforts, that they recovered the parapet, and drove out the infidels.

MUSTAPHA, who neither allowed his enemies nor his own troops any interval of rest, attempted another storm the day following, which was the twentieth; not that, after so many repeated trials, he expected to carry places, so well defended, at once; but as he knew the grand master's strength lay principally in his knights, who were reduced to a small number, his design in carrying on these continual attacks was to take some of them off every day, and by that means at last reduce these two places, as he had already done fort St. Elmo, for their want of men sufficient to defend them.

HOWEVER, as he saw his soldiers began to be dispirited by these perpetual attacks, in which he lost abundance of men, he set himself to contrive a way to secure them from the small shot of the knights, which made a dreadful havock among them. For this purpose he invented a kind of head-piece, made of thin wood, but proof against musket-shot, which reached down to their shoulders. He caused eight thousand of his foot, to put on this new kind of armour, and advanced at their head to attack fort St. Michael: but when they

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were to engage, his soldiers were so encumbered, so uneasy, and so much weighed down with these wooden helmets, that they could neither attack the Christians nor defend themselves; so that they were forced to take off so troublesome a load, and then, naked as it were, advanced boldly to attack the fort. They were led on by Cheder, sangiac or governor of Bosline, an old officer of good reputation in the army, who had promised the basha either to carry the work, or die in the attempt. This old soldier, who was used on fighting-days to wear fine cloaths, the better to distinguish himself, was then dressed in a rich vest, and advancing boldly up to the parapet, commanded the officer who carried his ensign, to hold it aloft; but the officer was soon killed, and the ensign thrown down. Upon this the sangiac immediately ordered it to be taken up again; and though the post he was in was very much exposed, and several Turks were killed successively one after another in the attempt, he still had it raised and hoisted aloft in the sight of the combatants during all the time the storm lasted. In fine, the last who carried it, having met with the same fate as his comrades, he himself took it; and holding it in one hand, and his scimiter in the other, he fought, and obliged his soldiers to fight with wonderful resolution. But his fine cloaths drawing all eyes upon him, and his valour, and the deadly blows which he dealt about, distinguishing him still more, the chevalier Passoa, the grand master's page, killed him with a musket-ball, when a Turkish officer immediately took his place, and encouraged the soldiers to revenge the death of their general.

THEY indeed maintained at first their post with resolution enough; and so many single combats were, as it were fought, between several officers of both parties about who should get possession of the sangiac's body. The Turks at last carried it off; but they were so warmly pursued, that they were forced to take to their heels. In this rout, a knight threw himself on Cheder's ensign; but he who carried it, though mortally wounded, held it so fast, that he was forced to break the staff of it in  
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his hands, and could only carry off the colours, which were torn to rags. Several knights of distinction were killed in this engagement. The commander John de la Cerda, ashamed of the weakness he had discovered at the defence of fort St. Elmo, had, in order to repair his honour, been for some time past seeking death, as it were, in every post of danger. He at length met with it on this occasion, and died bravely on the breach.

THE Turkish soldiers, beginning to despond after so many bloody storms attempted in vain, the basha found it necessary to allow them an interval of two or three days rest. But on the 20th, a letter was thrown into the great town, which they took up and carried, sealed as it was, to the grand master, who found nothing in it but this one word, *Thursday*. He was not at a loss to understand the meaning of it, and that it was to expect a fresh assault upon that day. He accordingly prepared for it, with his usual courage and resolution; and in order to prevent any surprise, and to sound the disposition of his men, he caused a false alarm to be given on Tuesday the one and twentieth. Every body ran readily to his post; and by this trial the grand master had abundant reason to be pleased with the vigilance of the officers, as well as with the alacrity of the soldiers. He only observed, that by the daily loss they had sustained of a good number of knights, some of them were wanted in certain posts, in order to head and animate the soldiers.

THIS report reached the infirmary; all the wounded knights, who were able to stand upon their legs, bravely sallied out, and, like those of fort St. Elmo, chose rather to face death, and meet it on the breach, than wait for its coming in their beds. The grand master, admiring their generous spirit, distributed them into the several places where they were most wanted: and, finding himself sustained by warriors who seemed to have something in them more than human, he waited with impatience for the return of the enemy.

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BUT he had not long to wait ; for, pursuant to the notice which had been given him, they presented themselves on the twenty-third at both attacks : the basha led on his troops in person to storm fort St. Michael. This place, during the sickness of admiral Monti, was defended by the marshal Copier, the commander Giou general of the gallies, and by a considerable number of the principal commanders of the order. The Turks, animated by Mustapha's presence and example, fought with great courage ; none of them boggled at danger, nor did they meet with a less vigorous resistance from the besieged. If the Turks, by making a bold struggle, ever got an inch of ground, they were soon repul'd from it by the Christians. Each party had its alternative of good and ill success, without any one's being able to judge on what side the victory inclined : the basha discovered, on this occasion, all that the bravery and conduct of a great general could perform, in order to surmount the disadvantages of his situation ; but the knights, having an advantage in their post, made such a terrible fire with their small arms, from the top of the breach, and were so well seconded by all their artillery, that the Turks, after having lost abundance of their men, lost likewise their courage. Such as were farthest off the breach began to steal away from the danger ; such as were nearer and more exposed took to their heels ; nay, even their very officers gave back, and, in spite of all the basha could either say or do, he could never bring them on to the storm again, so that he was forced to command a retreat to be sounded, in order to save the honour of his troops.

BUT the attack of the bulwark of Castile lasted longer, and was carried on with more vigour, and attended with greater danger : it was ushered in with a furious fire from the Turkish batteries, which played upon the breach in order to drive the Christians from thence, at the same time that a body of Janizaries, assisted by a crowd of pioneers, were raising a kind of platform close by the wall, and higher than the parapet : they here posted a party of musketeers, who made such a  
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continual fire upon the besieged, that no body could appear either on the breach, or along the parapet, but was immediately killed. The grand master, who was ever in the hottest part of the fire, and of the danger, ran to the place; his presence inspired the besieged with fresh courage; nor was that of the besiegers any way damped; and though the whole time was spent in firing at one another, the combat was nevertheless bloody. It lasted till night, and in spite of all the fire the grand master could possibly make from all his batteries, he yet was not able to silence that of the enemy, who flattered themselves, as their cavalier commanded the breach, that they should make themselves masters of it the next day.

THINGS being in this deplorable condition, the council of the order met to consider what measures were proper to be taken: the town was undermined on all sides, the fortifications ruined, the enemy in possession of the out-works, and the breach in a manner blocked up by the cavalier, which was so close to the wall that the infidels could leap from it into the place. Most of the great crosses advised the grand master to abandon it; to blow up what fortifications were left, and to retire in time with their ammunition and provisions into the castle of St. Angelo, which had as yet received no damage. They represented to him the danger they were in of the fortrels's being carried the next time a storm should be attempted, in case they should obstinately resolve to make a longer, and at the same time, useless resistance; that in the hurry and confusion of a forced retreat, they would not probably have time to get to that fortress, the last that was left them; that the old men, and the women, would be in danger of falling a prey to the fury and brutality of the barbarians; whereas, on the contrary, if a strong guard was but put upon the breach, they would have leisure enough, whilst the soldiers and inhabitants should be retiring, to carry their ammunition and provisions into the castle, and to take such precautions as should be necessary for its security and defence.

THE grand master rejected this advice with as much horror and indignation, as if they had proposed the delivering up of the whole island to the infidels; upon which he shewed the council, that the great town, and the isle de la Sangle, which still held out, lay so near together, and that there was such a reciprocal and necessary communication between them, that there was no defending or abandoning the one without the other, so that the giving up the bulwark of Castile to the enemy would be to give up fort St. Michael at the same time; besides, that the castle of St. Angelo could never hold the soldiers, the inhabitants, and the great number of people who were to be taken out of those two places; that the cistern of the castle could not supply water enough for their drink, and that the bare want of a thing so absolutely necessary for the support of life would reduce them in a few days to the fatal necessity of either dying of thirst, or surrendering the place to the Turks. The lords of the council replied, that if there was a necessity of their holding out the town and the castle of St. Michael to the last extremity, they yet begged him to withdraw into the castle of St. Angelo, and carry thither the relics and ornaments of the churches, with the most important writings and papers of the treasury; and that they should be in no pain for themselves, provided his person were but in safety, after which they should face all the perils of a new storm with pleasure. The grand master, who was not to be shaken in what he once had resolved upon, and who foresaw that the carrying of the effects of the order into the castle of St. Angelo would give the soldiers room to imagine, that they were not thought safe enough in the town, rejected this second advice also. and, addressing himself to the whole assembly, " 'Tis here, my dear brethren, said " he to them, that we must either die together, or " drive out our merciless enemies." And to shew the commanders who were about him, how far he was from retiring into the castle of St. Angelo, or making any provision for his own safety, he only left just a  
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few soldiers in it sufficient to manage the artillery, and drew out all the rest, employing them with the garrison during the whole night long, in making cuts and intrenchments within the place. He himself superintended over these several works, with so much art and capacity, that though the Turks should the next day have carried the first intrenchment, they would still have found another behind it, and that too raised so high as to command them entirely; so that by disputing every inch of ground with them in this manner, he saw himself in a condition to hold out till such time as the viceroy of Sicily might have an opportunity of coming to his assistance.

HOWEVER, as the platform which the Turks had raised against the wall gave him a secret uneasiness, he communicated his thoughts to the commander de Claramont, of the language of Arragon, whose capacity he well knew, and, by his advice, caused a hole to be opened in the wall the night following, with as little noise as possible. The commander, attended by Francis Guevara du Pereira, and four other Spanish knights, sallied out at the gap, stole softly along the foot of the wall, till they got upon the platform, and then setting up a great shout, they attacked the guards that Piali had left there, who fancying the whole garrison was falling upon them, fled away with precipitation. Claramont, instead of destroying this work, thought it advisable to fortify it: the grand master immediately sent him a party of soldiers and pioneers, who soon raised a parapet upon it to cover their musketeers. They likeways planted some pieces of cannon upon it, and the Turks were greatly surprised and confounded to see the knights employ a work against them, which they had raised in order to hasten the destruction of the Christians.

THE ill success they had met with at the attack of the post of Castile did not damp the ardor and eagerness of the basha; perhaps it might have given him an ill-natured pleasure, or, at least, as he flattered himself with the hopes of taking fort St. Michael, he was not sorry



to find that the admiral had not first opened the way to victory, in order to ingross all the honour of it to himself. In the beginning of September, he ordered a new storm to be attempted; the Janizaries, to whom he had promised the plunder of the place, ran like so many furies to the foot of the breach, nor could the shot of the artillery, the stones, the scalding water, or the fire-works which the besieged poured down upon them, prevent their getting to the top of it. They were already in possession of almost all the bastions of the fort; there was nothing left between them and the besieged but a wooden partition, and they were so close together, that their muskets crossed one another. The fight lasted for a long time with equal fury; but at last the insuperable bravery of the knights triumphed over the obstinacy of the Turks. They made them give ground before them, and threw them headlong down from the breach, in spite of all the bastia could do, who now began to despair of reducing the place any other way than by famine, which he still hoped might oblige a body of men to submit to a capitulation, whom he could not vanquish by open force or stratagem.

BUT it was not long before he was informed, that he had more reason to dread a want of provisions than the knights: the commissaries of his stores acquainted him, that a ship, which had been sent to the isle of Gerbes for corn, was taken by the Sicilian gallies; that they had not meal to serve them for above twenty five days; and the officers of his artillery told him that their powder was almost spent. Under such unlucky disappointments, and particularly through the fear he was under, lest the sultan should make his head pay for the ill success of the expedition, he resolved to make a last struggle on the *Notable city*: and though the taking of this place, which was situated in the middle of the country, was of no great consequence for the conquest of the island, he yet fancied, if he could but take it, and carry away all its inhabitants with him into slavery, as the surest testimonies of his victory, the  
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noise of such an advantage, though not a very material one, would pacify the grand signior; who might likewise be well enough pleased, for the sake of his own reputation, and for the glory of his arms, to have the people dazzled with such an appearance.

WITH this view, on the last day of August, he set out from his camp with four thousand men of his best troops, composed of Janizaries and Spahi. The place had been represented to him as poorly fortified, so that he was in hopes of taking it by *scalado*. But the strength of places does not consist so much in the bulwarks and bastions with which they are surrounded, as in the valour of the troops, and the capacity of the governor who defends them. Mesquita, the brave Portuguese knight, of whom mention has been already made, though he had but a weak garrison, put on an air of boldness and resolution upon the first approaches of the enemy. He ordered the courtine to be lined with cannons, muskets, pikes, standards, and colours; and, in order to make the Turks believe that his garrison was very numerous, he made the people of the city, and the inhabitants of the country, who had retired thither for refuge, to mount upon the walls with his soldiers: even the women themselves, dressed in mens cloaths, mixed among the rest, and appeared in arms upon the bulwarks and bastions.

THE artillery now began to thunder on all sides, and make a continual fire. The engineers, whom the basha had sent to reconnoitre the town, and the places where they might fix their ladders, were terrified at the sight of these warlike preparations. Their fright made them perhaps fancy them to be greater and more formidable than they were in reality: accordingly they reported to the general, that there was no attempting to carry a fort by *scalado*, that was defended by such a numerous garrison, without exposing the best troops he had left to be knocked on the head before his eyes; and that such places were not to be taken but by a regular siege, and by attacking them in form. The basha, who had neither forces nor time enough for such

an enterprize, and being, moreover, afraid of being surpris'd by the succours which were daily expected from Sicily, returned to his camp in the utmost uneasiness, without knowing what measures to take, or on what side to turn his arms. His projects and stratagems were now quite exhausted : in this uncertainty he assembled all the engineers of his army, and pressed them to invent some machine that might be of service in a new assault, and bring this tedious and difficult enterprize to an end. The engineers replied, that they had already exhausted all the secrets of their art, and that the rest depended on the courage and bravery of his troops. However they, in order to satisfy him, framed a wooden tower, which was pushed along upon rollers up to the breach of fort St. Michael. This tower, like the old machines made use of in sieges before the invention of cannons, had several storeys. The highest, which over-looked the place, was filled with musketeers, who poured in their shot upon all that durst shew their heads ; and to secure this last storey from being annoyed by the batteries of the castle, the infidels had no sooner fired a volley ; but they, by means of certain wheels within the machine, and probably by the weight of the counterpoise, and the help of pullies, let down the top of the tower, which was then sheltered by the wall of the place, and rested against it. The Turks, by the help of this machine, killed abundance of men at first ; but a Maltese carpenter, Andrew Cassar by name, a man who was very skilful in his business, after having examined the structure of the tower, caused a loop-hole to be made in the wall, directly opposite to this wooden castle, where he placed a culverin loaded with chain-shot ; and the moment the Turks were hoisting up their machine, he fired his cannon upon it, which took it in the middle, and shattered it to pieces ; so that the soldiers, who were in the highest storey, either broke their necks with the fall, or were bruised to death under its ruins.

THE basha, vexed to the soul to see all his enterprizes miscarry, and uneasy at that which was forming  
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against him at Messina, resolved to fall to mining again. Accordingly he set his pioneers to work again, and had recourse to this last resource ; not so much in hopes of success, as to keep his troops from imagining that he himself desponded, from his suffering them to continue in inactivity. But the knights, by opening pits and countermines in all suspected places, defeated the measures of the infidels. They likewise, on their side, ran other mines under the posts which the Turks had seized, and blew up a great number of them. The Christians now stood no longer on the defensive, but made several sallies, in which all the advantage was on their side ; so that they began to fancy they could force the Turks to raise the siege, without the assistance of the viceroy. The affected delays of that Spanish nobleman, had, for some time, made the grand master despair of receiving any succours from him ; and though his fleet was in a readiness, and both the officers and soldiers, intended for the service, expressed an extraordinary eagerness to signalize themselves against the infidels, nevertheless, the viceroy could not prevail with himself to set sail ; and his irresolution made it be very much doubted whether he would really embark, or wait for the news of some disaster which he might make use of as a handle to excuse himself from setting out at all.

THE noise however of these preparations had brought above two hundred knights, commanders and great crosses of different languages, to Messina, whose only view of coming thither was in hopes of meeting with ships to transport them to Malta. The viceroy's dilatoriness put them out of all patience ; the greatest part of them never left his palace, so that they besieged him as it were. There were even some of them, who, being bolder than the rest, and finding intreaties could not avail, had recourse to reproaches. The viceroy, who was naturally proud and haughty, complained about it, and was moreover offended, that the knights, when they spoke to him, did not give him the stile of Excellency. Lewis de Lastic, grand prior of Auvergne,

said to him bluntly on this occasion, " Provided, Sir, we do but arrive time enough at Malta to succour the order, I will give you, with all my soul, the title of excellency, of highness, or, if you, please, of majesty." The viceroy only smiled at what he said; and hearing that that old knight was descended of a noble family, and had acquired great honour in France in the wars against the Protestants, he drew him aside, and told him in private, that he, in consideration of his quality and merit, would explain himself to him, and discover the most secret recesses of his heart. He told him, that whatever pomp and outside might be annexed to his dignity, yet his authority was not answerable to it; that it was not always in his power to follow the impulse of his courage; and that he was the dependant of a prince, who, in order not to expose his own reputation, or bring himself into any difficulties, often left his ministers to guess at his intentions; that ever since he had fancied, from some hints, that he would not be displeas'd that Malta should be succour'd, his first design was to go with all his master's naval force to fight the Turkish admiral; but not having a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose, he had resolv'd, in concert with the grand master, to throw a body of ten thousand men at least into the island; that he would lead this succour in person; that the chevalier Vincent Anastagi, an excellent engineer, had furnish'd him with an exact plan of the island, and all the places proper for landing his troops; that the grand master had likewise sent him all the signals and counter-signals which they were to make from the fortresses of the island, and the castle of Goza; and that he hop'd to set out from Messina on the twenty-first of August at farthest. He kept his word, and arriv'd on the twenty-second at Syracuse, which was the general rendezvous of the whole army; when making a general review, it was found to consist of near eight thousand men, most of them old soldiers, and veteran bodies, that had serv'd in all the wars of Italy.



ALVAREZ de Sande commanded the regiment of Naples ; Sancho de Londono that of Milan ; Vincent Vitelli was at the head of a great body of volunteers of Italy and other nations ; and Alcanio della Corna was appointed major-general during their voyage. The viceroy kept the supreme command in his own hands, till such time as the troops should be landed : but after his departure the council of war, till they should have joined the grand master, was to determine of all enterprizes by a plurality of voices, and the orders were to be given in the name of his catholic majesty.

ON the first of September all the fleet hoisted sail, and set out under the discharge of all the artillery, and with the shouts of the whole army. The rendezvous was at the little isle of Linosa ; they met with bad weather, which dispersed their ships, and drove them out of their course, but when the storm was over, the viceroy, in order to give them time to come up with him, as well as to refresh the soldiers, after the fatigue of the sea, put into Favignana, a little island near Trapini in Sicily. On the fourth, the fleet put to sea again, and arrived at the little island of Linosa, where the viceroy met with letters from the grand master, by which he acquainted him, that he might safely make a descent about Mugiario, and the road of Melecca, where there was good anchoring. But the viceroy's motions gave them fresh reason to suspect that he did not intend to make any use of this advice ; for he, instead of entering the channel of Goza, sailed along the south coast of the isle of Malta, and suffered himself to be discovered by the Turkish frigates that came out of Marza Siroc. One would have thought, that he did not so much want to land, as to find some opposition that might oblige him to tack about, and return into the ports of Sicily. The usual accidents that happen at sea furnished him with one to his mind ; for there rose in the night a strong gale of wind mixed with rain, which blew with so much violence, that the van-guard, commanded by Cardona, was separated from the rest of the fleet. The weather proving calm in the morning, the viceroy dis-

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patched some light frigates to learn whither the wind had driven him ; but they, not meeting with any account of him, he tacked about a second time, and stood away for Sicily, doubled cape Passaro, and put in at Passal, where Cardona, who had been in quest of him to no purpose at Goza, came up and joined him ; but he had first landed his troops. Every body then began to doubt of the succour, and they said publicly, that if it were possible to save Malta, nothing but the invincible valour of the knights could effect it. Such of them as were on board the fleet openly expressed their detestation of the viceroy's timorous prudence, and the excessive precaution he used ; and to make the misfortune still greater, above one thousand five hundred soldiers deserted, so that the army was in a few days reduced to less than six thousand men. The viceroy, startled at so considerable a desertion, relapsed into his usual irresolution : upon which he called a council of war, where he again proposed to them whether or no it might be proper to attempt the relief of Malta. Whilst they were debating this question, a great noise of confused voices and cries was heard at the council-door, demanding that they should set sail immediately. The general officers, who, out of complaisance to the viceroy, had given their opinion in a doubtful and ambiguous manner, were well enough pleased to see the soldiers, who had no measures to keep, come and explain their real sentiments in a bolder manner. The viceroy, by the air of their countenance, and the silence they kept in the midst of a tumult, which their own soldiers had raised, easily penetrated into their real intentions. He stood out no longer. So that he might no longer resist the real sentiments and wishes of the council and the whole army, they reembarked on the sixth, and arrived the same day in the afternoon within sight of Malta. All the fleet shouted for joy when they entered the streight or channel of Goza : but the viceroy, not willing to run the hazard of landing in the night, they, by his orders, came to an anchor, and ranged themselves near the little isles of Comino and Cominote.

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The next day in the morning, being the seventh, the fleet put into the road of Melecca, and landed all the troops, arms, ammunition and provisions designed for the reinforcement. The viceroy went ashore to review them: and, as soon as he had seen them on their march towards the Notable city, he reembarked according to his master's orders, and returned to Sicily. But he, before his departure, at his taking leave of the general officers, promised to bring them, by the thirteenth or fourteenth of the month, a reinforcement of four thousand men more which he expected from Italy, and which, as he told them, were by that time landed at Messina. There arrived likewise, at the same time, several young French noblemen and gentlemen, who flocked thither, out of an eager desire to signalize their courage against the infidels. Among these, says M. de Thou, they reckoned Philip, son to Peter Strozzi, a marshal of France; Timoleon of Costè Brissac, son to another marshal of France: Roger de Saint Larry of Bellegarde; Peter de Bourdeilles of Brantôme; Hardouin de Villiers, Lord la Riviere; and a few days before them, René le Voyer, viscount Paulmi, and bailiff of Touraine, had landed in that island, in order to go to the succour of an order, which, for three hundred years past, had reckoned several of his ancestors in the number of its most illustrious knights. All these young noblemen were eager to embark with the new reinforcement which was expected from Italy.

MUSTAPHA and Piali, on the report of their spies, had always imagined, that the viceroy's view in assembling together all the ships and galleys that were in the ports of Sicily, was only to try the fate of a sea engagement, in order to open himself a way for the landing of his succours in the great port at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. But the basha, to defeat his design, had a few days before, barred up the entrance of it with a chain of sail-yards, piles and boats: and ever since the Christian fleet had first appeared off Linosa, the Turkish admiral, with all his naval force, had lain continually at anchor

chor before the great port, in order to hinder the Christians from entering it.

THE landing of the succours in a quite contrary part of the island threw both the generals into a terrible consternation: they were every moment afraid of being attacked by the principal forces of Christendom; so that without informing themselves, according to the rules of war, of the number of men that were in the reinforcement, they raised the siege in a hurry, drew their garrison out of fort St. Elmo, left their heavy cannon behind, and embarked with a precipitation which differed very little from a downright flight. The basha, was no sooner abroad, but he grew ashamed of having suffered himself to be surpris'd by so sudden a terror. A slave, who had made his escape out of the great town, added greatly to his confusion, by telling him, that the reinforcement which had made sixteen thousand men take to their heels, did not consist of above six thousand, and those too harrassed by the voyage, having no general at their head, and commanded only by officers who were independent from one another, and not well united among themselves; and that it was believed, that were they to see the Turks in their first posts, they would not dare to quit the rocks and passes in which they had intrenched themselves. But the advice came too late, and the infidels, unless they had been minded to begin the siege a-new, could not depend upon their lines and intrenchments.

THE grand master no sooner saw them gone off, and busy in reimbarcing, but he ordered their trenches to be filled up, and their works to be ruined. All the inhabitants, men, women and children, and even the knights, worked at it day and night with that joy and alacrity, which prisoners feel when they are allowed to knock off their fetters. The grand master at the same time sent a garrison into fort St. Elmo, and the Turks saw from on board their fleet the standard of St. John again set up, to their infinite grief and confusion.

THE basha, who was afraid his head would answer for this ill success, and that the sultan would reproach him with not having dared to look his enemies in the face, summoned a council of war, and a long debate ensued about the measures proper to be taken. The viceroy of Algiers was of opinion, that they should land the troops again, and advance to attack the enemy. He represented to the basha, that in case they were no more than six thousand men, he might fight them with double that number; that if he should get the better, which he might justly expect, his victory would prevent the second reinforcement that the viceroy of Sicily was to bring, from entering the island; and that the knights, who were quite spent, as well as reduced to a small number, and in great want of soldiers, would be forced to capitulate. Piali, who was jealous of Mustapha's credit, and was not sorry that he had miscarried in his enterprise, was of a different opinion, and said, that after they had lost the flower of the Ottoman army, it would be dangerous to expose what was left of their troops, and they dispirited and harassed by a long siege, to an engagement of a fresh body of men, who were impatient of fighting. But the opinion of the viceroy of Algiers, in favour of which the basha had declared, carried it by two votes; so that the landing was resolved on; and the basha, enraged at himself for having raised the siege in such a hurry, and terribly afraid of the reception he should meet with at the porte, in case he returned unsuccessful, resolved either to conquer, or die at the head of his troops, rather than to be put to death by the infamous hands of an executioner; upon which he immediately went ashore himself; but he could hardly prevail with his soldiers to leave the ships. They all made heavy complaints at their being forced, after so tedious and bloody a siege, to return back again to the slaughter. They were obliged to be torn in a manner from on board, and their officers could not get them to go ashore without using violence. The basha marched with the best part of them towards the Notable city, where he  
flattered



flattered himself he should meet the Christians. And, in order to secure his retreat on board his ships in case of ill success, he left the viceroy of Algiers, at the head of fifteen hundred men by the sea-side. Piali, who, ever since the knights had taken possession of for St. Elmo, could not continue any longer in port Muzet, in concert with these two generals, put in with his fleet into the road of St. Paul.

THE *basna*, after having thus settled matters, advanced in search of the reinforcement. *Ascanio della Corna*, who acted as major-general, had intrenched it on an hill, which was very difficult of access, by reason of the defiles or narrow passages that surrounded it.

THE grand master, ever attentive in observing all the motions of the infidels, sent advice to the Christian generals, that the Turks were advancing forward in order to fall upon them with all their forces; upon which they immediately called a council of war. *Ascanio* was of opinion, that they should wait the coming up of the enemy in their camp, representing, that it would be impossible for the Turks to attack a place in front which was so strong by its situation, without exposing themselves to all the fire of their artillery; that they were covered by the city on that side, and on the other, by a monastery that was fortified by nature, in which they had thrown a body of troops, and that the infidels must pass under all their fire before they could fall upon his camp; that as the enemy had brought no provisions nor equipages along with them, they could not possibly stay long in the plain, as they would be so much exposed to the excessive heat of the sun, and that after a few light skirmishes, they, without running any hazard, would force them to retire and embark on board their ships again.

BUT *Alvarez de Sande*, the most considerable officer in all the army, was of a contrary opinion, and, in all probability, had a mind, by giving a bold advice, and suitable to his courage, to wipe out the remembrance of that which he had given out of complaisance for the  
viceroy,

viceroy in the council held at Messina, where he had opposed the sending of any succour to Malta; and therefore now declared, that his opinion was, they should draw the whole army out of the camp, and march down the hill to meet the enemy. “ We are not advanced so forward, (replied he to Ascanio) to run no hazard, and remain idle spectators of a new storm, which the infidels, if they see they cannot force our intrenchments, will probably attempt upon the great town or the castle of St. Michael. We cannot tell how manfully the Turks may behave when urged by despair: and what a shame will it be for us to stand looking on, whilst they are carrying those places, which after all have no walls, nor any fortifications left, but the bodies only of the knights who defend them ?

OF these two opinions proposed in the council of the Christians, the one was safe, and the other more daring, but at the same time more glorious for him who gave it. Most of the officers were for the latter; and the knights, who came in the Sicilian fleet, were particularly eager for their coming to an engagement. There were at least two hundred knights and commanders; and there was hardly one of the latter but what had brought with him several volunteers who were either his friends or relations and a pretty good number of soldiers; these, united, formed one of the strongest battalions of the army; and they declared, that in case the troops did not quit their intrenchments, they were resolved, though they were all to perish to the last man, to break through the enemy's army, and throw themselves into the places besieged.

BUT they were not obliged to come to such a sad extremity; for de Sande carried it by a plurality of voices: upon which, he marched down into the plain, at the head of the battalion of the order, followed by all the troops, and by Ascanio himself; who, after having protested against the ill consequences that might happen from an enterprize which he termed rash, was nevertheless resolved to share in the danger: with a pike

in his hand he mixed among the knights, fought in the first ranks, and manifested by his bravery, that those who are sometimes accused of too much circumspection in council, are not upon that account less valiant in action. The Christians fought with great courage and resolution. De Sande, at the head of the knights, made a furious charge upon the infidels, whilst Vitelli attacked them in the flank. The Turkish soldiers, who had been dragged against their wills to the engagement, either out of resentment against their general, or because they were quite spent with the heat, were so far from making any gallant efforts to obtain the victory, that they hardly so much as fought. The greatest part of them fired only one volley, and, finding themselves briskly attacked by the Christians, they broke, and shamefully took to their heels. The basha, seeing himself deserted by his men, was reduced, in spite of his courage, to the sad necessity of following the cowards, for fear of falling into the hands of the Christians. It is said, that he was so confused and perplexed at the defeat of his troops, that as he was making off, he fell twice from his horse, and would have certainly been taken, had not some officers ventured their lives or liberties to save him, by halting to give him time to remount on horseback.

THE Christians pursued the infidels briskly; their eagerness to pursue the enemy, made them insensible to the burning heat of the sun. The greatest part of the knights, who were heavy armed, threw off their cuirasses, in order to pursue the Turks the closer; and though most of the infidels they came up with were unable to make the least resistance, but lay extended on the ground, half dead with thirst and weariness, they nevertheless put them all to the sword. It was with infinite difficulty, and a considerable loss, that the Turks made a shift to get to the sea-side. Hitherto the Christians had found it more difficult to come up with their enemies than to fight them; but as the lightest and nimblest of them, flushed with their victory, and eager to pursue the run-aways, had broke their ranks, and

run

run up and down without any order, the viceroy of Algiers, who lay concealed behind the point of a rock, sallied out of his ambush with his troops; and, seeing they were but few in number, fell upon them, killed several of them, and took the chevaliers Marc de Toledo, Peter de Yala, Ribatajada, and an English knight, whose name is not mentioned, prisoners. But happily Alvarez de Sande came up before the combat was ended, with some battalions, who charged the Algerines desperately; and the rest of the Christian troops coming up one after another, they carried all before them, cut to pieces all such as offered to resist, rescued the prisoners, and the Turks, whom fear had already vanquished, left off fighting, and fled to their ships, which gave occasion to a new kind of fighting.

ADMIRAL Piali, in order to favour the retreat of the Turks, did not only make use of the artillery of his galleys, but had lined the shore with shallops manned with his best musketeers, who made a continual fire upon the Christians. But the knights and soldiers, in their eagerness to pursue their enemies, and vexation to see any of them escape, followed them into the sea, in contempt of the fire and other dangers with which they were threatened; and some of them running up almost breast high into the water, killed the Turks with the shot from their small arms, just as they were getting into their galleys. Historians tell us, that the Turks lost in these several combats, and during the course of the siege, at least thirty thousand men. The admiral, after having taken on board the poor remains of this once formidable army, set sail, and stood away for Sicily. The viceroy, seeing from the castle of <sup>a</sup> Syragossa the Turkish fleet pass by, was informed without an express of the happy success of his reinforcement, and the raising of the siege.

THE grand seignior was prodigiously troubled when he received the news: he threw the letter he received

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from

<sup>a</sup> It is the old Syracuse, now called in the language of the country, Saragossa.

from Mustapha on that subject upon the ground, and stamping upon it, cried out, that his enterprizes never succeeded but when he himself went in person, and that he would absolutely go the next spring to Malta, when he would put all the knights and inhabitants to the sword. However, that he might not lessen the reputation of his arms, and in order to amuse the people, who are ever fond of being deceived, he, instead of following the barbarous policy of his predecessors, who used to punish the ill success of their generals as a crime, ordered it to be given out at Constantinople, that the basha had reduced the island, and brought away the greatest part of the knights and people as captives; but that as he had not thought proper to leave any of his troops in garrison upon a rock, and in a little desert island at such a distance, he had blown up all the forts, and destroyed the houses; and that in case any Christian corsair should be rash enough to return thither again, they would always be a prey to his fleets, and lie exposed to the mercy of every potentate who should have fleets out at sea.

HOWEVER exaggerated these reports might be, 'tis certain, that, after the siege was raised, the city, or what they called the great town of Malta, had less the air of a place which had been well defended, than of a city taken by storm; and which had been demolished, plundered, destroyed, and abandoned by the enemy. More than two hundred and sixty knights had been killed in the several assaults: and 'tis computed, that eight thousand men, either soldiers or inhabitants, perished in the siege: and when the Turks went off, there was scarce in the great town and the castle of St. Michael, including the knights, six hundred men able to bear arms, most of whom were covered with wounds.

THIS great loss was ascribed not only to the valour of the Turks, but also to the affected delays of the viceroy: his very name was had in detestation by all the knights, of the several nations of Christendom: the grand master likewise complained of him afterwards to the pope.



pope. His holiness wrote to the like effect to the king of Spain ; and though the viceroy in all this conduct, had only followed the private orders he had received from him, nevertheless, Philip, in order to prevent any room for suspicion, condemned these delays publicly, and sometime afterwards, removed the viceroy from Sicily : and, notwithstanding his having received great services from him, he nevertheless let him linger out the remainder of his days at Naples in obscurity, without giving him the least share in the government.

WHILST the auxiliary soldiers, who had relieved the place, were retired near the Notable-city, in order to refresh themselves after the flight of the Turks, the principal officers and all the knights, who came with the reinforcement, went to the great town to pay their compliments to the grand master. They were welcomed by him, by the knights of the place, and by all the inhabitants, as their deliverers. The knights embraced one another with great affection and tenderness; but when they came to call to mind the loss they had lately sustained, by the death of the most illustrious and bravest knights of the order, and considered the deplorable condition of the places which had been besieged, the walls and fortifications in ruins ; the artillery for the most part dismounted ; the houses either demolished or ready to fall ; the magazines without powder, ammunition or provisions ; the inhabitants pale and ghastly ; the knights and the grand master himself, with their beards and hair rough and neglected, and their cloaths dirty and in a slovenly condition, like men that had scarce been in bed for four months together, and several of those brave knights still wearing the honourable bandages which covered their wounds ; this moving spectacle drew tears from their eyes, so much were they affected, either with the remembrance of past disasters, or with joy that Malta had been saved at last ; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great events that had happened there ; as the great town had been the principal scene of them, they gave it the name-

of the Victorious City, which it still retains to this day.

'TWAS there the grand master entertained the generals of the auxiliary troops, lodging them in those places which had been least damaged by the Turkish artillery: they were treated in an honourable manner, and with as much plenty as could be expected in a place that had but just sustained a siege for four months together. The grand master's obliging behaviour, and the example of his frugality, made amends for what was wanting in the delicacy of their cheer; and when they came to take leave of him, he made them very handsome presents, and distributed considerable sums of money among their soldiers. The treasury of the order was now quite drained, and la Valette reserved nothing as it were, but the hopes of filling it again afterwards with the plunder of the infidels; it was indeed a pretty sure fund, and had never failed them for several ages together.

THE news of the defeat of the Turks was soon spread over all Christendom; it occasioned an universal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations, bonfires, and public thanksgivings. The name of la Valette was renowned in all nations, especially in Italy and Spain, whose inhabitants were obliged to the knights for the guard and protection of their maritime provinces. Pope Pius IV. and Philip king of Spain, who were the most interested in the preservation of a place which was of such service to them, gave to its intrepid defender the most honourable testimonies of their esteem and gratitude.

THE governor of Rome, by his holiness's order, notified the raising of the siege of Malta to the Romans by the discharge of all his artillery, by bonfires and illuminations, which were made all over the city. The day was kept as a public festival; the magistrates did no business; the tradesmen shut up their shops; in short, there was no place open but the churches; into which the people flocked in crowds, in order to return God thanks for the happy success. All the inhabitants of Spain and Italy, whose fortunes lay on the sea-coast, thought

thought themselves, after raising of the siege, secure from the descents and incursions of the corsairs.

BUT Pius IV. that his acknowledgments might not consist meerly in empty praise, sent the grand master word of his being resolved to make him immediately a cardinal. But at the return of the express, they were surpris'd to hear that he had excus'd himself from accepting a dignity, which had ever been considered as the testimony and reward of merit, sometimes indeed the price of favour, but always the object of the ambition of the greatest prelates, and sought for as an honour by the sons of kings. The reason which la Valette gave for his declining it was, that he was afraid of confounding the dignity of grand master and cardinal together; two great offices, which, he said, required different functions, and which, instead of supporting, would, on the contrary, be ever interfering with one another. There were some, who, calling to mind that the grand master d'Aubuffon had made no such scruple, took occasion, from la Valette's refusing it, to commend him very much upon that account, and to ascribe it to his great modesty: others suspected that there was as much policy as modesty in his refusal, and that the grand master, justly looking upon himself as a sovereign prince, fancied he should lessen his dignity, was he to accept of one that was subordinate. But whatever were his motives, he desired his holiness to bestow that honour upon one of his brothers, who was bishop of Vabres; but the pope's death happening soon after, hindred the French prelate from reaping any benefit from the grand master's recommendation.

IN the first transports of joy, which the brave defence made by la Valette, and the raising of the siege, occasioned over all Europe, and especially in Italy, nothing could hardly have been refused to a man whom they looked upon as the hero of Christendom. He received compliments from all quarters upon his success. The king of Spain, who, as Malta secured his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, was particularly concerned in its preservation, sent him the commander Maldonat,

to present him in full council with a sword and dagger, the hilt of which was of massy gold, set with diamonds: and in a kind of harangue which he made on this occasion, he said, that the king his master, considering him as one of the greatest captains of the age, desired him to employ those arms for the defence of Christendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grand master received at the same time compliments of the like nature from most of the princes of Europe, yet these honourable deputations could not secure the fears he justly entertained of what might afterwards happen. The siege indeed was raised, and the enemy was retired, but then they were making new preparations in the port of Constantinople. All the news that came from the east brought repeated assurances that the grand signior, being enraged at the ill success of his arms under Mustapha's conduct, had declared that he himself would go in person the next spring, at the head of a formidable army, in order to fall upon Malta. And in what a condition had his troops, though they had not taken the places they had besieged, left the whole island? The country was destitute of inhabitants, the villages and hamlets were most of them burnt; the great town, where the convent resided, and the forts of St. Elmo and St. Michael were left without walls; their fortifications ruined; the artillery either dismounted or burst; the houses demolished, the cisterns without water, the magazines empty, no provisions for their support, nor money to buy any; few soldiers, and still fewer knights left in the forts. Malta, in this deplorable condition, appeared to him as much in danger as it had been during the siege.

THESE dismal reflections would not suffer him to take any rest; when communicating his sentiments to some old commanders, who sympathised with him in his uneasiness, they thought it adviseable for them to abandon an island which they could never be able to defend, and transport the convent to Sicily. But la Vallette, excited by the ~~glory~~ glory he had acquired in Malta, resolv-

resolved to bury himself under its ruins rather than leave it; when, at last, the extremity to which he was reduced put him upon expedients which nothing but despair could justify, and which a great many generals would have scrupled to make use of.

THE grand signior could not come to Malta, without a strong fleet suitable to his dignity, and sufficient to transport the troops he intended to employ in that expedition. They were continually at work for that purpose in the arsenal of Constantinople, and a good number of galleys and galliots were already on the stocks. The grand master, knowing this armament was designed against him, found means to get the arsenal set on fire; the force of the powder blew up the magazines; most of the galleys, which were not yet finished, were consumed; and a great number of workmen perished in the flames. The author of this enterprise was not known for a long time; however, it answered his end, and the war of Malta was put off to another time. Solyman, not finding himself in a condition to fit out a fleet suitable to the enterprise, and superior to that of the Christians, turned his arms against Hungary, and ended his days at the siege of Sigeth. Selimus the second, his son, afterwards declared war against the Venetians; and a certain historian says, it was only by way of reprisals for the burning of the arsenal of Constantinople, that he got the arsenal of Venice set on fire a little before his invasion of Cyprus.

THE grand master, seeing that he had nothing to fear from Solyman, at least for the ensuing campaign, resolved to employ the time allowed him, in repairing the several fortifications the Turks had ruined; and, for the better security of both the ports, proposed the building a new fortress in the Peninsula which separates them from one another. We have just now observed, that of all the several places which had been fortified before the siege, there was none of them better situated than fort St. Elmo, especially if it had been built more regularly. It was in a manner the key of  
both



both ports. The grand master, without neglecting to take care of the other ports, formed a design of enlarging this, and of adding new works to it, and resolved likewise to build a town upon the same neck of land, to strengthen it with all the fortifications that art could possibly invent, and to make it the residence of the knights. His opinion was, that they would be much safer there than in the great town, which was commanded on all sides by the rocks and hills with which it was surrounded.

FOR the execution of this project, great supplies were necessary, which could only be expected from the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The grand master sent ambassadors to the pope, to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and to several Italian potentates, to represent to them, that the late saving of Malta, by the gallant defence that was made, would be of little use, if care was not taken for its future security by immediately repairing the fortifications of those places which had been ruined by the artillery of the Turks. These ministers had likewise orders to acquaint them with la Valette's design of building a new city; to shew them the plan he had drawn of it; and to desire from them, at the same time, the supplies necessary for setting about such a considerable work. All these princes gave fresh applause to the grand master's zeal; and in order to assist him in the undertaking, the pope promised him 15,000 crowns; the king of France 140,000 livres, which were to be raised out of the tithes of his kingdom; Philip II. 90,000 livres; and the king of Portugal 30,000 crusadoes: besides which, most of the commanders of the order made very generous contributions out of their own private fortunes, and sold even their richest furniture and effects; the money arising from which they remitted to Malta.

THE grand master, encouraged by these supplies, sent for engineers and workmen from several parts of Italy. When the lines for the new city and fortifications were marked out, la Valette went in his robes,  
attended

attended by the council, and all the knights, in great ceremony, to mount Sceberras, where he laid the first stone of the new city, upon which the order of council was engraved in Latin, almost in these words :  
 “ The most illustrious and most reverend lord, brother John de la Valette, grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, both hospitaller and military, considering all the perils to which his knights and people of Malta were exposed at the last siege by the infidels ; and having, with the approbation of the council of the order, and for the better opposing any new enterprises from those barbarians, resolved to build a town upon mount Sceberras ; the said grand master has this day, being Thursday the twenty-eighth of the month of March, of the present year 1566, (after having called upon the holy name of God, and besought the intercession of the holy virgin his mother, and of St. John Baptist, titular patron of the order, to obtain the blessing of heaven upon this important work) laid the first stone of it, with his arms, which are a lion d or in a field gules engraved upon it ; and the new town, by his order, has been named the city of la Valette.”

To perpetuate to the most distant posterity the memory of so remarkable an event, they threw on the foundation a great quantity of gold and silver medals, on which the new city was represented, with this inscription, MELITA RENASCENS, Malta springing up again, and in the exerge, they put the day and year of its foundation.

As soon as the ceremony was over, the work began again, and was carried on with the utmost application ; every one in his way, and without any distinction of the richest citizen from the poorest inhabitant, employed himself with that pleasure and eagerness, with which a work is followed when the common safety depends wholly upon it. The commander de la Fontaine, a person much esteemed for his skill in fortification, had the principal direction, and a kind of superintendency over all the works. Every knight contributed to it  
 accord-

according as he was qualified. Some went with the galleys of the order, to fetch materials from different ports of Sicily and Italy; others went no farther than Messina and Syracuse, whilst others again passed as far as Lyons to have the artillery new cast. Several worked at the head of a great number of pioneers in filling up the trenches, or clearing the breaches of the rubbish of the wall which the cannon had beat down; and others took care to get stones carried for repairing the old fortifications, or building new ones.

IN this military republic, every one was in action, every one at work; the grand master in particular, for near two years together, never left the workmen he employed in the new city: he spent whole days among them, and eat his meals in the midst of the carpenters and masons, as if he had been one of their number; and so intent was he upon forwarding the work, that that he frequently gave his audiences and orders there.

IN this multitude and variety of business, which he had upon his hands, nothing gave him greater uneasiness than the want of money for paying the workmen; the receivers of the order, in the provinces beyond sea, not being always so regular as they should be in remitting it. The grand master, to supply this defect, coined some brass money, which he made of different value, according to the size of the pieces. On one side there were two hands joined together, and on the other the arms of la Valette, quartered with those of the order, and for the legend these latin words, NON ÆS, SED FIDES: "Do not regard so much the metal, as the inviolable promise given you to take it again." And in fact, as soon as ever they had money, they did not fail to call in these pieces; and by this exactness, their credit was so well established among the people, that the work was not once discontinued, or even slackned.

IN the midst of these cares, so worthy of a prince and an illustrious warrior, there arose some troubles which disturbed the tranquillity of the government: for some young Spanish knights, fancying any liberties might be  
allowed

allowed in the midst of the rejoicings, which the defeat of the Turks occasioned, consumed their time in feasting and drinking, which they often intermixed with satyrical songs; and wherein, under a pretence of being witty, and of throwing out their jests, they attacked the reputation of the bravest knights, and the honour of the principal ladies of Malta. These songs were soon made public, and complaint was made about them to the grand master, who, as he was a strict observer of exact discipline, conceived a very just indignation at the hearing of these irregularities, and accordingly directed the council, and principal officers of the order, to examine into them. The authors of these defamatory libels were discovered, and a prosecution was carried on against them. Whilst they were going on with it in full council, these young libertines, forgetting the respect they owed to the grand master, who presided there in person, broke into the chamber, snatched the pen out of the vice-chancellor's hand, with which he was writing the sentence pronounced against the criminals, and threw his inkhorn out of the window. This being done, the mutineers flung out of the room, and, by the help of their secret accomplices and friends, got to the sea side, where they went on board some light feluccas, and made their escape to Sicily. The grand master, incensed at such an unprecedented insurrection, degraded them from the order, and condemned them in case of their being taken, to perpetual imprisonment. He dispatched, at the same time, the chevalier Caprona to the viceroy of Sicily to demand them as rebels and deserters. But whatever real or pretended orders the viceroy might have issued out, they either could not or would not find them. These knights however did not stay any time in Sicily; for, as they knew the grand master's firm and inflexible temper, they thought it best to retire into their respective countries. They flattered themselves, that as la Valette was very old, he might have a successor who should be less severe, and perhaps have less credit; that time would at least be of advantage

tage to them, as it would wear off the first impressions, and thereby lessen the greatness of their offence.

AN affair of so vexatious a nature, and which, at the same time, was so dangerous a precedent, was scarce over, when another happened that gave the grand master fresh uneasiness. One Bonaccursi, a Florentine, who was settled at Malta, had there married a young lady of exquisite beauty, and the grand master's god-daughter. She was originally of the isle of Rhodes, descended of those noble Rhodians who came away with l'Isle-Adam, and followed the fortune of the order.

THE Florentine, transported with rage and jealousy, stabbed his wife; and notwithstanding all the endeavours the grand master used to have him seized, his countrymen, whether knights or others, found means, in order to save him from the punishment of the law, to ship him off to Italy; a country, where murders, occasioned by jealousy, are often connived at than punished. The grand master, in the midst of all the glory with which he was surrounded, was full of the highest resentments at the insults with which private men dared to wound his sovereign authority. As he was inviolably attached to the observance of the laws, was a true judge of merit, and a severe avenger of guilt, he neither suffered virtue to pass without a recompence, nor faults without chastisement. These great qualities made him equally dreaded and respected; and it was never known, during his administration, that either credit or favour had any weight with him; or that he was ever liberal or munificent but to those who justly merited it.

THIS laudable steadiness however embroiled him with the pope, and occasioned a new subject of discontent, which did not a little contribute to the shortning of so illustrious a life. Some cardinals, thirsting after the great estates which the order possessed in the several states of Christendom, and particularly in Rome and Italy, had insinuated to several popes, that the disposal of the first dignities of this military order belong-



ed to them, as the first superiors of the whole body. Upon this pretence, the popes had frequently conferred the grand priory of Rome upon cardinals their nephews, and exerted the plenitude of the power of the keys, in granting dispensations to qualify them to possess that military dignity. Upon this principle, the priory of Rome had passed successively through the hands of several persons of the sacred college.

LA VALETTE could not bear to see this misapplication of the estates of the order, without using his utmost endeavours to redress it. He had no views, no passion, but what terminated in the glory and interest of his order, which indeed may be said to be those of Christendom; so that he could not forbear writing about it to his holiness in very pressing terms. The pope, since the raising of the siege of Malta, had sent him several briefs, which were full of pompous declarations of his esteem, and the deep sense he had of his services. The grand master answered him, that all the recompence he desired was, that he would leave to his order the disposal of the grand priory of Rome. Pius V. finding his request as disinterested with respect to himself, as it was just with regard to his knights, assured him, by a particular brief, that he, whenever it should fall vacant, would not disturb the order in the enjoyment of its rights. Nevertheless, cardinal Bernardini Salviati, who was then grand prior of Rome, dying, Pius V. made no scruple to confer that rich dignity upon cardinal Alexandrino his nephew, without so much as subjecting him, as the other cardinal grand priors had been obliged, to pay the usual responsions and quit-rents into the common treasury of the order.

THE grand master was sensibly concerned at this breach of promise, especially in a pope who was still holier, by the purity of his morals, and his eminent piety, than by his dignity, though it be the first of the Christian world. He immediately wrote to him on that subject in very warm terms; and the chevalier de Cambian, his ambassador, delivered his letter, in which he represented to him, that if the cardinals of every na-

tion should seize on the most considerable estates of the order, they would be left without any fund to enable them, pursuant to the intentions of their founders, to defend the Christian ships and coasts, and to carry on the war against the infidels. The holy father was touched with the force of these reasons, and seemed disposed to restore the priory to the order: but as the terms of the grand master's letter were not guarded enough, and that the ambassador had, of his own head, been so imprudent as to disperse copies of it, the pope, offended at this breach of respect, ordered Cambian not to come into his presence. This gave the grand master fresh uneasiness, which, added to the vexation the young knights had given him, threw him into a deep melancholy.

LA VALETTE, in order to divert it, got on horseback a few days afterwards, and, being attended with his hunting equipage, went to a plain near the lee-shore of St. Paul, to amuse himself with hawking. But that day, which was July the 19th, proving excessive hot, he was struck with a coup de soleil, which forced him to leave his sport, and occasioned a violent fever. A few days after, his illness not allowing him to apply himself so much as was necessary to the affairs of government, he empowered his lords of council to take them into their hands. His distemper lasted near three weeks longer, and grew daily more and more dangerous; when, at length, finding his strength decay, and his end drawing near, he prepared himself for it like a good Christian, and a true religious. He received all the sacraments with great fervor and piety; and as he had renounced all property, by the vow he made of poverty at his admission into the order, that he might die in the same sentiments, he would not offer to make over any of his effects without the permission of the council, and therefore desired their leave to dispose of fifty slaves that belonged to him, and likewise the sum of 12,000 livres. Part of this money he employed in endowing a chappel which he had built in the new city, where he  
desired

desired to be buried, and the rest he gave away in legacies to his servants.

HE afterwards sent for the lords of the council, and the principal commanders and knights, who were then at Malta, and exhorted them, in the most moving language, to maintain peace and unity among themselves, and to be exact in discharging their vow of obedience to the grand master, who should be chosen to succeed him. We are told that he recommended to their choice brother Anthony de Toledo, grand prior of Castile, as a man who was most capable of supporting the dignity of the order. He declared that he forgave the knights who had offended him, and desired the lords of the council to re-admit the young knights, whom he had degraded of the habit, in case they thought it could be done without prejudice to their rules and institutions. Then addressing himself particularly to his nephews, he told them, that the practice of all the virtues of their condition would be the only path that would lead them to those dignities and that respect which ambitious men endeavour so eagerly to gain by cabals and the interest of the great. He then took leave of them all, and would not hear of any thing but what related to his salvation. A little after he felt the approaches of death. This warrior, who, during his whole life-time, and in the midst of the greatest dangers, had faced death with so much intrepidity, was at that instant seized with a religious terror: they heard him call several times on his good angel for his assistance; but these clouds were soon blown over, and he surmounted the horrors of this last combat with an entire confidence of GOD's mercy: his mind was calmed, and the serenity of it appeared in his countenance, when, at last, calling devoutly on the holy name of JESUS and MARY, he ended an illustrious life by a peaceable and Christian death, upon the 21st of August 1568. His body was laid in the church of St. Laurence, in the chapel of St. Mary de Philermo, till such time as it could be removed into that of St.

Mary of Victory, which he had ordered to be built in the new city of la Valette, where he had desired to be buried; and it was accordingly carried thither after the election of his successor.

THE convent met the next day to proceed to the election. Had the intentions of the last grand master been followed, don Antonio de Toledo, of the same family with the famous duke of Alva, would have been chosen his successor. He was a knight of singular valour, an excellent general; was generous, liberal, and, what was still more considerable, had a soul informed with the highest sentiments of piety and religion, and was particularly strict in the observance of the rules and statutes of the order; but, with all these shining qualities, a little too fond of his high birth. This turn of mind, which it is even dangerous to discover in a republic composed of nobility and gentry; a certain air of haughtiness which he affected; the very recommendation of la Valette, which, because of the strictness of his administration, was disagreeable to several knights; all these circumstances gave them reason to apprehend that Toledo would resemble him as much in his steadiness as he did in his valour, which, for that reason, turned all the votes of the assembly another way. There were several candidates, all of them great crosses, of the first and most ancient knights of the order.

ST. CLEMENT aspired to this dignity: he was a Spanish knight, pillar of the language of Arragon; his age, his long residence in the convent, his modesty, and his having past through most of the dignities of the order, might have naturally led him to the first; but his excessive avarice, and his sordid niggardliness in house-keeping, which the knights of his inn had been sensible of to their cost, made him so odious and insupportable, that they would not so much as hear of his pretensions.

THERE were at that time in Malta two great crosses, the one a Frenchman, called la Motte, the other a Spaniard, whose name was Maldonat, both of them  
intimate

intimate friends : they had often been out a cruising together ; were both men of courage, and from a similitude of tempers and inclinations, had made as it were a kind of partnership of the glory and profit which accrued to them from their captures. These two commanders, even in la Valette's life time, seeing him advanced in years, and worn out with the fatigues of war, formed a project for making the grand mastership fall, after his death, to some great cross, who should be chiefly obliged to them for it. With this view they, from that time, made it their business to gain friends and creatures, and to make themselves the heads of a party who should have a great sway in the election. La Motte, who was polite, insinuating, and good-natured, found no difficulty in gaining over a great many friends. Maldonat was not possessed of these qualities, and was naturally proud and haughty : but then he supplied these defects by the frankness of his temper, the sums he generously spent, his liberality, and the good offices which he did those knights who had served under him, and in the galleys which he commanded. The day of the election being fixed, they went the evening before to the commander de Rivalle's : this gentleman was of the illustrious house of Ursini, was at that time great admiral of the order, at the head of the language of Italy, and had moreover a great number of creatures and partisans. Rivalle, imagining he should infallibly be elected, received them in his bed, and, upon their offering him their own votes, and those of their friends, he answered them only with a pretended moderation, and with an air that was cold enough. Upon which the two commanders went out of his apartment, disgusted at the mysterious air he affected, and affronted at his having received them in bed. Maldonat, who was naturally hot and proud, could not forbear saying, that he should be very much surpris'd, if a man who had kept his bed so late on the eve of the election, should be chose grand master the next day.

THE two commanders gave their friends an account of the haughty reception they had met with from the admiral;



admiral ; upon which they agreed to give their votes for some other person. Maldonat endeavoured at this meeting to gain over the votes of the company for himself ; but the knights, knowing his imperious temper, did not think him a fit man to preside over persons of quality, who had been brought up in a spirit of liberty. They gave him however some hopes, but that only in general terms, and he soon perceived that his most intimate friends would fail him on this occasion : la Motte likewise advised him to desist from an attempt that could not possibly succeed, whereupon they agreed together to declare in favour of the chevalier de Monte, grand prior of Capua, who was one of the candidates for the election, and had a considerable party in his interest. They, in their resentment against Rivalle, had pitched upon Monte, in hopes, that, as they were all of the language of Italy, they might for that reason draw off a good number of the votes of that language from Rivalle. Accordingly the two friends went to his house. This gentleman had passed through all the employments and dignities of the order ; had been general of the galleys, admiral, governor of the castle of St. Angelo, and of the peninsula de la Sangle, where he had acquired no small share of glory in the last siege. La Motte and Maldonat met with him in his hall, surrounded with a great number of knights. They, in like manner, as they had done to Rivalle, offered him their own votes, and those of their friends. Monte, knowing the credit and interest they would have in the election, was more politic on this occasion than Rivalle had been : he gave them a most obliging reception, and assured them of his highest acknowledgements.

THE whole convent met the next day in the church of the priory of St. John, when all the languages went into their respective chapels, in order to proceed to the choice of two electors for each language. La Motte was one of the number, and was chosen knight of the election. He had the dexterity to get the greatest part of the co-electors to be chosen from among such of his friends

friends as he could most rely on. The president gave each of them a ballot, or voting-ball: but as there were sixteen electors, la Motte, as knight of the election, had two ballots, to prevent an equality of votes. After the oaths and ceremonies usually performed in these cases, the electors, by a plurality of voices, chose brother PETER DE MONTE for grand master. His name was Guidalotti; but as he was great nephew by the mother's side to pope Julius III, of the family of Monte, he, for that reason had assumed that name, which his valour, and the brave defence he had made at the siege of Malta against the continual assaults, which the Turks had made both by sea and land upon the peninsula de la Sangle, had sufficiently illustrated. The first care of the new grand master was to pay the funeral honours to his predecessor: his body had been deposited, as was before observed, in the church of our lady of Philermo by the grand master's order; it was put on board the admiral galley, which was without any equipage or mast, and was towed by two other galleys, both of them armed, hung with black cloth, and carrying several ensigns and banners, which he had taken from the Turks and other infidels, all of them trailing in the water. These were followed by two other galleys, which had belonged to the late grand master, covered with black cloth, and other funeral ornaments, having the grand master elect, the lords of the council, the commanders, and principal knights on board. This funeral procession went out of the great port in this solemn and mournful manner, and entered into that of Muset. The household of the deceased, his officers and servants, all in deep mourning, went first on shore, most of whom had torches in their hands, and others carried the standards which had been taken from the Turks. The clergy marched after the prince's household, carrying his corps, and chanting the service of the church. After these came the grand master, and all the lords of the council, and were followed

PETER DE  
MONTE.  
23 Aug.  
1658.

lowed by the body of the knights. The corps of the deceased was carried into the chapel of our lady of victory, which la Valette had built at his own expence, in the new city, which he had chose for the place of his burial, where they deposited his remains, and divine service was afterwards performed with all the ceremonies of the church, and all the honours due to the memory of so great a man.

*The end of the Thirteenth Book.*

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## BOOK the Fourteenth.

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### A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

**A**MONG the several authors who have writ the general history of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whether in Italian, Latin, French or Spanish, not one of them has carried his account of it lower than the last siege of Malta : 1565. all these writers leave off, as it were by concert, at that famous epocha, fancying, probably, that they could not better end their works, than with the conclusion of that bloody war; perhaps too, as the forces of both parties, being equally exhausted, might have afterwards produced fewer of those great events that merit a place in history.

WHATEVER might have been their different motives, I have followed the same method in the plan and distribution of my work. The thirteenth book ends at the raising of the siege of Malta, and the defeat of Mustapha, general to Solyman II. I have only added what passed in the last years of la Valette's government till the death of that great man, the glory and ornament of his age, as well as of his order. If the history of a king ends generally with his life, it is not the same in that of a republic, which ought to be continued as long as the same form of government exists. So that the authors who, after me, shall transmit to posterity the series of events that have happened in this order, may begin where I leave off. However, till such  
time

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

time as some new writer shall think fit to continue it, or I myself may have health enough to collect memoirs, and carry on my history to our own times, I thought myself obliged, for the satisfaction of the public, to add, after the thirteen former books, a fourteenth in the form of annals, and by way of supplement, containing a summary account of the principal events that have happened in the order, from the election of the prior de Monte, the immediate successor of la Valette, to that of don Manuel de Vilhena, the present auspicious governor of this illustrious order.

A N N A L S



# A N N A L S

O F T H E

# O R D E R

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Drawn up in a succinct manner.

**T**HE 23d of August, A. D. 1568, brother PETER DE MONTE, or DU MONT, grand prior of Capua, was elected grand master. PETER DE MONTE. His name was Guidalotti; but being great nephew by the mother's side to pope Julius III. of the house of Monte, he, for that reason, took the name and arms of that family.

DAME Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand prioress 1569. of the royal house of Sixene, of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, situated, as has been already observed, in the kingdom of Arragon, returned to her obedience, with the consent of her whole community, and put herself under the government and particular authority of the grand master, from which that house had withdrawn itself for near an hundred years, on pretence that it depended only on the holy see.

SELIMUS II. emperor of the Turks, undertakes the conquest of the isle of Cyprus, and on that account declares war against the Venetians. The progress of this war; and the taking of Nicosia and Famagusta by the infidels, gives occasion to a league

between the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians.

THE chevaliers de St. Aubin, Roquelaure, and Ferrand de Coiro, famous cruizers, take considerable prizes in the Egyptian sea, and in the very mouth of the Nile. But these advantages, which accrued only to the profit of some private men, do not compensate the order for the great loss it sustains, by the defeat of St. Clement. Lucchiali, a famous corsair, at the head of a strong squadron, surprises that of Malta, under the command of this knight, takes three galleys from him, and forces the admiral to run a-ground off of the tower of Monchiaro, in the isle of Sicily. This impropitious event is followed with the fatal death of St. Clement.

THE battle of Lepanto between the Christians and infidels. The Turks lost 30,000 men in it: their general was killed, two of his sons were taken prisoners, together with 5000 officers or soldiers: 20,000 Christian slaves recover their liberty: they took 140 galleys from the infidels, not to mention such as were either burnt or sunk. The Christians on their side lost 7600 men, and fourteen captains of the galleys. Though the order had sent no more than three galleys, nevertheless the knights bravely signalized themselves in this engagement.

IN the same year the grand master having, with great expence, finished the building of the new city, called the city of la Valette, the foundation of which had been laid by the grand master of that name, he transports the residence of the convent thither.

THE distribution of the principal dignities of the order. Brother Francis Burges is made bailiff of Majorca: brother Francis d'Arquembourg Tourville quits the dignity of hospitaller for the grand priory of Champagne: brother Peter Pelloquin succeeds him in the post of hospitaller, after having quitted the dignity of bailiff of the Morea, which, upon his abdication, is given to brother William de Malin-le-Lux: this last resigns the post of great treasurer, which is given to brother Christopher de Montgaudri. After all these several removals,

the

the grand master and the council, upon the voluntary resignation of the commander de d'Arquembourg Tourville, at the request of Charles the ninth, bestows the grand priory of Champagne upon the chevalier de Sevre.

THE death of the grand master de Monte, aged 76. Brother JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE, of the language of Auvergne, and marshal of the order, is elected grand master; and the next day after his election, he is in full council acknowledged sovereign prince of the islands of Malta and Goza.

JOHN L'  
EVESQUE  
DE LA  
CASSIERE

UNDER his administration a new promotion is made in the dignities of the order. 1572. 27. Jan.

The commander brother Mark de la Goutte, of the language of Auvergne, is made grand marshal of the order, which post was vacant by the election of la Cassiere to the grand mastership. The commander brother Hubert Solar is made lieutenant to the great admiral, and afterwards prior of Lombardy. Brother Justinian, general of the galleys, having completed his two years of service, is succeeded by brother Phiip Flach, grand bailiff of Germany. Brother Francis Pouget is made captain of the admiral galley; and brother Pompey Soard, commander of the galley of St. Peter. Brother Francis Mego of the isle of Rhodes, after having executed the office of auditor, under the grand masters d'Omedes, la Valette, Monte, and la Cassiere, is made vice-chancellor of the order, upon the promotion of Rojas Chapelain to the bishopric of Malta. The commander Francis de Moretton Chabrilan, and Dr. Melchior Cagliares, are appointed syndics, to examine the conduct of the judges in civil and criminal cases.

BROTHER Jerom de Guette, great conservator, is sent ambassador to Rome, to take the oath of obedience to Gregory XIII. successor to Pius V. 1573.

GREAT preparations are made at Malta, to oppose the grand seignior Selimus II. who had threatened to fall upon the island with all his forces: 1574.

but he employs them another way, and takes the fort of Goletta, and the city of Tunis.

THIS year the inquisition is said to have been set up in the isle of Malta.

THE death of Selimus II: who succeeded is 1575. by Amurath III. his eldest son.

A great dispute between the order and the republic of Venice about a ship richly laden with merchandize belonging to some Jews, which the knights seize upon as their prize.

ANOTHER dispute between several commanders of the language of Provence, about the grand priory of Toulouse. Romegas is made general of the gallies.

ON occasion of the reports of an invasion which the Turks intended speedily against Malta, the grand 1576. master and council are reproached for making no provision against it (under pretence that the king of Spain was as much concerned as themselves, in the preservation of the island) and of being guilty of a neglect which might prove very prejudicial to the order.

BROTHER John George de Schonborn is by the council appointed to redress the abuses which had crept into the commandries of Germany by the mal-administration of the particular receivers.

THE chevalier de Mendosa, as yet only a probationer, arrives at Malta with a brief from the pope, who orders, that as soon as he shall have made his vows, he shall take the great cross, with the title of turcopilier, annexed to the language of England. This causes a general discontent in the convent, who send ambassadors to the pope to engage him to revoke the brief, granted to a young man who had no experience, and who yet was going to be one of the eight pillars, or chiefs of the whole order.

THE affair of the Jews of Venice comes again upon the carpet. The senate, by way of reprisals, sequester all the estates which the order had within the territories of the republic. The grand master, on this occasion, sends an ambassador to Rome, to represent to the pope, that

that as those Jews were not subjects of the republic, it was a constant practice, and which was moreover allowed by all laws whatever, to seize upon an enemy's robe, as counterband goods, though it be found on board a friend's ship. This affair was concluded to the satisfaction of the senate; the knights were obliged to restore the booty which they had taken from the Levantine Jews, and the senate took off the sequestration.

THE chevalier Correa, a Portuguese, is assassinated by six other knights, his countrymen, who, putting on false beards, got by that means into his apartment. They are arrested, and prosecuted, and the secular judge condemns them to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the sea. 1577.

THE corsairs of Algiers take the galley of St. Paul, which belonged to the order.

THERE was in the house of Austria, of the German branch, a young prince, Archduke Wenceslaus by name, who took the cross and habit as knight of Malta. The pope, at the king of Spain's request, gave him a brief, in the form of *gratie expectative*, a kind of bull, dated March the 10th, 1577, to qualify him to enjoy the dignity of grand cross, the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, after the death of the incumbents; which the grand master and council, in consideration of the protection the order received from the king of Spain, were obliged to pass, after the German prince had made his vows.

FRANCE, at the same time, made another invasion, in prejudice of the rights of seniority, and the privileges of the order. The council of Henry III. having issued out an order, authorizing the king to name some of his subjects to the grand priory of Auvergne, that prince wrote to the grand master to procure the three grand priories of France, St. Giles and Champagne, for Francis de Lorraine the queen's brother.

THE order had another storm breaking out upon it from Germany, where it was debated in a diet, whether it would be proper to oblige the knights of Malta, of



the German language, to incorporate themselves with the Teutonic knights, and unite their commandries to that order, to render it thereby more powerful, and better able to make war upon the infidels in Hungary. But this went no farther, the proposal being baffled by the skill and dexterity of the commander Scaglia, a Piedmontese, and at that time ambassador from the order to the diet.

THE grand duke of Tuscany sends the chevalier Bongianni Giantigliazzi, with the grand master's leave, as his ambassador to Constantinople. The Turkish sultan, in a private conversation which he had with him, shewing him a plan of the city of la Valette, asked the ambassador if it was drawn exactly, and whether the place was as well fortified as it appeared to be? "Sir, (replied the knight) he who drew this plan forgot its chief fortification, which consists in the courage and valour of above a thousand knights, who are ever ready to fight to the last drop of their blood in defence of the place."

TROUBLES in the order, raised by eight Castilian knights, who complained against the grand master and the council, as having greatly wronged them and their whole language, in consenting to the disposition which the pope and the king of Spain had made of the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, in favour of the archduke Wenceslaus. The malecontents were instigated underhand by several great crosses, who fomented the sedition. The grand master has recourse to the pope, who cites the mutineers to appear before him; they own their fault, and the grand master, under pretence that as they had not any commandries, nor any patrimony or money of their own, it would be impossible for them to undertake such a journey, prevails with the pope to excuse them from coming to Rome; they were however obliged to appear before him, in full council, with each of them a wax taper in his hand, in order to make him and the council satisfaction, and to ask

his

his pardon : which was granted them, after their having been first severely reprimanded by the grand master.

THE death of the grand prior of Bohemia. The emperors had taken upon them to nominate to it, and the order for a long time had neither enjoyed the personal estate of those who died, nor the mortuary, nor the profits arising from the vacancy of the priory. The grand master and council appoint the bailiff de Schomborn their embassador at the imperial court. This knight has a conference at Prague with brother Christopher de Verdemberg, who had very great interest with the emperor : and, to engage him to support the rights of the order, the bailiff delivers him an instrument and a bull from the grand master, by which he constituted him grand prior of Bohemia : which affair succeeds agreeable to the intentions and the desires of the grand master.

HENRY, king of Portugal, acquaints the grand master with the death of his nephew king Sebastian, who was killed the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcaçer, where several commanders of the order of St. John likewise lost their lives, and notifies at the same time his own accession to the throne.

BROTHERS Gargallo bishop of Malta, and 1579. Cressin prior of the church, both of them men of restless and turbulent spirits, began to raise a storm, which broke out about this time, against the grand master their benefactor.

THE death of the archduke Wenceslaus, grand prior of Castile and Leon, which is followed by that of Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V.

BROTHER Justiniani, grand prior of Messina, is named embassador to the courts of Castile and Portugal, to make the compliments of condolance upon the death of those several princes, and particularly to make sure of succours from thence, that the order might be the better enabled to oppose the Turks, who again threatened to invade Malta.

BISHOP Gargalla, renewing his incroachments on the authority of the grand master and 1579. council, pretends to make a judicial vilitation of the hospital of the Notable-city, in which he is opposed by the administrators, as being subject to no authority but that of the grand master and council. The bishop excommunicates them: the clergy side with him, and levy contributions to support the expences of this dispute. The order appoints brother Damientaliata, a Maltese divine, of the order of St. Dominic, to defend their privileges. The magistrates of the cities present a petition to the grand master, complaining that the friends and creatures of the bishop sallied out of his palace in arms, and abused the citizens who persisted in the obedience which they owed their sovereign. The grand master, to put a stop to this disorder, settles a guard of fifty men in the town, now called the Victorious City.

THE grand master sends brother Hugh de Loubens de Verdalle as his embassador to the pope, to acquaint him with these disturbances, and gives him instructions to apply to his holiness for a confirmation of the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order; and likewise to grant leave for the prior of the church to confer, in case of the bishop's refusal, the lesser orders, not excepting those of deacons, upon young candidates for the ecclesiastical profession. The pope appoints the archbishop of Palermo to take cognizance of these disputes; but that prelate, upon his arrival at Malta, finds the animosities carried to such a height, that he remits the cognizance of the affair to the holy see, and the bishop goes to Rome to defend his conduct.

A GREAT conspiracy against the life of the grand master, whom three officers of the inquisition 1580. had resolved to poison: they are arrested, and accuse several knights, some of whom were great crosses, and particularly one Petrucci, inquisitor of Malta, of being their accomplices. Some knights of the languages of Italy, Arragon, and Castile,

stile, force their way tumultuously into the council, insult the grand master, and, without any respect to his dignity, challenge him to declare what proof he had of their having conspired against his life. And altho' the vice-chancellor told them, that they had not been so much as once mentioned in the council, they yet were not satisfied, but insisted that the order should send three embassadors to the pope, who were brother Anthony de Villars, grand prior of Auvergne, brother Francis Guiral, bailiff of Negrepont, and brother Anthony de Bologna, bailiff of St. Stephens. But Bologna and Guiral, not caring to intermeddle in so troublesome an affair, excused themselves from the journey, on pretence of their ill state of health; which a little damped the heat and animosity of the most violent.

THE bailiff of Brandenburg, and several knights of the bailliage of Sonneberg, are cited before the council of the order, for having, in opposition to their profession, embraced the Lutheran religion.

THE emperor pretends he has a right to nominate to the grand priory, and the commandries of the kingdom of Bohemia.

THE council, supported by the greatest part of the convent, rebel against la Cassiere. This sedition was raised on three several accounts. The 1581: first was because of the grand master's having forbid the knights of different languages to favour particularly the nations and princes whose subjects they were born: his reason for it was, because the Spaniards, who, since the time of Charles V. had been bred up under the formidable power of the house of Austria, were for bringing the whole order to crouch to it. The second cause was, the grand master's having issued out a public proclamation to clear the town and city of la Valette of all loose and disorderly women, and his having forced them either to quit the island, or retire into the villages and hamlets which lay remote from the residence of the convent. The third occasion was owing to the ambition of some great crosses who aspired to the grand mastership; and who, seeing the  
grand

grand master, though he was very old, nevertheless enjoyed his health very well, were afraid they should not outlive him, and therefore resolved either to depose him, or force him to abdicate, and by that means make a vacancy in his dignity.

THE languages of Castile and Portugal, some add those of Arragon and Germany, several knights of the three languages of France, with Mathurin del Escar, called Romegas, at their head, meet in a tumultuous manner, and complain, that the grand master, by the several orders he issued out, plainly manifested that his understanding was in a manner gone: that he was more intent upon the conduct of the Maltese women, than upon the enterprizes of the Turks and the Corsairs of Barbary; that he took no care of filling the magazines of Malta; that he was always asleep at council, and did nothing when he was awake but plague his knights: and thereupon they send deputies to him to propose to him his naming of a lieutenant, since he himself was incapable of the administration. Upon his refusal, a full council meets at brother Cressin's, who was prior of the church, and the main spring of this sedition, when they appoint Romegas, prior of Toulouse and Ireland, to be lieutenant of the mastership; the Spanish knights having preferred him before others of their own nation, in hopes of engaging the languages of France on their side. Such was the result of this seditious assembly, whose aim was to suspend from his lawful authority, a grand master, who was valuable for his wisdom, his piety and valour, only to put in his stead a knight, given up a prey to ambition, brave indeed and successful in cruising, but of a savage nature, cruel to his enemies; and whose only merit was his being a formidable corsair.

BESIDES Romegas, who was in reality, though secretly, at the head of the conspiracy, and who, in outward appearance, seemed only to be drawn in to acquiesce to the sentiments of the greatest part of the knights, there were four others who acted openly against the grand master. The first was Cressin, whom  
the



the grand master had made prior of the church. This wretch seemed to be the most bitter enemy his benefactor had. The second was the bailiff Rivalle, who, having missed of the grand mastership, when Monte carried it from him, fancied he should get it, in case la Cassiere could be deposed. The third was Ducro, a great cross; and the fourth, who was Romegas's creature and confident, was a Frenchman, the commander de Maillo-Sacquenville by name.

THESE four ringleaders of the sedition do not stop here; but, to carry their rebellion and outrage still further, they, at the head of their accomplices, rush into the grand master's palace; arrest him by virtue of an order of council; put him in an open chair, and carry him under a guard of soldiers, like a criminal to the castle of St. Angelo, where they kept him prisoner. All the way as he went from the city of la Valette to the castle, he was exposed to the shouts and insolence of several young knights, and of those scandalous prostitutes, who insulted and abused him with abominable language, by way of reproach; but this conduct on the contrary, before equitable judges, was real encomiums that redounded to his glory.

THE rebels, in order to get their proceedings approved of by the pope, the supreme head of the order, sent him three ambassadors, the chief of whom was Sacquenville, the confident of Romegas, who got him named. The grand master, notwithstanding his close confinement, found means to send four other ambassadors to Rome; these were the chevaliers de Blot Viviers, Peter Roux de Beauvais, brother Don Francis de Guzman, and brother Angelo Pellegrini.

Two days after, Chabrilan, general of the galleys, returns back into the harbour of Malta, with the knights who had been out at sea with him. He was no sooner ashore but he desired to see the grand master, which the rebels durst not refuse him: whereupon he goes to the castle of St. Angelo, and offers the grand master to restore him to his authority, and carry him back to his palace at the head of 2000 men,  
made

made up either of the forces he had on board his galleys, or of the knights and the worthiest people of the island, who detested this insurrection. But the generous old man answered him, with great wisdom, that he expected to be restored by the authority of the pope, the first superior of the order; and that he had rather end his days in prison, than give occasion to his knights, whom he always considered as his children, to fight with one another upon his account.

THE ambassadors of the two parties arrive at Rome: those of the mutineers, in order to bring his holiness to consent to the deposing of the grand master, represent him as an old man that had lost his senses, and who was incapable of governing the order. The pope, to prevent his being imposed upon by this assertion, sends Gaspar Visconti, auditor of the Rota, as his nuncio, to Malta, to take cognizance of the affair on the place. This prelate, upon his arrival there, calls a general assembly of all the convent, and lays before them two briefs which he had brought with him; one for the grand master, and the other for Romegas; by which both of them were enjoined to come to Rome.

THE king of France, upon receiving advice of the shameful treatment which the grand master met with from his religious, sends him a knight to assure him that he will employ all his power to reduce the mutineers to their duty.

LA CASSIERE arrives at Rome, attended with 300 knights. He makes his entry into that capital of the Christian world as it were in triumph. The pope's court, the houses of the cardinals, several princes and ambassadors, go a considerable way to meet him. His holiness receives him with great marks of esteem, condoles and comforts him. Romegas solicits an audience; but the pope sends him word, that he will not so much as see him, till he has first abdicated his post of lieutenant of the mastership. Romegas is so prodigiously afflicted upon his receiving of this order, that he falls in a swoon, and is seized with a violent fever, which carries him off in a few days. His partisans are  
ordered

ordered to go and make their submissions to the grand master. The commander de Sacquenville, coming up to the grand master, and going no further than asking to kiss his hand, the cardinal de Montalto cried to him, "Down upon your knees, rebellious knight; had it not been for the goodness and clemency of your worthy grand master, your head had been chopped off some days ago in the piazza Navona." Every body at Malta make their submissions. The pope was for having the grand master return to Malta, there to enjoy the authority to which he was restored; but providence disposed otherways of him, and he died at Rome after three months stay in that city. His corps was carried back to Malta, and his heart deposited at Rome, in the church of St. Lewis. His holiness ordered this inscription to be put over it, which was made by the famous M. Anthony Muret.

"Fratri Joanni episcopo, magno militiae Hierosolymitanæ magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosissimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic calumniis spectata ac probata integritas, etiam enituit, sacra sodalitas militum Hierosolymitanorum patriæ principi optimo mærens posuit. Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12 Kalend. Januarii 1582."

THE grand master happening to die at Rome, made all the order afraid lest the pope, as first superior, should take upon him to name his successor. This was the occasion of an embassy, and a famous deputation, sent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. to intreat him not to infringe the order's right of election. The pope ordered a search to be made into the registers of his predecessors, particularly those of Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. and, after coming to a resolution, dismissed the ambassadors, with an assurance that he would, in a little time, send them a brief to proceed to an election, without any further explanation of his intentions, of which he told them signior Visconti his nuncio was fully instructed.

IN fact, upon the 12th of January 1582, the chapter being met, and the sixteen electors chose, his holi-

ness's nuncio presented them a brief, wherein he allowed them indeed to proceed to a kind of choice, but confined them to chuse one of the three persons whom the pope had proposed, viz. Verdalle, a knight of the language of Provence, and great commander; Panisse,

HUGH DE LOU- grand prior of St. Giles; and Cha-  
 BENX DE VER- brillan, bailiff of Manosque. VER-  
 DALLE, who had been a long time  
 DALLE. ambassador at Rome, and was very  
 acceptable to the pope and all his

court, found the same favourable dispositions towards him in the chapter; accordingly he was chosen, and proclaimed grand master; and the pope ratified his election, and sent a brief to incorporate and unite the dignity of turcopilier to the grand mastership, a dignity which had been anciently annexed to the language of England.

1583. A GENERAL chapter is held, which lays a general tax upon all the estates of the order.

THE Venetians seize two gallies of the order, by way of reprisals, for some merchandize that had been taken in Turkish vessels, and which was claimed by Venetian merchants.

NEW fortifications ordered in the isle of Goza.

THE language of Italy carries the point of precedence before that of Arragon.

1584. THE prosecution and trial of the chevalier  
 Jan. 9th. er Avogadre, general of the gallies: he is deprived of his post, condemned to a year's imprisonment, and the revenues of his bailliage are confiscated for three years, and paid in to the treasury of the order.

THE grand duke's gallies cruize in company with those of the order.

BROTHER Claude of Lorraine, called the chevalier d'Aumale, arrives at Malta in a galley of his own.

JOHN Andrew Doria, generalissimo to the king of Spain, arrives at Malta, and has a conference with the grand master.

THE pope's brief, excluding the knights, and incapacitating them for being made either bishops of Malta, or priors of the church.

DEATH of pope Gregory XIII. The election of Sixtus Quintus.

A VENETIAN ship arrested by the gallies of the order, by way of reprisals.

THIS year is spent in debating the grand master's right of nominating the general of the gallies, and the knight who was to have the particular command of the admiral galley. 1585.

AN order forbidding any man's carrying pocket pistols and stilletos about him; weapons fit only for banditti and assassins. 1586.

SACONNAI, grand marshal of the order, is punished for taking a knight's servant, who had been accused of theft, out of the prison of the Castellany. 1587.

CHARLES d'Orleans is put in possession of the grand priory of France, without any reservation, and in the very same manner that Henry de Angoulême had enjoyed it.

BROTHER Michael de Sevre, grand prior of Champagne, takes a very inconsiderate step, and appeals from the decrees of the last general chapter, to the secular tribunal.

THE spirit of sedition still continues in the convent. The grand master goes to Rome. The pope, to silence the malecontents, creates him a cardinal, and sends him back to Malta.

SEVERAL prizes taken by the knights who were out a cruising. 1588.

THE grand master makes choice of James Bosio to write the history of the order, which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Fofan. 1589.

DEATH of pope Sixtus Quintus, who is succeeded by Gregory XIV. 1590.

THE Jews and their effects are, by a particular brief of the pope, declared to be lawful prize. 1591.



THE plague makes dreadful havock in the island of Malta. The Jesuits are brought in by bishop  
1592. Gargallo, and settle there.

1593. THE commander John Otho Bosio is made vice-chancellor.

THE pope grants the priory of Barletto, vacant by the death of cardinal Scipio of Gonzaga, to prince Ferdinand of Gonzaga, afterwards cardinal, and, at last, duke of Mantua.

1594. THE grand priory of Venice, after having been possessed by cardinal Farnese, devolves to cardinal Colonna.

HENRY IV. after the death of Henry III. and during the time of the civil wars, disposes of the grand priory of Aquitain in favour of the commander de Chattes; and of that of Auvergne in favour of the baron de Bellegarde, though he was a layman.

THE dignity of cardinal, which the pope had conferred on the grand master, is not sufficient  
1595. to put a stop to the restless and seditious humour of the malecontents: so that this prince, tired out with their continual murmurs and complaints, makes another voyage to Rome, and dies of grief.

1596. BROTHER don MARTIN GARZEZ, of the language of Arragon, is chosen grand master. He had no favourites, no partiality, and his government was agreeable both to the knights and the people.

POPE Clement VIII. confers the priory of Pisa upon don Antonio de Medicis.

1597. THE Turks ravage Hungary; and the council of the order, to encourage the succouring of that nation, declares, by a solemn edict, that any knights who should serve in that country against the infidels, the order will reckon that service an equivalent to their residence, and that they shall be intitled to the same privileges as if they had resided in the convent, or had served on board the vessels of the order.

THE emperor of Rodolph II. issues out a diploma, which terminates the affair of Bohemia to the satisfaction of the order. 1598.

NEW troubles at Malta, occasioned by the proceedings of the inquisitors, whose successors carry them to a still greater height. 1599.

THE grand master and the council make a decree in favour of the Swiss, allowing their children to be received into the priory of Germany, provided these children are born in lawful wedlock of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, all Roman catholics, and statutablely qualified, who had never been mechanics, but descended from officers, captains, and commanders, whose profession of arms was to be considered on the footing of nobility.

THE century ends with the fortifications which the grand master and the council make in the castle and isle of Goza.

THE bailliage of Armenia suppressed. Great 1600. disputes between the languages of Italy and Germany, both of them claiming the priory of Hungary.

THE inquisitors, to make their court to the pope, are continually making incroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, and make themselves odious and insupportable to the knights.

DEATH of the grand master don Martin de Garzez. Brother ALOF DE VIGNACOUR, grand hospitaller of France, is chosen to succeed him. This knight, who was of the language of France, and of a very antient family of the province of Picardy, was great cross and hospitaller of the order, when his merit raised him to the dignity of grand master : and there has hardly ever been a mastership more famous than his ; whether we consider its duration, which was upwards of twenty years, or the various events that happened in the order during his administration. 1601. ALOF DE VIGNACOUR.

THE grand master dispatched several embassadors to notify his election to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The commander Rodrigo Britto was sent to the pope; brother Nicholas Dellamara to the emperor; brother William de Meaux Bois Boudran was employed in the same quality at the court of the king of France; and don Bernard de Zuniga at that of his catholic majesty.

THE inquisitor Veralli is for taking cognizance of the affairs of the government; in which he is openly countenanced by pope Clement VIII.

1602. THE gallies of the order seize upon the town of Mahometa, on the coast of Barbary; an enterprize formed with great prudence, and executed with as much valour.

EMERY de Chattes made embassador of the order to king Henry IV.

ENTERPRIZE of the knights upon the towns of Lepanto and Patras.

1603. A GENERAL chapter held.

1604. THE gallies of the order ravage the isle of Lango, formerly so dear to the knights, during their residence at Rhodes; but now their successors carry off 165 slaves, out of hatred to the Turks.

1605. DEATH of pope Clement VIII.

1606. PAUL V. his successor, gives three commandries of the language of Italy to one of his nephews, though they did not happen to fall vacant in the court of Rome; and a little while afterwards, he likewise conferred the commandry of Benevento upon cardinal Buffaio.

1607. PROJECT of a knight, a Dalmatian by birth, but of the language of Germany, proposed to the order, for getting the Poles to restore the great commandry of Polna, which was fallen into secular hands, upon condition of establishing a body of knights in that kingdom, to serve on horseback against the Turks; which did not succeed, by reason of the obstacles

obstacles put in the way by a prince of the house of Radzivil, whose ancestors or relations had probably got possession of it.

TROUBLES at Malta in the inn and language of Germany, on account of an attempt which had been made to get Charles count of Brie, 1608. natural son to Henry duke of Lorraine, admitted into that language; the affair is carried to such an height, that the Germans tear down the arms of the grand master and the order from off the gate of their inn, and leave only those of the emperor.

FRANCIS de Lorraine, called the chevalier de Gurse, makes his first campaign on board 1609. the gallies of Malta.

THE chevaliers Fresenet, Maurot, and Gaucort, surprise the fortress of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name, make their way into it by means of a petard, which blew up the gate; take a great booty, and, after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off above 300 slaves.

A YEAR fatal to France and the order of Malta, by the assassination of Henry the 1610. great.

CORINTH taken and sacked by the gallies of the order. 1611.

THE prince of Vendosme made general of the gallies of the order. 1612.

THE grand master upon receiving advice that the corsairs of Barbary designed to make an attempt upon the isle of Goza, sends troops, 1613. ammunition, and provisions thither.

A NEW alarm in the language of Italy, by the pope's granting the duke of Modena's son the *gratia expectativa*, a kind of bull, upon the 1614. commandry of Reggio: a favour of a dangerous nature from the ill consequences that might ensue.

SIXTY Turkish gallies appear off of the isle 1615. of Malta, and land 5000 men, but are able to  
make

make no slaves from the care the inhabitants take to retire into the strong holds.

THE grand master makes an aqueduct to carry a fine large spring from the city of Malta commonly  
1616. called the Notable city, to the city of Vallette, and the piazza before the grand master's palace : a work worthy of the Roman grandeur.

THE duke of Nevers is for founding a new order, or, properly speaking, for separating the old one of St. Sepulchre from the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Brother don Lewis Mendez de Vasconcellos, bailiff of Acre, a very able negotiator, is dispatched to the court of France, to traverse the duke's designs. He arrives in France with the quality of ambassador extraordinary, and went to his first audience attended by the commander de Silery ambassador in ordinary, brother de St. Leger, receiver of the priory of France, the commander de Formigeres captain of the life-guards, the commander de Girlande, and all the knights who were then at Paris, and about the court. He presented his letter to the king, who gave as favourable an answer to it as could be wished, and the duke of Nevers's project came to nothing.

FACARDIN, prince of the Drusi, comes to Malta, to implore the protection and succour of the order against the grand seignior's persecutions.

BOSIO, who was only an honorary knight, pretending to dispute precedence with a knight  
1617. who was his senior, was made sensible that his seniority could not be reckoned but from the day of his rehabilitation, and that an honorary knight could never be advanced to the dignities of the order.

THE treasury of the order cause a gallion  
1618. to be built in the port of Amsterdam, which costs 60,000 crowns of gold.

NEW fortifications raised in the roads of St. Paul, of Maria-Sirocco, and Marsa Scale, and in the little isle of Comino, situated between Malta and Goza.

CAGLIARES,



CAGLIARES, bishop of Malta, makes several incroachments on the authority of the grand master and council: he goes to Rome to support them, and leaves behind him a vicar-general as pragmatical as himself. The young knights of all the languages, unable to endure the audacioutneis of that turbulent fellow, run to look for him in his house, in order to throw him into the sea. The grand master obliges him to surrender himself, and sends him to Rome to answer the prosecution against him. The pope is incensed at this affair, orders his inquisitor to examine into it, and threatens to excommunicate the grand master and council, whose submission at last puts an end to the affair.

THE army of the catholic league make an unsuccessful attempt in order to seize upon the town of Susa on the coast of Barbary. A considerable number of knights had a share in this expedition, among whom are reckoned brother Anthony Barras, brother Francis Juxs, brother de la Meusana, brother Merault de Pelons, brother Melchior de Gozon-Melac, brother Anthony an honorary knight, captain of foot in the service of the king of Spain: and among the wounded were brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre, captain of the admiral-galley of the order, brother Anthony Mastrillo, captain of the patroness, brother John de Saligy, a native of Auvergne, brother Cesar de St. Peryer, of the language of France, who died at Malta of his wounds, brother Azeredoa Castilian, and brother Luys Mendez Vasconcellos, a Portuguese.

FRANCIS Ottoman, a dominican friar, who pretended to be son to the grand seignior Achmet, comes to Malta, and is received there upon the recommendation of cardinal Verally, president of the congregation of the Catechumens.

ENTERPRISE of the gallies of the order upon Casteltornez. The commander brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre is named by the general of the gallies to head the enterprise. They clap three petards to the gate, and break into the palace; which was a kind of magazine

gazine to all the Morea. The general of the gallies has notice given him by a Greek, that in case he does not retire immediately, his retreat will be intercepted by 4000 Turks who were hard by. He orders a retreat to be sounded, and St. Pierre, who received the same advice, forms a Squadron, and makes his way to the sea with the booty and the prisoners he had taken.

1621. DEATH of Paul V, who is succeeded by Gregory XV. This pope issues out bulls to confirm all the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order.

NEW complaints of the language of Italy, on account of being deprived of their right of succeeding to the vacant commandries, by the popes nomination to them oftentimes before they became so.

1622. THE commander de Chatte Gessan is sent to Malta by king Lewis XIII. to desire the order to join their gallies to his, in order to fight against the Hugonots.

THE chevalier de Casselani de Montemedan is by the council ordered to go with the gallies to Marseilles, and to carry thither the great gallion which had been built at Amsterdam.

THE grand master de Vignacour being a hunting, and pursuing a hare in all the heat of the month of August, was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, just as had happened fifty years before to the grand master de la Valette. They carried him to the new city, where he appointed brother Nicholas la Mara, great admiral of the order, to be his lieutenant. He afterwards received the sacraments of the church with great devotion, disposed of his effects as usual, and died on the 14th of September, being 75 years old.

THE chapter met to chuse him a successor. There were two pretenders, viz. Luys Mendez de Vasconcellos a portuguese, bailiff of Acre, who had been embassador from the order to the courts of Rome and France,

and Anthony de Paule, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles. Brother don LUYS MENDEZ had the preference, and was accordingly proclaimed grand master

master on the 17th of September; but he hardly enjoyed his dignity six months; and the little time that he outlived Vignacour, was employed in confirming the wise regulations he had made. The grand master being near fourscore years of age, died on the sixth of March 1623.

THE 10th of the same month, they proceeded to the election of a new grand master, and the choice of the convent fell upon brother Anthony de Paule, prior of St. Giles, being seventy one years old. The commander de Tormegeres, embassador of the order in France, dying about this time, the commander Durand de Villegagnon, was put a second time into that post, to notify the election of the new grand master to Lewis XIII.

DEATH of pope Gregory XV. who is succeeded by Urban VIII. This pope gets Anthony Barberini, his great nephew, to be received into the order as a chevalier de Justice, with a dispensation for keeping his residence, and serving in the galleys of the order.

JOHN de Fonleca, a Portuguese novice, or probationer, has his head cut off in the great piazza of the palace, after having been found guilty of robbery and murder.

BROTHER Faulcon, prior of Capua, being convicted of embezzelling 15000 ducats of the revenue received from Naples, 2000 crowns of that of Rome, and 15000 ducats more of what the grand master Lewis Mendez left behind him, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and dies in prison.

THE grand master does not want enemies among a set of men, who are impudent enough to fancy they can out-face truth, and make the blackest falsehoods pass for matters of fact. They present a memorial to the pope, wherein they take notice that the grand master is a man of loose life and conversation; that he is guilty of simony, and had bought his dignity with money. De Paule sent the commander brother Denis Polastron

Polastron de la Hilliere to Rome; who, being a man of the greatest probity and virtue, justified him in the most honourable manner from all these calumnies. The grand master had hardly got rid of this affair, when he had another upon his hands, which was full as troublesome, because pope Urban VIII. was both judge and party in it. His holiness took upon him to dispose of the commandries of the language of Italy. He had before given the two commandries of Milan and Bufalora, to don Antonio Barberini his nephew, and he afterwards gave that of Ascoli to the chevalier Machiavelli; that of Volterra to the chevalier brother Donat Rustici; the right of seniority to the commander brother Hubert Ricafoli, and the commandry of Monopoli to the chevalier brother Alexander Zambecari. These new concessions, added to those of the popes Paul V. and Gregory XV. which were computed to amount to no less than 17 commandries, put all the language of Italy in a flame. The knights refused to make their campaigns, or to serve on board the ships or gallies of the order; and most of them retired to their own houses and relations. The grand master, to remedy this disorder, called a council, when it was agreed, that they should send an ambassador to the pope, to lay before him the just complaints of the order. They likewise sent three others on the same account, to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. Brother James du Liege-Charault, grand hospitaller, was ordered to Rome; brother John Conrard de Rosbach, bailiff of Brandenburg, was sent to the emperor; la Marra, prior of Messina, and general of the gallies, to the king of France; and brother don John Ximenes, prior of Navarre, to the king of Spain. These ambassadors were likewise directed to lay before those princes, an account of the abuse of certain dispensations which were granted to the knights at Rome, by which they were allowed to dispose of their effects, whereby the common treasury was defrauded of its right, and which could end no otherwise than in  
the

the ruin of the order. We shall take notice of the issue of this embassy to Rome under the year 1626.

THE order makes an attempt upon the island of Santa Maura, in possession of the Turks, which miscarries: twelve knights were killed in it, besides a great number who were wounded. 1625.

A GREAT sea-engagement, in which the order loses two gallies, the St. John and the St. Francis: several knights were killed in it, others wounded, and some made slaves.

To these misfortunes must be added another; for the pope, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the grand master, and the council, continues to bestow the Italian commandries on his relations. 1626.

THE order had hitherto never kept up above five gallies, but the grand master now causes a sixth to be built. 1627.

URBAN, who was no friend to the order, not satisfied with plundering it of its principal commandries in Italy, which he bestowed upon his relations, now publishes an ordinance, *motu proprio*, changing the method that had been always hitherto observed in the election of the grand masters. 1628.

BROTHER Achilles d'Estampes Valençai is made a great cross de grace (or by favour) upon the recommendation of Lewis XIII. king of France. 1629.

ANTONIO BOSIO, who was natural son to the bailiff brother John Otho, and adopted by his uncle James Bosio, made a great progress in polite literature, and especially in the knowledge of ecclesiastical history; so that his profound capacity, threw as it were a shade over the meanness of his extraction, as may be seen by his several works; particularly that of *Roma subterranea*. He succeeds his adoptive father in the post of agent to the order at Rome; and being the last



person left of his name, he succeeds this year to all the estate and effects of the family.

THE pope, still intent upon reducing the government of the order, agreeable to his secret views, is for changing the old usage that 1630. had been observed in general chapters.

SOME Christian slaves, who composed the crew of a Turkish galley, commanded by Manni-Bei of Famagusta in the isle of Cyprus, rebel against 1631. him, take up arms, and either kill the captain and the soldiers of the galley, or force them to leap over-board, make themselves masters of the galley, and arrive safe at Malta.

A GENERAL chapter appointed on the 11th of May. The pope consents that they should retain the old usage in it of sixteen commissaries, two for every language: but he insists, that the inquisitor shall preside over them, and have a power of delegating, in case of absence, any body whom he shall think fit in his place; that he shall likewise have a power of suspending the chapter, as well as of proroguing. The grand master assures the pope, that he is disposed to obey him, but that the body of the order could not bear with patience his holiness's introducing a person into the government who did not belong to the order, with the title and authority of president. The pope having no manner of regard to these remonstrances, the council thought fit to submit. But, in order to avoid the fire and violence of the young knights, they send them to sea a cruising whilst the general chapter is held.

ON sunday the 11th of May 1631, this general chapter is opened, in which presided the most serene lord Francis Anthony de Paule, grand master.

THE most reverend Imbroll, prior of the church.

Conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Claude Durré Ventarob,	}	commander.
		Francis Cremeaux,		marshal.
		Tussin de Ternez Boistrigault,		hospitaller.
		Philip de Gaetan,		admiral.
		Lewis de Moncada,		conservator.
				grand

## Grand priors.

BROTHER	{	Juste du Fay Gerlande,	prior of	{	Auvergne.
		George de Castellane d'Aluis,			Toulouse.
		Antonio Maria de Ciaia,			Lombardy.
		Nicolas Cavaretta,			Venice.
		Nicolas de la Marra,			Messina.
		Philip Bardaxi,			Emposta.

## Capitulary bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Signorin Gattenava, bailiff or prior of the bailliage of St. Euphemia.	bailiff of	{	Majorca.
		Francis Sans, bailiff of Negrepont.			Manotque.
		Cesar Feretti, bailiff or prior of St. Stephens.			Leon.
		Alexander Benfi, bailiff or prior of St. Trinity of Venusia.			Brandenburg.
		Antonio Bracaccio, bailiff or prior of St. John near the sea of Naples.			L'Aigle.
		Humphrey de l'Hospital,			St. Sepulchre.
		Francis Puget Chessuel,			Pavia.
		Juste de Brun Laliege,			Acre.
		De Rosbach,			&c.
		John de Bernoi Villeneuve,			&c.
		Laurence de Figueroa,			
Lucius Grimaldi,					
Lewis of Britto Mascarnay,					
James Christopher Abandlau,					
Alexander Orfi,					

## Lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Matthias James Phirt, lieutenant of the bailiff of Germany.
		Thomas Hozis, lieutenant of the great chancellor.

## Proxies of the priors.

BROTHER

- Biagio Brandoa, proxy of the most serene Ferdinand cardinal Infant, administrator of the priory of Portugal.
- Francis Buonaroti, proxy of the most illustrious don John Charles de Medicis, prior of Pisa.
- Anthony Scalamonte, proxy of the illustrious brother Aldobrandino Aldobrandini, prior of Rome.
- Tristan de Villeneuve, proxy of brother James de Mauleon la Bultide, prior of St. Gilles.
- Robert de Viole Soulere, proxy of brother William de Meaux Baudran, prior of France.
- Charles de Vajure, proxy of brother Peter de Beaujeu, prior of Champagne.
- Julio Amali, proxy of brother Peter Vintimiglia, prior of Capua.
- Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre, by appearing in person, suspended the powers of brother Ginesio Ruiz his proxy.
- Policarpe de Casteloi, proxy of brother Peter George Pridorfila, prior of Catalonia.
- Lewis Melzi, proxy of brother Frederic Hunt, prior of Ireland.
- Anthony Pontremoli, chaplain of the language of Provence, proxy of brother Arteman, prior of Hungary.
- Eberard, baron d'Estain, proxy of brother Theodore Kolman, prior of Denmark.
- Don John de Zuniga, proxy of don Bernardin de Zuniga, prior of Castile and Leon.

## Proxies of the capitular bailiffs.

BROTHER

- John Baptiste Calderari, proxy of the eminent cardinal Cornaro, great commander of Cyprus.

Baldassar

BROTHER

- { Baldassar de Marzilla, proxy of brother Lapert de Arbiza bailiff of Caspe.
- { Francis de Godoi, proxy of brother don Diego de Guzman bailiff of Lora.
- { Joachim de Challemaison, proxy of brother James de Chenu de Bellai, bailiff of Armenia.
- { Gabriel Dorin de Ligny, lieutenant and proxy of brother James du Liege-Charault, treasurer-general.
- { Don Lewis de Cardenas, proxy of the illustrious bailiff brother Caraffa.
- { Gaspard de Maisonneule, proxy of the bailiff brother Achilles d'Estampes Valençay.

Proxies of the languages.

- |             |                          |                        |   |   |         |   |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---|---|---------|---|--------------------------|
| Of          | {                        | Provence,              | } | } | BROTHER | { | Francis Bagarris.        |
|             |                          | Auvergne,              |   |   |         |   | Charles de Fay Gerlande. |
|             |                          | France,                |   |   |         |   | Alexander de Grimonval.  |
|             |                          | Italy,                 |   |   |         |   | Octavio Ceoli.           |
|             |                          | Arragon, Catalonia and |   |   |         |   | Gerome Bardaxi.          |
|             |                          | Navarre,               |   |   |         |   |                          |
| Germany,    | John James de Welthause. |                        |   |   |         |   |                          |
| Castile and | Gabriel d'Angulo.        |                        |   |   |         |   |                          |
| Portugal,   |                          |                        |   |   |         |   |                          |

The order being suppressed in England, no proxies were named for that language.

Proxies of the commanders of the priories.

- |         |        |                           |   |   |         |   |                           |
|---------|--------|---------------------------|---|---|---------|---|---------------------------|
| Of      | {      | the priory of St.         | } | } | BROTHER | { | Henry de Latis-Entragues. |
|         |        | Giles,                    |   |   |         |   | Francis de Crottes de la  |
|         |        | Toulouse,                 |   |   |         |   | Menardie.                 |
|         |        | Auvergne,                 |   |   |         |   | Peter Lewis Chantellot la |
| France, | Chefe. | Peter de Carvel de Merai, |   |   |         |   |                           |
|         |        | Champagne,                |   |   |         |   |                           |

Of	}	Champagne,	BROTHER	}	Joachim de Sennevoi.
		Rome,			Curtius Bombino.
		Lombardy,			Alphonso Castel de St. Pierre.
		Venice,			Fiorin Borso.
		Pisa,			Ugolin Grifoni.
		Barletto,			Gerolamo Zato.
		Messina,			Philip Moleti.
		Capua,			Alphonso Dura.
		the castellany of Emposta,			Peter Marzella.
		Catalonia,			Melchior Dureta
Navarre,	Francis Torreblanca.				
Germany,	John de Repach.				
Castile & Leon,	Alphonso de Angulo.				

Companions of the grand master.

Of	}	the language of Provence, Brother Girolamo de Merle Beauchamps, cavalcadour of the grand master, and brother Peter de Bernana Hornolach.				
		}	BROTHER	}	Baldassar d'Alben, and brother Foucaud de St. Hilaré.	
					Auvergne,	Adrian deContremoulins, and brother Francis de la Grange.
					France,	John Minutolo, and brother Mario Alliata.
					Italy,	N. N.
					Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,	John Baptist Macedonio, and brother Stephen del Portico.
					England,	William Henry de Wasperg.
					Germany,	Gondifalvo de Albernoz, and brother don Bernardin de Norogua.
					Castile and Portugal,	



THE inquisitor then presented a brief from the pope, by which he was named to preside at the election of the sixteen commissaries appointed to regulate the affairs of the order, but not to have any vote there, to meddle in, proposing any matter, or to speak his sentiments in any debate. The grand master, either out of prudence or policy, suffered the chapter to accept this brief, and then they proceeded to the choice of the commissaries. There were two for each language.

For	Provence,	Villanova bailiff of Aquila, and brother Francis Crotte la Menardie.
	Auvergne,	Gerlande, prior of Auvergne, and la Liegue, prior of Lions.
	France,	Boisrigault, grand hospitalier, and brother Gabriel Dorin de Legai.
	Italy,	La Marra, prior of Messina, and Gattinara, prior of St. Euphemia.
	Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,	Sans, bailiff of Negrepont, and L'hospital, bailiff of Majorca.
	England,	Seriffiori, the inquisitor, named, by the pope's orders, brother Peter Lewis Chantelot la Chese, of the language of Auvergne, and brother don Juan de Villaroel, of the priory of Castile.
	Germany,	The bailiff brother James Christopher Abandlau, and brother Evrard baron de Estain.
	Castile and Portugal.	Brother Thomas Hozes, lieutenant of the great chancellor, and brother Biagio Brandao.

THE chapter having consigned over all its authority to these sixteen commissaries, they, together with the inquisitor, retired into the conclave, which was held in the hall of the palace of the tower. The inquisitor, as has been already observed, presided in it according to the pope's intentions, but had no vote or authority to make any motion. Boisfrigault, the grand hospitalier, as being the oldest of the sixteen, proposed the affairs on which they were to deliberate. Imbroll, prior of the church, in quality of the grand master's proxy, Abela the vice-chancellor, and brother Peter Turamini, secretary to the treasury, interveened in this assembly, in which very prudent regulations were made for determining the general and particular affairs that came before them. There has been no chapter held since this time, and therefore the judgments given, and the regulations made in this, serve at this day for a law, and are the rule for deciding of any disputes that may arise in the order.

THE order loses the galley of St. John, which is wrecked by a storm on the coast of Calabria. 1632. The crew save themselves on shore, and they afterwards get out the artillery and the principal effects.

THIS year the inhabitants of the isles of Malta and Goza were numbered, who amounted to 51750, including men, women and children, and exclusive of the knights of the order, the clergy, and those who were called at Malta, the Familiares of the inquisition.

BROTHER Imbroll, prior of the church, offers the order to write an history, when leave is given him to search into the registers of the chancery. The year following cardinal Barberini recommended another to the order for the same purpose, viz. the chevalier brother Cesar Mugalotti, who was admirably well qualified for it, and a person of great learning. Both of them began their work, but left it imperfect.

The gallies of the order sail out, towards the end of April, a privateering, under the command of general Valdi, and take, near the isle of Zante, four ships or vessels

vessels, with 650 moors or negroes on board, which they were sending from Barbary to Constantinople. The same general has another engagement with the corsairs of Tripoli, makes 338 of them slaves, and delivers 60 Christians. The Venetians make heavy complaints that the galleys of the order take prizes in the seas, and upon the demesnes of the republic. The Maltese embassador, by the grand master's order, answers them, that the order would be willing enough to deliver back the grand seignior's subjects who had been taken in the gulph, but that as for the corsairs, they should be sold as villains and enemies to all religions and all nations. Another squabble with the republic of Lucca, which is followed with a decree against receiving any of that state as chevaliers de justice: the pope makes up the dispute.

ADVENTURES of prince Guchia, who pretended to be son to Mahomet III. and whom his mother, who was of the house of Comneni, and a Christian by birth, had sent to be educated among the Christians. The order espouses this real or pretended prince.

THE schismatical Greek Christians of the east bribe the Turks, and turn the European Franciscans out of the keeping of the holy sepulchre, Calvary, Bethlehem, and other sacred places of Palestine. The pope desires the grand master and council, as better acquainted with the disposition of the Ottoman court, to take measures for restoring the Latin friars to the guardianship of the holy places. The grand master and his council are of opinion, that they should try what force could do, and not spare the schismatical Greeks whenever they fell into the hands of any catholic princes.

THE pope's too great uneasiness in granting the great cross to such as were no more than private knights, makes the order resolve to oppose the brief which he had granted to the chevalier de Souvré, though his father had been governor to king Lewis XIII.

DEATH of the grand master de Paule, in the 58th year of his age, after a sickness of near three months: his epitaph contains his encomium and his character.

1636.  
June 10th.  
" Fratri

“ Fratri Antonio de Paula, magno militiæ hierosoly-  
 “ mitanæ magistro, principi gratissimo, splendidissimo,  
 “ qui, ob egregias animi dotes, vivens in omnibus sui  
 “ amorem, extinctus desiderium excitavit; pacem mi-  
 “ rifice coluit & affluentiam; ordinis vires, opes ad-  
 “ didit, auxit: ampliori munire vallo urbem aggressus  
 “ cum annum ageret magisterii decimum quartum,  
 “ ætatis supra octogesimum (quintum) diuturno cum  
 “ morbo constanter conflictus, semper se ipso major  
 “ piissimè ac religiosissimè quievit in Domino, septimo  
 “ id. Junii, anno Sal. 1636.”

THE 13th of June 1636, brother Paul Lascaris Castelard, bailiff of Manofque, descended from the courts of Vintimiglia, and the antient emperors of Constantinople, was chose successor to

PAUL LASCARIS ANTHONY DE PAUL. The next day the council, according to the usual custom, declared the new grand master sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza, with all the rights his predecessors had enjoyed.

MALTA suffers much from the dearness of corn. The grand master applies to the president of Sicily, who is hard-hearted enough to refuse the suffering of any to be exported out of the island. Nari, general of the galleys, addresses himself to the vice-roy of Naples, who allows him to take up 6000 loads, and carry them away, free of all manner of custom, and duty of exportation.

LASCARIS has a quantity of new species coined, in order to pay the workmen who were continually employed in raising new fortifications, under the direction of Florian an engineer, colonel of a regiment of foot, whom the grand master honoured with the cross and habit of the order.

BROTHER don Peter de Vintimiglia, of the same family with the grand master, makes a foundation for ever of the timber of a galley, bearing the name of St. Peter, and, for the security of it, settles two houses, of a thousand crowns a year, which he had upon the mole of Messina. Cavaretta, prior of Venice, makes the

the like foundation for another galley, which was to be called the St. Nicholas; and the commander Conrard Scheifurt de Merode founds the commandry of Breslaw in the language of Germany.

THE grand master divides all the inhabitants of Malta into companies, to whom they give arms: some knights are set over them to instruct them how to make use of them to oppose the inroads and descents of the Turks and corsairs.

THE duke of Montalto, viceroy of Sicily, the president, and the rest of the king of Spain's officers, are still exasperated against the order, 1637. and not only prohibit the exportation of corn, but give orders for arresting all the Maltese ships that should put into the ports of the island. The occasion of their uneasiness was, that as the two crowns of France and Spain were at war, some French knights, who were on board either ships or gallies of France, had taken considerable prizes at the entrance of the harbour of Malta. Upon these orders of the regency, two gallies of the order putting into the port of Syracuse, they were going to seize them: but the commodore being aware of their design, put off immediately, and went out of the harbour. The governor, or the commanding officer, fired all the cannon of the castle upon him, to oblige him to come back; but he, in spite of his artillery, got out to sea, and returned to Malta. This behaviour of the Spaniards, who had continual proofs of the services which the knights did their prince for the defence of his dominions, offended all Europe; and it was said, particularly in the courts of Italy, that the gallies of Malta had never been cannonaded before, but by the corsairs and infidels. The duke of Montalto, fearing lest these reports should reach his master's ear, or that the grand master should complain to him, as he had just reason to do, thought fit to disown the conduct of the governor of Syracuse, and to condemn his proceedings, and, to give a more substantial satisfaction for what had been done, promised to allow the exportation of corn to Malta.



THE commander de Talembach, of the language of Germany, offers the order to fit out a galley at his own expence: the proposal was very agreeable to the council, but the war spreading more and more in Germany, Talembach's proposal came to nothing.

THE commandry of Sarrafine is founded in Sicily, and the founder complimented with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order, and enjoying the profits of his commandry during his life.

SOME French knights lie, with a naval force, in the channel of Malta, and take several prizes from the Spaniards, during the war between the two crowns. Captain Paul, a serving brother, and a Frenchman horn, takes an Algerine vessel in the same place, carries it into Malta, and is well received there. But the grand master forbids him and all the knights to fight against any Christian prince, and writes about it to the king of France in very strong terms, representing to him, that some knights on board his gallies had just taken some Sicilian ships, which had interrupted the necessary commerce between the isles of Sicily and Malta, and had exasperated the king of Spain's ministers, who gave out that all this was done in concert with the council of the order.

THE commander de Charolt, general of the gallies, goes a cruising, takes several little vessels at first, and lights upon three large ships of Tripoli, that served for a convoy to a great number of other vessels. The Maltese general, without amusing himself with cannonading them, prepares to lay them on board, and divides his gallies. The admiral galley, and the St. Peter, under the command of the chevalier John Jerome de Gallean Chateauneuf, fell upon the commodore galley of the infidels. The St. Nicholas and the Victoria, commanded by brother John Baptiste Caracciolo, and brother John Brandao, attack the admiral. The St. Ubaldesque and St. Anthony, commanded by brother Bartholomew Galiley, and brother Francis Talhult, set upon the vice-admiral. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels made a brave defence.

Four hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers were on board this little fleet, which was commanded by Ibrahim Rais, called la Becasse, a renegado of Marseilles, who, for a long time, had served in quality of a pilot on board the gallies of the order, and whose wife and children were still at Malta.

BUT he having been taken by the corsairs of Tripoli had turned Mahometan, had served on board the infidel fleets, and, by his valour and capacity, raised himself to the post of admiral. Chateaufneuf, who commanded the St. Peter, laid him aboard, and Marcel de Chateaufneuf, the captain's brother, is the first who enters his ship, at the head of a good number of knights; he cuts the Turkish soldiers to pieces, seizes la Becasse, drags and carries him to Galean de Chateaufneuf his brother, under whom he had formerly served as a pilot. The other commanders had as good success; so that all the little fleet was taken, and not so much as a single vessel escaped. They made 312 slaves, and the general of the gallies returns victorious into the harbour of Malta with twenty ships and vessels laden with a rich booty. The order lost several very brave knights in this engagement, and, among others, brother Denis of Vionteffancourt, brother Bernard Perrot of Malmaison, brother David Sanbolin, a novice, and brother Nicholas of Biencourt, a serving brother, all of the language of France; brother Francis Isnard, brother Piolomini, and brother Philibert Gattinara, of the language of Italy; brother Alonso Garzez of Marcilli, an Afragonian novice; and brother Gaspard of Sousa, a Portuguese. A much greater number of knights were wounded, they never failing to expose themselves without the least reserve on such occasions.

BALAGU, bishop of Malta, to make his clergy more numerous, gave the tonsure, and the four lesser orders, to all such young fellows in Malta as presented themselves for that purpose. These new ecclesiastics thought their tonsure was sufficient to dispense them from appearing in the companies in which they were enlisted, from mounting the guard in their turns, and

from performing the other military functions to which the grand master had obliged the inhabitants. The king of Spain and pope Urban VIII. blame the bishop's conduct, and condemn the pretended ecclesiastics to the tonsure, and to wear the habit of their order, and to serve in the church agreeable to that function as there might be occasion for them, and ordered that all such of them as should be taken without their clerical habits, should be obliged to mount guard in the same manner as the other lay-inhabitants.

POPE Urban VIII. who had no affection for the order, but, on the contrary, resolved to subvert the government of it, grants leave, without the privity of the grand master, to the old commanders to make their wills, and dispose of their effects. A step calculated for the utter ruin of the treasury of the order, which, by this permission, is deprived of their personal estates.

SIXTEEN Algerine gallies join together to make a descent in the Marca d'Ancona, and plunder the rich treasure of our lady of Loretto.

CAPELLO, admiral of the Venetian fleet, meets and pursues them; they fly into the port of la Valone, belonging to the grand seignior, where the Venetian admiral burns them without respect to their asylum\*. This raises the grand seignior's resentment, who threatens to fall upon them; but he is at last pacified with a sum of money.

SOME knights, who were just come to be their own masters, mask themselves in carnival time, in the habit of Jesuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand master, who orders some of the young men to be arrested, but their comrades break open the prison-doors, and set them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand master to consent to their being sent out of the island. Eleven Jesuits were put on board, four only staid behind, who had hid themselves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great crosses did not discover any

great

\* Amurat IV.

great concern at the banishment of these fathers, who, in opposition to their interest, had taken upon themselves to govern the grand masters.

THE foundation of two commandries; that of Nardo by Lewis Anthony de Massa, for the language of Italy; and that of Nice, by the grand master, for the language of Provence.

THE prince of Hesse d'Armstat, general of the gallies, takes six vessels of the corsairs in 1640. the port of Goletta.

A YEAR fatal to the order by continuation of the wars between the Christian princes. The treasury had not received so much as a single crown from Germany for twenty years together. Most of the French and Italian commandries were ruined; the exchange ran very high amongst them; so that a crown, which was worth 13 or 14 tarins, would hardly produce eleven upon exchange, which obliged the grand master and council to take up 100,000 ducats of the bank of Genoa at interest, in order to carry on the fortifications of the island.

New disputes with the Venetians, who, 1641. as usual, sequestrate the estates of the order.

ULADISLAUS IV. king of Poland, writes to the grand master, and pretends that the commandries of Bohemia ought to be common to the Polish knights as well as to those of Bohemia, since both priories were of the same language.

WAR of the Barberini against the duke of 1642. Parma, in which they, under pretence of his debts, wanted to seize upon the dukedom of Castro.

URBAN VIII. finding that several Italian princes had entered into a league to prevent 1643. his seizing on the dominions of the duke of Parma, requires the grand master to send him the gallies of the order. His commands are immediately obeyed; but the allies seize, in revenge, upon all the estates of the order within their territories, and cannot be prevailed upon to take off the sequestration till the order shews them, that notwithstanding they had been

forced to comply with the orders of the pope, their first superior, nevertheless the commanders of the galleys had private orders to be only on the defensive, agreeable to their institution, which obliged them to offer no insult to any Christian prince, and which they had always observed.

A MEMORABLE action of general Boisbaudran, who exposes himself to be surrounded by eight corsairs, rather than abandon one belonging to the order, which, by reason of the weakness of its crew, was not in a condition to keep up with him.

THE season being still favourable for keeping out at sea, the grand master sent the galleys again a cruising. On the 28th of September, the knights discovered, about 70 miles from Rhodes, a ship to the leeward, not above four miles from them. The commodore being nearest immediately gave her chase: the St. John and St. Joseph soon came up with her, and, seeing her prepare for a vigorous defence, and that she made a furious fire with her great and small shot, the knights grapple with her, board her sword in hand, and force the infidels to throw down their arms, and cry for quarter.

THREE other galleys, viz. the St. Laurence, commanded by Raphael Cotoner, the St. Mary, by the chevalier de Piancour, and the victory by the chevalier Noel de Villegagnon Chanforest, meet with a great galion, which, in order to draw on the knights, conceals her strength, and makes no parade with her artillery.

THE St. Mary, whose crew was in the best condition, was up with her before the two others; when, without considering the great disproportion there is between a single galley and a vessel of so vast a bulk, the chevalier de Piancour, who commanded her, went to lay her aboard, upon which the other galleys advance to succour him. The infidels, seeing their captain and principal officers killed, struck, after an engagement which had lasted seven hours, and in which the order

lost



lost nine knights, viz. Boisbaudran the general, Piancour, captain of the St. Mary, the chevalier Camillo Schotti, brother Sebastian Bertonmonbai, Charles Morans of St. Mark, brother Robert and Nicholas of Boufflers, and brother Stephen of Algre, all knights probationers, and brother Severin Richard of Allemand, a serving brother; but a much greater number of them were wounded. The Turks lost 600 men, besides a considerable number who were taken prisoners, and among the rest a lady of the seraglio, who was going out of devotion to Mecca, with a young child, the reputed son of the grand seignior Ibrahim, who afterwards entered into the order of St. Dominic, where he went by the name of father Ottoman. The booty was so great, that it reimbursed the treasury for all the expence the order had been at in fitting out its squadrons.

IBRAHIM, hearing of the taking of this great galion, together with all the riches that were on board, sends a herald to declare war against the grand 1645.  
master and the order.

GREAT preparations made by the order to put itself in a condition to oppose the formidable power of the grand seignior. Succours, ammunition, and provisions are sent for from all quarters. A glorious and ever memorable action of Lewis vicomte of Arpajon, a nobleman of the first quality in France, who obliges all his vassals to take up arms; raises a body of 2000 men at his own expence; loads several vessels with ammunition and provisions, and sets sail with them, together with a good number of gentlemen, who were either his friends or relations; arrives at Malta, and presents the grand master with a succour, which was so very considerable, that the like could hardly have been expected from a sovereign prince. The grand master thought he could not better acknowledge a service of this importance, than by making him general of the troops, with the power of naming three lieutenant-generals to command under him in those places where he could not be present himself.

THE event shewed that the grand seignior's threatening of Malta was no more than a false alarm: but he invaded the isle of Candia, besieged and took Canea. All his naval and land forces, his mighty fleets and considerable armies, fell upon that island. Malta, now freed from any danger of an attack, sends a squadron to succour the besieged. The viscount of Arpajon takes leave of the grand master, who, in order to acknowledge the succour he had so generously brought them, signs a bull in form, with the consent of the council, granting him and his eldest son the privilege of wearing the gold cross of the order, and declaring that any one of his younger sons, or his descendants, should be received, during their minority, into the order without paying any fees, and be honoured with the great cross as soon as ever they should have made their profession; and that the chief and eldest branch of the family might quarter the cross in their coat of arms.

THE pope, at the king of Spain's request, desires the grand master to give the great cross to  
 1646. don Philip, son to the king of Tunis, who was turned Christian. The council oppose it vigorously, from the aversion they had of seeing a moor, whose conversion was much to be suspected, fill up one of the first dignities of the order.

BROTHER Jey, marshal of the order, is named general of the gallies, but refuses that post, from  
 1647. the consideration that his dignity of marshal gave him a right of commanding by sea as well as by land. But embarking afterwards, in order to join the Venetian fleet, he meets an Algerine corsair in the channel of Malta, near cape Passaro; an engagement ensues, in which the marshal is shot with a musket ball, of which he dies.

MASSANELLO raises a very dangerous sedition in Naples.

THE adventures of Jacaya, a real or pretended prince of the Ottoman house; his letters to the grand master. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy endeavours to engage the order to declare in his favour, notwithstanding  
 the

the uncertainty of his pretensions. The grand master excuses himself, because, as he said, it would be impossible to bring his designs to bear, or to support his pretended right to the throne of Constantinople, without the concurrence of the greatest princes of Europe.

POPE Innocent X, in prejudice of the privileges of the order, confers the commandry of Parma upon young Maldachino, nephew to Donna Olimpia, his holiness's sister-in-law. The order sends ambassadors to all the princes of Christendom to complain of this injustice, and to represent to them, that the order would be disabled from fitting out any squadrons against the infidels, if it should be stripped in this manner of its best commandries.

DEATH of the chevalier de Guise, who was killed in trying a cannon.

THE treaties of Munster and Osnaburg deprive the order of a good number of commandries to bestow them on the protestant princes of Germany.

A FAMINE in the island of Malta. Cinqmars, commander of the St. Francis galley, meets a Flemish ship laden with 2000 load of corn, just purchased 1648. in Puglia: the master refuses to sell it to the grand master; but a sudden storm forces him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he sells his corn to the great satisfaction of the people.

THE gallies of the order, after scouring the Levant seas, come back, and put into the port of Messina. The magistrates of the city, from the apprehensions they were under lest these gallies should, in their return to Malta, seize upon some merchant ships which were coming that way laden with corn, lay an embargo on the St. Joseph galley, commanded by don John di Bichi of the language of Italy, by way of hostage; but suffers the other three gallies, commanded by captains of the language of France, to go out of their port. These officers deliver the grand master a letter from the magistrates of Messina, by which they tell him, that the only reason of their laying an embargo on the St.

Joseph

Joseph galley, was in order to employ it in quelling an insurrection of the people, who suffered exceedingly from the dearth of corn. The grand master answers, that he is willing to believe they have no direct intention to offend the order, by an embargo which was so highly injurious to it; but that they do a great injury to Christendom in preventing the galleys from returning to Candia to the succour of the Venetians. However, the grand master sends to the port of Augusta for corn, which the magistrates of that town were ready to furnish the order with.

THE famine increases at Malta: there is no wheaten bread to be had, not even so much as for the infirm; so that the knights are forced to live on barley bread. They send every where for corn; but the captains of the vessels of the order are forbid to touch at the ports of Messina and Palermo.

THE grand seignior Ibrahim is strangled in an insurrection of the janizaries, and they place Mahomet IV. his eldest son, on the throne

CASSEIN, the Turkish general, pursues the war in Candia with great vigour, notwithstanding the revolutions which had happened in the empire.

A GREAT dispute carried on in the court of Rome, between the grand master and Imbroll prior of the church. This prior, who was a seditious man, pretended to have a right, by virtue of his own authority, and without the grand master's consent, to convene an Assembly of the brother chaplains, as if those serving brothers as well as himself, were not dependant on the grand master. The second point in dispute was this prior's pretending that he only had a right, independently from the grand master, of visiting the nuns of the order, and appointing them confessors. The grand affair in question was, to get the pope to confirm the two volumes of the statutes of the order, which that prior had compiled, and which he was suspected to have modelled according to his own private views, to the prejudice of the supreme and lawful authority of the superiors of the order.

THE battle of Foggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the Venetians defeat the 1649. Turks, and take and burn a good number of their ships.

CONTINUATION of the siege of Candia, which is defended by Mocenigo captain general, Morosini provveditor, the governor of the place, and the commander Balbiano general of the gallies of Malta, who being a man of very great experience, was for that reason called to all the councils of war. There was a debate at this time, about an half moon at the bastion of Betlem, which the Turks had taken, and thereby put the rest of the place in danger. This affair was canvassed in the council, when the commander Balbiano offered to recover the works; and, in order to effect it, he put himself at the head of thirty knights, and an hundred of the bravest soldiers of his galley, commanded by the chevalier de Sales, nephew to the famous Sir Francis de Sales bishop of Geneva. The attack is made in the night: the knights in the dark get upon the half-moon and kill all before them. The Turks wake in a surprize, but stand their ground and fight at first with vigour: but being too few to oppose the knights, they are forced at last to fly, to leap over the parapet, and abandon the half-moon.

THE Turkish general makes them the most heavy reproaches for their cowardice; they are ashamed of having quitted their post, and, in order to recover their honour, return the next morning in greater numbers. Cassin, to facilitate their success, springs a mine, which blows up several knights, and, among others, the chevalier de Sales. This knight falls back into the mine, where he is buried to the middle; but being dug out he perfects his lodgement, and gives the Turks such a warm reception that they are not fond of renewing the attack.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treasury was at so low an ebb, and that a grievous famine infested the isle of Malta, the grand master builds fort St. Agatha on the coast of Meleca, and supplies it with arms, provisions and



and a good body of knights, in order to oppose any descent of the corsairs on that side.

THE governors of Sicily, not satisfied with having refused the order liberty to export corn from 1650. thence to supply the isle of Malta, refuse likewise to allow them to have any bisket made for their gallies, under pretence that it would be a prejudice to the subjects of his catholic majesty. The grand master sends an embassador to don John of Austria, who interposes with his authority, and removes these obstacles.

FOUNDATION of a library at Malta, and a statute made providing that all the books which shall be found in the personal estates of any of the knights, shall not be sold like their other effects, but shall be transported to Malta.

THE discontent of the king of Spain's ministers in Sicily against the order is renewed, on occasion of the continual seizures which the French made of the Sicilian and Spanish ships; most of the French vessels being commanded by knights of that nation; which hinders the gallies of the order from being supplied with provisions from Sicily.

SEVERAL prizes made by the gallies of the order near cape Bon. Among others an English 1651. vessel is taken, with a cargo on board belonging to the infidels. They here make thirty-two prisoners, among whom is Mahomet BenThes, son to the king of Fez and Morrocco, a youth of twenty-one years of age. Upon their return from this cruising, the gallies of the order, and those of the pope, join the Venetian fleet.

THE Spanish ministers and governors in Sicily, incensed more and more at the continual prizes 1651. made by French vessels, most of which were commanded by knights of that country, order all the estates of the order in that kingdom to be sequestrated, and issue out a prohibition against supplying Malta with any provisions, or suffering any

any Maltese vessels, to put into the ports of the island.

THE grand master and council, surpris'd at these rigorous orders, endeavour to pacify the king of Spain, and accordingly issue out a general prohibition, by which all the knights are forbid going on board any ships that were to act against Christian princes: and the agents of the order at the court of France make fresh instances, that the French ships may not come and attack those of Spain in the channel of Malta, and off the coast of Sicily. They likewise sent express orders to all the governors in the ports of Malta to keep off the rovers, and not suffer them to put into the ports of the order, as happened afterwards to the chevalier de la Carte, who, after a smart engagement off of Goza, offering to put into the road of Marza Sirocco, was fired upon by the batteries planted there, and forced to tack about; which coming to the knowledge of don John of Austria, the king of Spain's generalissimo, he took off the sequestration and opened a free commerce between Malta and Sicily.

THE crew of the Maltese galleys, being very much weakened by the many voyages they were obliged to make into Candia, the pope being informed of the difficulty the order had to fit out a squadron for want of slaves, made the grand master a present of 250.

THEY build a seventh galley at Malta. 1652.

THE order makes a purchase of the isle of St. Christopher in America; for which they were obliged to the chevalier de Poincy. He commanded in that island; but the property of it was vested in a company of French merchants, under the protection of the crown of France. He had built a castle there, which he fortified like a citadel, and had several vessels for the defence of the island against the attempts of pirates. His enemies dreading his power, conspired to ruin him, or at least turn him out of his government. Our knight, having notice of their evil designs, writes to the grand master on that subject, and tells him that his effects

effects were very considerable, but that if he should die in the island, they would be seized on, either by the company of merchants or by his own enemies; and therefore he desired they would send him a knight or two to supply his place in case of his death, that the order might not be defrauded of what he left behind him. The grand master referred the care of this affair to brother Charles Huault de Montmagni receiver of the priory of France, giving him at the same time an express commission, as procurator general of the order, to go over to the isles of America that held of the crown of France, and a power of chusing some other knight to be his companion in the voyage, and supply his stead in case he died.

THE grand master did not stop here; but being fully satisfied of the good intentions of the chevalier de Poincy, who acted in all this affair only for the good of the order, he wrote to the bailiff de Souvré, his embassador at the court of France, and directed him to use his endeavours with the king to gain two points that seemed to him to be of great importance; the first was to interpose his royal authority to put a stop to the enterprizes of Patrocles de Thoissy, the chief of the opposite party, and a mortal enemy to the commander de Poincy; the other article was to purchase the rights of the proprietors of the island, and to get if he could Gaudaloupe, Martinico, and other neighbouring isles, comprehended in the purchase.

THIS negotiation was carried on by the bailiff de Souvré with all imaginable dexterity, and the island of St. Christophers was sold to the order by a contract made at Paris, and ratified at Malta. This conveyance was made on two conditions; the first was, that the order should engage to pay all the debts which the company of merchants, who were the proprietors, owed to the inhabitants of the island; the second was, that they should pay the sellers the sum of 120,000 livres tournois. In this bargain was comprehended not only the property and lordship of St. Christophers, and the little neighbouring isles, as St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, St. Croix, and some others; but likewise

all the dwellings, lands, negroes, merchandize ammunition and provisions, which was afterwards confirmed by the letters patent of king Lewis XIV. granted at Paris in the month of March 1653. After this purchase, the grand master appointed the chevalier de Sales to assist with his council the chevalier de Poincy, who was very old, and who died soon afterwards. The knight, far from having any personal estate to enrich the order, left only behind him several debts, which he had contracted to support himself in his government.

THE gallies of the order join the Venetian fleet, and sail for Candia. Contagious distempers destroy abundance of the soldiers and crew of 1653. the Maltese squadron: the general brings it back in a weak condition. In the midst of the channel of Malta, he meets three vessels of Tripoli: they cannonade one another. The Maltese general, not finding himself well enough manned to attempt to board them, sends to Malta for succours. The convent murmured exceedingly on this occasion, and said, that the general wanted courage more than force, and that it was the first time the gallies of the order had passed a whole day in cannonading the enemy's ships without laying them aboard; however, the grand master sent out several gallies, each manned with ten knights, a good number of soldiers and slaves. But there had risen a gale of wind in the night that was favourable to the infidels, who had made use of it to sail off; so that the next morning when they were preparing to attack them, they found them gone off clear, without their being able to guess which way they steered their course. The squadron was obliged to return back into the harbour of Malta, to the great mortification of the grand master, who expected to see his great nephew that commanded the squadron return back crowned with glory and victory.

A GREAT dispute happens at the entry of the emperor's ambassador at Madrid, about precedency, between Abbé Icontri the grand duke of Tuscany's em-

bassador, and the bailiff brother don Juan de Tordefilas, embassador of the order. The grand duke's embassador pretends to precede that of Malta, who opposes it with vigour, and presents a memorial to his Catholic majesty, wherein he shewed, that the ministers of the order of Malta, had, time out of mind, preceded all such as were not deputed by kings, and who were not allowed to enter when the kings of Spain went to mals. This dispute is decided in favour of the embassador of Malta.

THE court of France is displeas'd at the grand master's conduct in having issued out orders by 1654. which the king's ships were denied the use of his ports. A French fleet being in the channel of Malta was attacked by a terrible storm, and offer'd to put into a port of the island for shelter. The grand master, who was afraid of incensing the Spaniards, refuses to let the king's ships come in, and fires upon them. The whole court exclaim'd against the action, and call'd it high treason: and they talk of no less than seizing all the estates of the order within the kingdom, and uniting them to the demesnes. The grand master excuses himself on account of the engagements which his predecessors, with the consent of our kings, had enter'd into with Charles V. and sends the deed of conveyance of the isle of Malta to court; at last this affair is made up by the dexterity of the bailiff de Souvré, and the credit of M. de Lomenie secretary of state, one of whose sons had been admitted into the order a little before, though he was a minor, and the grand master afterwards by way of acknowledgement gave him the commandry of Rochelle.

THE Venetians prevent the Turks from coming out of the Dardanelles. This occasions an engage- 1655. ment, in which the insidels lose 14 vessels, seven of which were burnt, two stranded, and five taken.

FIVE gallees of the order, coming into the port of Genoa, and saluting only the town and the king of Spain's admiral, the Genoese order them to be attack- ed,



ed, the Genoese admiral pretending a right to be saluted as well as the rest. The knights refused it; whereupon the magistrates signify to the commodore, that they will fire upon his gallies, and sink them if he does not comply. The general of the gallies, to save his squadron, is forced to give them satisfaction.

As he goes out of the harbour, he meets a Genoese vessel, and sends to speak with her. Finding it was no more than a merchant ship, he only tears to pieces the flag, which had the arms of the republic on it, till such time as he might meet with and revenge the insult that had been offered him, upon some gallies or men of war.

A DECREE of the supreme council, declaring, that no Genoese shall be admitted into the order, till such time as satisfaction shall have been given for the violence which had been committed upon the squadron of the order.

THE Maltese squadron goes to join the Venetian fleet, which they meet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, consisting of 24 gallies, seven galeasses, and 28 large ships, under the command of Laurence Marcello. The grand seignior's armada, commanded by Sinan Bassa, advances to open the passage. A battle ensues between the two fleets; the Turks are defeated by the Christians, who gain a complete victory, and reduce the isle of Tenedos. But this advantage was bought dear by the death of the Venetian general, who was killed in the engagement by a cannon shot.

THE duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Sicily, dying about this time, the king of Spain appoints brother Martin de Redin, of the language of Arragon, to succeed him; he goes from Malta to Sicily to take possession of his new dignity.

THEY baptise at Malta the young Turk, supposed to be Ibrahim's son beforementioned, and Mehemet Bintefti, who passes for the son of the king of Fez and Morocco.

THE war of Candia may well enough be stiled the war of Malta, the order never failing to put  
 1657. every year a Squadron to sea for the defence of that island. This year the gallies of the order joined the Venetian fleet, commanded by Lazaro Mocenigo a noble Venetian, in the channel of Jero. The chief design of the Turks was to recover the isle of Tenedos. With this view, Mehemet the grand visier kept a great body of troops near the Dardanelles ready to embark, in order to make a descent upon it. The Christian fleet coming near the place, and landing some troops to take in fresh water, the Turks attacked them, and fell with such fury on a German battalion, that not being able to sustain the charge, they fled, and, falling foul on the other battalions, threw all into disorder and confusion. The Turks pursued them to the sea-side, and cut a good number of them to pieces, among which was the chevalier de Tescan-cour.

THE Turkish fleet appears, consisting of 30 gallies, nine galeasses, and 18 ships, besides saicks and other small vessels. The commander of it had orders to sail out of the Dardanelles, and do all that lay in his power to recover the isle of Tenedos. The pope's gallies join the Christian fleet under the command of the prior de Bichi, to whom the Venetian general gives the precedence, on account of his representing the pope.

ANOTHER sea-engagement at the Dardanelles between the two fleets. The Turks are defeated. The Venetian general ascribes the victory to the naval skill and valour of the Maltese squadron, and sends a brigantine on purpose to congratulate him on this occasion. But the general, desirous of burning some Turkish gallies, which had retired under the cannon of the fortresses, and advancing too far, a ball from one of the castles set fire to the St. Barbe, which was boarded by the Venetian admiral, and blew it up. The general lost his life; and of 700 men that were on board, there were but 250 saved by the Christian saicks that hastened to their succour. The confederate fleet separates,  
 the

the Maltese and the pope's galleys return towards the west, and the Venetians not being now strong enough to fight the Turkish fleet, the infidels besiege and retake Tenedos.

DEATH of the grand master Lascaris, in the 97th year of his age. The bailiff Lascaris his great nephew erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of the language of Provence, in the church of the priory of St. John, on which the following epitaph is engraved.

D. O. M.

“ Hic jacet frater Joannes Paulus de Lascaris Castelar  
 “ M. magister & Melitæ princeps, qui nascendo ab im-  
 “ peratoribus & comitibus Vintimiliæ accepit nobilita-  
 “ tem, vivendo in consiliis & legationibus fecit amplif-  
 “ simam, & moriendo inter omnium lacrymas reddidit  
 “ immortalem. Regnavit annos XXI. inter principes  
 “ fortunatus, erga subditos pater patriæ, erga religio-  
 “ nem bene-merentissimus, septima triremi quam annuis  
 “ redditibus stabilivit, nova commenda quam instituit,  
 “ aliis atque aliis ædificiis quæ construxit, tot terrâ  
 “ marique victoriis omnibus celebris, soli Deo semper  
 “ affixus, obiit die decimâ quartâ Augusti, anno Domini  
 “ 1657, ætatis suæ 97.”

AFTER paying the last duties to the grand master, the convent was to proceed to the choice of a successor. There were two potent and formidable factions at Malta. Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre and viceroy of Sicily, was at the head of the first; and in his absence the commander don Antonio Correa Sousa his intimate friend had the management of his party. But there was another party formed called the flying squadron, consisting of old commanders and great crosses, who had been principally concerned in the government under the preceeding reign; the inquisitor of Malta, Redin's enemy, was at the head of this cabal. He, in order to ruin the opposite party, presented a brief from the pope dated the 9th of December 1656,

in which his holiness ordered him, in case of the death of the grand master Lascaris, to declare all such knights deprived of either active or passive voice, as should be convicted of having caballed or employed money, promises or threats for the election or exclusion of any person whatsoever; every such person the pope interdicted from a right of voting, as being a wicked and simoniacal person.

THE inquisitor proposed by this declaration to make Redin's election miscarry; but it had a quite contrary effect. The knights of his party imagined themselves after this obliged in honour to persist in their first disposition. Notwithstanding all the declarations of the inquisitor, who signified by his secretary, that Martin de Redin prior of Navarre was excluded from the election, as being an ambitious person, who had employed unworthy expedients to advance himself to the grand mastership, this nobleman had a **MARTIN** majority of votes, and accordingly was **DE REDIN**. proclaimed grand master. Odi, in a rage entered protests against it. **REDIN**, to elude the effects of it, sent the pope an authentic account of his election, declaring to him at the same time, that if his holiness had any exceptions to his person, he was ready to renounce it. The pope, who did not care to be subservient to the passion of his officer, and was vexed that he had employed his authority in opposing a knight that was a minister of the king of Spain, and the option of the greatest part of the knights who esteemed him, readily approved the grand master's election. He drew up a brief for that purpose, and sent it to the inquisitor with orders to carry it himself, and declare to the council, that his holiness acknowledged Redin for the lawful prince of Malta. Thus the very person who had opposed his election with the greatest fury and passion, had the mortification to be as it were the herald to proclaim it. The prior de Bichi, nephew to the pope, and general of his galleys, came to Malta, where he waited upon the grand master, who conferred upon him the rich commandry of Polizzi in Sicily.

Sicily. And this nobleman, who was the favourite nephew of his holiness, having joined his galleys to those of the order, the grand master, before he went out of the harbour, made him a present of a cross set with diamonds, valued at 1200 crowns.

THE grand master's first care was to provide for the security of the island, and to prevent the infidels from making descents, especially in the night-time. For this end, he built towers all along the coast at proper distances for the peasants of each quarter of the country who mounted the guard to retire to, and made a fund out of his own purse for the subsistence of such as should be employed in this service, and keep watch in the night-time.

THE pope recalls the inquisitor Odi, and Casanatta is put in his stead. The grand master orders, that whenever a knight who hath only the little cross, is invested with the character of an ambassador, if there should happen to be any knights who are great crosses in the same court, they shall be obliged, for the honour of the order, to attend and wait upon him in all his functions.

THE richest commandries become successively the prey of the pope's nephews. Alexander VII. gives the commandry of Bologna to Sigismund Chigi, and divides that of Frano into three commandries, giving the best of them to Charles Chigi.

THE commander de Mandolx is appointed a second time general of the galleys: he puts to sea with his squadron to join that of the pope: he meets 1659. near Augusta with two brigantines of Barbary, which he takes, and the infidels that were on board them serve to recruit his crew of galley-slaves which was very much weakened. The two squadrons join, and receive, in an island of the Archipelago, a letter from the Venetian general, with advice that the grand seignior's fleet was retired into the harbour of Rhodes, but was immediately to set sail from thence to go to Constantinople, and that if they would come up and join the main fleet, they would have an opportunity of fighting



fighting the infidels, and sharing with him in the glory of their defeat. The two squadrons sailing on, chace three Turkish galliots in their way. One of the three escapes by rowing vigorously; the two others run aground, and one of them is taken. The pope's general seizes upon it, and will needs carry it to Civita-Vecchia, to shew his master that he had been in fight of the enemy. He declares to the general of the order, that he is resolved to return westward. This resolution of retiring surpris'd Mandok exceedingly, who could not comprehend the reason of it, and who thereupon broke out into the most heavy complaints upon that account, and indeed in very harsh terms. But nothing could prevail upon the prior of Bichi, who was obstinately resolv'd to go: the Maltese general does not think proper to separate from him, for fear of exposing the pope's squadron to be attacked by the infidels; so both squadrons steer back to the west, and retire into their respective ports.

THE year following was famous for the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, to 1660. the inexpressible satisfaction of the grand master and the whole order, who now saw themselves enabled to observe that neutrality between Christian princes, which the order had always profess'd ever since its foundation.

THE grand master, after having suffered the most racking pains from a stone of four ounces weight, died on the 6th February. His epitaph mentions his services, and contains an account of the several dignities he had fill'd up.

D. O. M.

“ Æternæ memoriæ sacrum M. magistri D. de Redin  
 “ magni Xaverii ob genus propinqui, cujus ante æta-  
 “ tem præmatura virtus Siculæ, deinde Neapolitanæ  
 “ classium præfecturam meruit. Adultus ad summum  
 “ Pontificem & Hispaniarum regem legatus profectus,  
 “ exercitus regios apud Catalaunos & Calicos, cæteros-  
 “ que Hispaniæ populos, summo cum imperio, rexit, in-  
 “ de

“ de victoriis, meritis atque annis auctus, ex priore Navarræ atque Siciliæ prorege princeps Melitæ electus, insulam propugnaculis ac turritis speculis, urbes aggeribus, horreis annonâ ac vario belli comœatu institutis munivit. Ducis Bulloni exemplum secutus, expeditionis Hierosolymitanæ principibus Europæ se ultrò vel ducem vel comitem obtulit. Obiit die sexta Februarii 1660, ætatis 70, imperii tertio.

AFTER the grand master's funeral, the convent met, as usual, to proceed to the choice of his successor. The one and twenty electors, having duly weighed the merit and capacity of the candidates, agreed unanimously in the election of brother ANNET de Clermont de Chattes Gesson, DE CLERMONT. bailiff of Lyons; and the electing knight proclaimed him grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Two days after, the council acknowledged him as sovereign prince of the isles of Malta and Goza.

THIS title of sovereign, which reflects an honour upon the families of the knights who are advanced to the grand mastership, was nothing extraordinary in the illustrious house of Clermont. Their ancestors, before the treaty made A. D. 1340, between Humbert Dauphin and Ainarde de Clermont, enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty in the dominions they possessed between Dauphiny and Savoy. We find in history, that the viscounts of Clermont levied troops, made war, alliances and treaties, and laid what taxes they pleased on their subjects before the treaty of 1340. These viscounts always kept strong garrisons in the towns and castles of Chavacert and Saussin; places which, at that time, were looked upon as impregnable, and lay both of them upon the river Gué, which divides Savoy from the territories that belonged to the lords of Clermont.

ANNET de Clermont rose to the grand mastership purely by his virtues. His courage, his piety, a distinguishing zeal for religion, his good nature and humanity

manity in all his actions, and a most engaging and obliging manner of receiving people, made all the knights wish for the long continuance of his reign : but providence disposed otherways of him. This great man, who seemed to be born to make his order happy, fell sick three months after his election. Some wounds, which he had received at the siege and taking of Mahometa in Barbary, bleeding afresh, put an end to his life in the 73d year of his age : he died in the arms of his knights, to their great affliction. His epitaph contains his character, and the principal actions of his life.

### D. O. M.

“ Hic jacet emin. Frater Annetus de Chattes-  
 “ Gessan, qui à comitibus Clarimontis ortum accepit,  
 “ à pontificibus sacras claves & tiaram utramque per  
 “ majores in Calisto 2. sedis apostolicæ acerrimos de-  
 “ fensores. Hoc uno verè majorum omnium maximus  
 “ quod tiaræ supremam coronam adjunxit, creatus ne-  
 “ mine discrepante ex bajulivo Lugduni mag. magister  
 “ & Melitæ princeps. Eum apicem merita jampridem  
 “ exegerant, vota nunquam præsumpserant ; sed vir-  
 “ tutes tulerunt suffragium, pietas in divinis, pruden-  
 “ tia in humanis, suavitas in congressu, majestas in in-  
 “ cessu, marescalli integritas, terræ marisque imperi-  
 “ um ; de suo nihil ipse contulit, nisi quod amicis o-  
 “ bedivit. Regnavit ad perennem memoriam vix  
 “ quatuor mensibus : brevis vitæ nulla pars periit :  
 “ primam religioni, secundam populo, tertiam sibi,  
 “ omnem Deo consecravit. Obiit inter lacrymas et  
 “ vota omnium, die secunda Junii 1660, ætatis suæ sep-  
 “ tuagesimo tertio.”

Two days after they had paid the last office to the grand master de Chattes-Gessan, the chevalier d'Arseville, of the language of Auvergne, grand marshal of the order, and whom the late grand master, a few days before his death, had nominated to the post of lieutenant-general to the mastership, called a general assembly

assembly for the election of a new grand master. After the preliminary ceremonies used on such occasions, the languages retired into their respective chapels, to chuse the three persons who were to vote in the election of a grand master, and to pitch upon a fourth voice which was to represent the knights of the language of England.

1. THERE were in the language of Castile and Portugal, thirty-two persons that had voices, who elected the chevalier de Ximenes, the great chancellor, Hozes, bailiff of Lora, Barriga, the vice-chancellor; and for the language of England, they named the commander Xelder.

2. THE language of Arragon, in which Catalonia and Navarre are comprehended, had thirty-five persons that had votes, who elected Bucno, prior of the church, Galdian, prior of Armenia, Raphael Cotoner, administrator of the bailiwick of Majorca; and for England they chose Nicholas Cotoner, brother to Raphael.

3. GERMANY had not above twelve persons that had votes in the convent, and their choice fell upon the grand bailiff of Breslaw, Olterhaussen, grand prior of Denmark, and the commander Osotiski; and for England, they pitched upon the commander de la Tour.

4. THERE were seventy-eight persons that had votes in the language of Italy, who named Sfondrati, bailiff of St. Euphemia, Bondinelli, prior of Aquila, with the prior of Rochelle; and for England, Tancred bailiff of Venusia.

5. FRANCE had fifty-six persons that had votes, who elected Valençai, grand prior of Champagne, Anthony de Conflans, lieutenant to the grand hospitaller, and the commander Gilbert d'Elbene; and for England they named Joachim de Callemaison.

6. THERE were eighty-nine knights that had votes in the language of Provence, who chose Monmejan a great commander, Polastron la Hilliere, prior of Toulouse, saint Marc, bailiff of Manosque; and for England the bailiff de Mandolx.

7. AUVERGNE staid in the nave of the church, near the person of the marshal d'Arfevilliere, on account of his post of lieutenant of the mastership. There were thirty-five votes in this language, who named the marshal de l'Arfevilliere, Gerlande, bailiff of Lyons, with the commander de l'Arfevilliere, brother to the lieutenant; and for England, the commander de la Roche.

INTRIGUE and cabal prevailed very much in this election; and the commander de Valençay, who secretly aspired to this dignity, even during the lifetime of the last grand master, thought himself sure of nine votes. But when the election came on, there were several other old commanders who put up as candidates, particularly the marshal de Arfevilliere, Raphael Cottoner, Monmejan, St. Mark, and Hozes above mentioned, who, though they had their several parties, yet all agreed to exclude Valençay, whose party seemed the most numerous and formidable.

VALENÇAY, to weaken this cabal, pretended to give up his hopes and pretensions, and accordingly told the principal leaders of the opposite party severally, that he and his nine friends would readily join in their election; which put them upon their guard against one another: but Bueno, prior of the church, found out the artifice, and assured them that Valençay designed only to disunite them with his insidious promises; and that therefore, in order to shew him they were not to be imposed on, and to exclude him entirely, they should all of them by concert compromise their votes, and leave it entirely to some one of their party to dispose of them, taking an oath to concur *bona fide* in the election of such person among their number as he should judge most deserving of the post of grand master. Twelve old commanders or great crosses came into the proposal, and agreed in naming the great commander Monmejan, a knight highly esteemed for his probity, to be the person to whom they would refer the disposal of their votes. He was far from imitating the grand master de Gozon on the like occasion



occasion and naming himself, but declared in the assembly, that he thought they could not make a better choice than of the person of Raphael de Cotoner, bailiff of Majorca.

THESE twelve electors, concurring with the nine of Valençay's party, chose three others out of those that had been named for the language of England, who were the bailiff de Mondolx, Tancred bailiff of Venusia, and Nicholas Cotoner bailiff of Negrepont. These twenty-four electors chose brother John Diodati, prior of Venice, to be president of the election, the commander brother Denis Ceba, of the language of Italy, to be electing knight, the commander brother Francis Deidié for chaplain of the election, and the commander brother Michael Porruel, of the language of Arragon, for serving brother of the election. This election put an end to that of the twenty-four, and these last having all the power lodged in themselves, chose thirteen new electors, which, with them three, made up the number of sixteen, who were to have the final nomination of the grand master.

1. BARRIGA, of the language of Castile and Portugal, vice-chancellor of the order, was the first person elected.

2. THE commander brother Anthony de Glandevé Castelet, of the language of Provence, chose for the language of England.

3. THE commander brother Adrian de Contremolins, of the language of France.

4. THE commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, of the language of Auvergne.

5. THE commander brother Adolfe Frederick de Reede, of the language of Germany.

6. THE commander brother Henry de Villeneuve Torenque, of the language of Provence.

7. THE commander brother John de Forfat, of the language of Auvergne.

8. THE commander brother Henry de la Salle, of the language of France.

9. THE commander brother Francis Ricafoli, of the language of Italy.

10. THE commander brother Ifidore d'Argai, of the language of Arragon.

11. THE commander brother don Antonio Correa de Soura, of the language of Castile and Portugal, for England.

12. THE commander brother Francis Wratiflau, of the language of Germany.

13. THE commander don Lewis Kelder, of the language of Castile and Portugal.

THE sixteen electors, after taking the usual oaths, and shutting themselves up in the conclave, directed the electing knight to go up into the gallery which

looks into the church, and proclaim that RAPHAEL they had chose brother DON RAPHA-

COTONER. EL COTONER, bailiff of Majorca,

1660. to be their grand master. Immediately

June 16. Te Deum was sung by way of thanksgiving; and all the knights came afterwards to kiss his hand, and take the oath of obedience, and the next day the council gave him the title of sovereign prince of the isles of Malta and Goza.

WE observed, under the year 1645, that the Turks, after having threatened the isle of Malta with a sudden invasion, fell with all their force upon that of Candia, which belonged to the state of Venice. St. Theodora was the first place they attacked. They carried it without any great resistance, and put all the garrison to the sword. They next invested Canea, both by sea and land, and took it after a bloody siege, which lasted forty days. The governor surrendered upon honourable terms; and the infidels were very punctual in keeping the articles of the capitulation.

THE year following, the Venetian, the Maltese, and the pope's gallies, landed a considerable body of troops, under the command of the duke de la Valette. This general, intended to retake Canea, and invested it; but the Turks came with a considerable body of troops  
and

and forced him to raise the siege. They afterwards took Rhetimo, Muscava, Melo-potamo and Calaino. Their principal design was to besiege the capital of the island; but as they were sensible the place was fortified both by art and nature, and that there was a garrison in it numerous enough for an army, they only built a fort to hinder their incursions, and to block up the place. This fort they called New Candia, and furnished it with a garrison of 6000 men.

THE two parties carried on the war for several years with various success. The Venetians, finding themselves pressed by the formidable power of the Turks, applied to most of the European princes for succour; pope Alexander VII. and Raphael Cottoner, grand master of Malta, sent them their gallies. Lewis XIV. king of France, sent them also 3000 men, under the command of a prince of the house of Est. But this prince being ready to embark, the commander de Gremonville, of an illustrious family in Normandy, whom the king named for the prince of Est's lieutenant, and the chevalier Paul, a serving brother, and one of the ablest sea-officers in Europe, were appointed to carry over the troops.

THE duke of Savoy sent two regiments of foot of 500 men each. The Genoese offered a considerable succour of men and money, provided the Venetians would treat them as their equals. But as those two republics had, time out of mind, fought against one another to determine that nice dispute, the Venetians were so jealous of their superiority, that they refused to accept the Genoese reinforcement upon that condition.

THE design of the Christian generals was to recover the town of Canea; but not having troops enough to besiege it in form, and to hinder the infidels from throwing succours into it, they resolved to take some forts that were in the hands of the Turks, and to lay in the neighbourhood of Suda. Their first attempt was upon the post of Sancta Veneranda, which the infantry took by storm. The Turks, at the noise of this

attack, advanced that way, and came to an engagement with the battalion of Malta, which repulsed, and put them to flight. They next took Calogero, which the Turks abandoned; and Calami, which took them up no more time than was necessary to adjust the capitulation. Apricorno made a better defence: it was a place of difficult access, by reason of a narrow way which they must necessarily pass through, and which the Turks had, in a manner, stopped up, with a prodigious number of trees they had felled for that purpose. Some squadrons of their troops sallied out of the place to reconnoitre the forces of the Christians. Garenne, a French officer, at the head of two squadrons, charged them briskly, and put them to flight. But some Turks observing, that he, in his eagerness to pursue them, had advanced a considerable way before his main body, they turned short upon him, and struck off his head at once with a sabre. The campaign ended with different success on both sides. The Christians, who beat and were beaten on several occasions, retired to Cicalaria, a place covered on one side with inaccessible mountains, and on the other by a wood; and the Turks encamp at Maleta.

THE 24th of January, of the following year, the general of the galleys of the order met a vessel  
1661. of Tunis off of cape Passaro in Sicily, which he took. He made, on this occasion, 130 slaves, among whom was the *cadi* dey of Tunis's son, and a *choaux* of the grand seignior's, who had been carrying his orders to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and other places on the coast of Barbary. Gravié, a serving brother, as he was cruising near Tripoli, took soon afterwards another ship of the infidels, with 150 Janizaries on board, designed to reinforce the garrison of Gigibarta, a fortress of Barbary.

TOWARDS the middle of April, brother Paul, a serving brother, entered the port of Malta, with three of the king of France's galleys, and the grand master sent him a compliment by his seneschal. As soon as he landed, he went up to the palace to pay his duty to  
him,

him, as to his superior; and the grand master received him with great demonstrations of kindness, omitting no testimony of that regard which he thought due to the merit and valour of a person, who had raised himself from a private sea-officer, to the post of lieutenant to the lord high admiral of France.

THOUGH the grand master was at a very great expence in sending considerable succours to Candia, nevertheless, by his good management, there was no want of funds for other purposes; of which he did not fail to make a worthy use, suitable to his natural generosity, and the magnificence of a great prince. He employed part of them this year in enlarging the infirmary; and, at the same time, beautified the church of the priory of St. John with excellent paintings and pictures of devotion, which still remain in that church as a perpetual monument of his piety. In the mean time, the gallies of the order, putting to sea, joined the pope's squadron, which was commanded by the prior de Bichy, near Augusta; sailing afterwards into the Archipelago, they met the Venetian fleet near the isle of Andros, and went together in quest of that of the Turks. They scoured all the seas thereabouts; but having no manner of news of it, the allies separated in order to return home. The Maltese gallies, keeping on their course, met, off the coast of Calabria, two Barbary gallies of fourteen benches each, which the knights took after a slight resistance. This is reckoned to be the year when the senate of Venice, in consideration of the continual services which the republic received from the order, made a decree, by which the knights of Malta were allowed to wear their arms at Venice, and all other places within their territories: a privilege that was not indulged the natural subjects of the state.

IN the beginning of the year 1663, the doge used great instances with the grand master to send out the gallies of the order. Cottoner thought 1663. at first that he, out of respect to the holy see, ought to wait for the pope's squadron; but having advice that his holiness kept them at Civita-Vecchia,



through the apprehensions he was under of his most Christian majesty's just resentment for the insult which had been offered the embassador of France and his lady by the pope's guard of Corsi, the gallies of the order put to sea on the 15th of May, under the command of the commander de Bressaw, and sailed for the Levant. After some prizes of small consequence, which the general of the gallies sent to Malta, he joined the Venetian fleet upon the 22d of the same month, near the isle of Andro. George Morosini, a noble Venetian, was the admiral of it, who told him that the Turks had fitted out no fleet this year, and that therefore he should employ the forces of the allies in cruising at sea, and scouring the coasts of the infidels.

THE grand master Cotoner dies of a malignant and contagious fever, which ran over the whole island, and was particularly rife in the city of la Valette. He was a prince truly worthy of his dignity, prudent in his conduct, pious in his sentiments, magnificent in his way of living, and without any view but the defence of the Christians, the service and happiness of his knights, and the honour of his order. The knights of his language erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of Arragon, and put over him the following epitaph.

Arragonum quicumque teris Melitense sacellum,  
 Sacraque signa vides, siste viator iter.  
 Hic ille est primus Cotonera è stirpe magister,  
 Hic ille est Raphaël, conditus ante diem.  
 Talis erat cervix Melitensi digna corona :  
 Tale fuit bello consiliisque caput.  
 Cura, fides, pietas, genius, prudentia, robur,  
 Tot dederant vitæ pignora cara suæ,  
 Ut dum cœlestes citius raperetur ad arces,  
 Ordinis hæc fuerit mors properata dolor.  
 Qui ne mutatas regni sentiret habenas,  
 Germano rerum fræna regenda dedit.  
 Cætera ne quæras, primus de stirpe secundum  
 Promeruit : fatis hoc, perge viator iter.

ON the 23d of October, Bandinelli, prior of Aquila, whom the grand master, a few days before his death, had named lieutenant of the mastership, called a general assembly of the convent for the election of a new grand master: there were in it at this time 293 persons who had votes. After the preliminary ceremonies, a circumstance happened in this which never happened before in any former election, which was, that the grand master's brother was chosen his successor. For though there were not wanting in the order, and even at Malta, several persons that might justly pretend to this dignity, and who were admirably well qualified for it, yet the merit of the two brothers was so generally known, that as soon as ever the eldest expired, there was an unanimous concurrence of all the voices, of people as well as knights, even before the election came on, in favour of brother  
NICHOLAS COTONER, bailiff of Majorca; so that all the electors, the  
COTONER.  
twenty-one as well as the sixteen, went into the conclave for form's sake only, to keep to the letter of the statutes, and immediately afterwards brother don Emmanuel Arrias, vice-chancellor of the order, who was chose the electing knight, proclaimed him grand master: and the next day he was declared in full council sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza.

THE corsairs of Barbary, having carried their Piracies as far as the coast of Provence, Lewis the XIV. to repress their insolence, was advised to settle a colony on the coast of Barbary. 1664.  
and to build a fortress, with a port well fortified, for the security of his ships, and situated so as to be able to give advice from time to time when any squadrons of the infidels should put to sea. The village of Gigeri was proposed to him for this purpose, which lies near the sea between the towns of Algiers and Bugia, fifteen miles from both of them. Near this village there was an old castle built on the top of a mountain and almost inaccessible. The king appointed the duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, to put this project in execution,

ecution, and desired the grand master to send the gallees of the order to his assistance. He did so; and accordingly the Maltese squadron joined the king's fleet in Port-Mahon. The Christians landed their troops without opposition, and immediately set to work in laying the foundations of the fort which they had orders to build. The Moors, alarmed at an enterprise which tended to reduce them under subjection, ran to arms, and with their artillery demolished the works that had been begun. The duke of Beaufort detached part of his cavalry to repulie the enemy; but as this body had no infantry to sustain them, and the Moors had notice by their spies that the French were but few in number, they broke into the village sabre in hand, and forced the French to retire to the sea-side. The duke of Beaufort finding he was not able to stand his ground in that country, resolved to embark, but could not do it secretly enough to hinder the Moors from getting notice of it: so that the rear, consisting of 400 men, were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. To make the misfortune still greater, one of the king's ships, called the Moon, which was old, and had ten troops of horse on board, was cast away seven leagues from Toulon; so that this expedition did not prove more successful than that of the emperor Charles V. at the siege of Algiers.

THE continuation of the affair of the commander de Poincy in relation to the isle of St. Christopher, which the order sells to a company of French merchants, who make a settlement there under the king's protection.

THIS year the squadron of the order scoured all the seas of the Archipelago, but took no prizes except a few felucca's laden with corn and merchandize belonging to some Turkish traders. Two vessels commanded by the chevaliers de Crainville and de Temericours were more successful. De Crainville was on board a ship of 40 guns, called the Garden of Holland, which he had taken the year before from an Algerine corsair, though he had only a frigate of 22 guns, on board of which now was Temericours, a young knight of great courage,

courage, who had already signalized himself on several occasions. These two knights, who were intimate friends, roved in concert over all the seas of the Levant; and in the channel of the isle of Samos they met a caravan going from Alexandria to Constantinople, composed of ten ships and twelve saicks. The number and strength of the enemy served only to inflame the courage of the two knights; they rushed into the middle of this little fleet, sunk some vessels, took four of the richest, with two small ones, and put the rest to flight.

THE same year was famous for an action which will immortalize the memory of the chevalier d'Hoquincourt. This gallant commander was in the port of the isle Dauphine, when he was suddenly invested by 33 of the grand seignior's gallies that were carrying troops to the isle of Candia. The admiral that commanded the fleet landed all his best arquebusers, who made a continual fire upon the Maltese vessel, at the same time that the Turkish gallies cannonaded it with all their artillery. The infidels, after mauling the tackling of the vessel, advanced to board it; some attack it at the poop, as others do at the prow. The knight makes head on all sides, as if he had been invulnerable, though his vessel was hurt in several places, and he had lost abundance of soldiers, he yet cleared it of all the Turks that offered to board him, and threw them headlong into the sea. The Turkish general, in a rage at this obstinate resistance, and ashamed of the little success of his gallies in close fight, ordered them to open their ranks, and leave him a passage to come up with the vessel himself. At the same time his crew plied their oars, and vigorously pushed forward the admiral galley; but the effort he made threw the Maltese vessel clear out of the port, and, a favourable gale springing up, d'Hoquincourt got to the first Christian port, after sinking several gallies of the Turks, and killing them above 600 soldiers.

AN action of such distinguished valour and resolution deserved a better fate than this gallant knight met with  
a little

a little after. For he, this very campaign, being on board the same vessel, a sudden gust of wind dashed him against a rock near the isle of Scarpanta. The vessel was shattered to pieces, and the knight was drowned; and the chevalier de Grilles, his particular friend, and 170 soldiers or mariners, perished in this shipwreck.

THE duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, as he is in chace of some corsairs of Barbary, arrives in the harbour of Malta; he is saluted by all the cannon of the ports, but would not see the grand master, who refused to give him the title of highness. A little after M. de la Haye the French ambassador to the porte, passed likewise, and put in at Malta.

DEATH of Philip of Austria, the fourth of the name, king of Spain, who is succeeded by 1666. don Carlos his son. This change of sovereign occasions a new investiture, which the commander Galdian, general of the gallies, receives in the name of the order from the duke of Sermonetta viceroy of Sicily, and takes the oath of fidelity usual in such ceremonies.

THE commander d'Elbene, general of the gallies, comes with his squadron to Barcelona to convoy the empress who was going to the emperor, to whom she was married by proxy. This princess, after her landing at Final, wrote a very obliging letter to the grand master, to thank him for the good offices she had received from the general of the gallies.

THE pope makes three great crosses, the first of whom was one of his nephews, and the other two were considerable officers in his palace.

THE grand visier Achmet comes with a considerable body of troops into Candia, to put an end to the war and siege of the capital of the island. The Venetians apply as usual to the pope and the grand master; whose squadrons join near Augusta, and sail from thence to the coasts of Candia, and the isle of Standia. Francis Morosini, a noble Venetian, was generalissimo of all the Christian army, Antonio Barbaro, another noble



noble Venetian, was governor of the town, and the marquis de Ville, a Piedmontese, was commander of the troops in garrison, all generals of extraordinary valour; and though emulation made them enemies, and jealous of one another's glory, they yet made a gallant defence.

DEATH of Alexander VII. who is succeeded by Clement IX.

CLEMENT, pursuant to the possession with which his predecessors had invested themselves, names the chevalier brother Vincent Rospigliosi his nephew to the bailiwick of St. Euphemia, vacant by the death of brother Philip Sfondrati. This renews the uneasiness and complaints of the language of Italy, which was continually plundered and stripped of its rights by these papal nominations.

ARTICLES of agreement between the landgrave of Hesse cardinal and grand-prior of Germany, and John de Witte chancellor and pensioner 1668. of the province of Holland, with respect to some estates of the order depending on the commandry of Harlem in that province, which the magistrates had seized on. By this treaty, in which the protection of his most Christian majesty, and the negotiation of the Comte d'Elstrades, were of great service, the Dutch engage to pay 150.000 florins to the order, to indemnify them for the estates which they had seized on in the provinces of Holland and West-Frizeland; and the order, in consideration of this sum, renounced all their right to those estates, saving still to themselves their right to all the estates to which they had a title in the other provinces, with full liberty to sue for their restitution, or get at least an equivalent for them.

THE marquis de Ville, general of the land forces in the isle of Candia, quits the Venetian service, out of disgust of the ill treatment he met with from general Morosini. The Venetian ambassador, with the king's leave, proposes to the marquis St. André Montbrun to go over to Candia to command in the same quality. The honour of defending a place, for whose preservation

tion all the princes of Christendom interested themselves, determines the marquis of St. André to accept the command. He sets out post and goes to Venice, where he embarks, and lands at the port of Trainate in the island of Candia on the 21st of June.

GENERAL Morosini gains a victory over the Turks at sea.

A STRONG succour of French troops arrives in Candia, consisting of 7000 men, under the command of the duke de Navailles. The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France commanded the fleet.

THE count of St. Paul brother to the duke of Longueville was at the head of the volunteers, 1669. among whom were the duke of Chateau-Thierry, brother to the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Roannez, and the comte de la Feuillade.

THE order, ever zealous for the defence of the Christians, sends a battalion of 400 men into Candia, under the command of brother Hector de Fay la Four Mauburg.

THE count of St. Paul, at his return from Candia, touches at Malta, where he is received with great honours, after having performed quarantine in an house situated at the Bormole.

THE duke of Navailles, when the time fixed by his instructions is expired, returns back into France.

THE Maltese battalion, after losing abundance of men, think of retiring from a place which in a few days consumed all the succours that arrived from abroad.

A FLEET of 40 ships arrives in Candia with a new reinforcement of 4500 men, most of them Germans, among whom were 400 vassals of the duke of Brunswick. Besides this reinforcement, count Waldeck arrives there at the head of 300 men; and the grand master of the Teutonic order sends a chosen band of 150 men well provided, besides several noblemen of different countries who came as volunteers, and fought under the banner of the order.

THE fleur de Temericourt, eldest brother to the chevalier of that name, cruising at sea under the flag of Malta, took a Turkish ship of 40 guns near the isle Scarpante, commanded by the corsair Buba Affan. He manned it anew, and in company with another vessel commanded by the chevalier de la Barre, sailed into the seas of Alexandria, where descrying two sultanas laden with merchandize, he advanced to get between them and the harbour. As his vessel was a better sailer than his consort, he fell upon the sultana which was the farthest advanced, and, after pouring in a broadside, prepared to board her, when he received a musket-shot on the head that knocked him down upon the deck, which however did not hinder him from exhorting his officers and soldiers to continue the engagement. The infidels, seeing it would be impossible for them to escape from the Christians who had grappled the two ships together, desperately set fire to the vessel in order to make their enemies perish with them. The chevalier de la Barre, who was on the point of taking the second sultana, seeing the danger his friend was in, quits the sultana, runs to his succour, and clears him of the vessel that was on fire. But Temericourt did not live to enjoy his victory, he dying the next day of his wound; and the sultana, which la Barre was just upon the point of taking, made off whilst he was employed in assisting his friend, and got into the port of Alexandria.

THE grand master and the council send the commander brother Antonio Correa de Sousa, the grand master's gentleman of the horse, as their 1670. embassador into Portugal, to compliment don Pedro brother to don Alphonso king of Portugal, upon his marriage with the queen his brother's wife, and his taking upon him the regency of the kingdom. He was ordered at the same time to demand back the grand priory of Crato, vacant by the death of cardinal don Ferdinand infante of Spain. But as the ministry of Portugal had got that rich benefice into their hands, they persuaded the regent, that the nomination and patronage of it was lodged in the crown, and there-

fore all the answer he gave was, that the clearing up of that affair demanded some time. However at last he gave up the priory to brother don John de Soufa, who had a true right and title to it by a particular grant from the convent.

THE reducing of the isle of Candia, and the peace which the Venetians had concluded with the Turks, make the grand master apprehensive that they would now turn their arms against Malta. To put the island in a condition of baffling all their efforts, he, in conjunction with the council, applies to the duke of Savoy, desiring of him an excellent engineer, Valpergo by name, who comes by his orders to Malta, and gives directions for the raising of new fortifications. The first was named the Cotonera. The next thing was to add new works to the Floriana, with a fausse-braye and two bulwarks, one on the side of port Meczet, and the other towards the great port: and in order that the entrance of the great port might be completely defended, they built a royal port, called Ricafoli, from the name of a commander who gave the order 30,000 crowns for that work.

DEATH of pope Clement IX. who is succeeded by Clement X. This pontiff writes a brief to 1671. the grand master to congratulate him upon the pains he took of fortifying an island which served for a bulwark to all the dominions of the Christian princes.

THE chevalier de Vendosme, in spite of all the opposition of the old knights, prevails with the pope to grant him an expectative grace upon the grand priory of France. This brief was at last registered in the chancery of the order, but upon condition that the new grand prior should make good the mortuary and profits arising from the vacancy to the order.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, son to the duke d'Elbæuf, and Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne duke of Chateau Thierry, son to the duke of Bouillon, are received into the order.

THE grand master and council finding the number of serving brothers too great, make a regulation, forbidding the reception of any more for the future, till such time as new orders should be issued out for that purpose.

ROME labours under a great dearth of corn: the pope sends over all Italy to get a supply; and cardinal Altieri his nephew writes to the 1672. grand master in his holiness's name, and desires him to send the squadron of the order to convoy his ships. Orders were accordingly dispatched without loss of time for that purpose to the bailiff de Harcourt, of the house of Lorraine, general of the gallies, and to the chevalier de Fovelle Ecrainville, who commanded the admiral-galley.

THE chevalier de Temericourt, a famous corsair, is attacked by five great vessels of Tripoli: he defends himself with so much courage and intrepidity, that after shooting the masts of two of them by the board, and killing abundance of their men, the infidels, despairing to take him, tacked about, and left him at liberty to keep on his way: but he was soon after caught in a dreadful storm, which drove him upon the coast of Barbary, where his vessel was cast away, and he himself was taken by the Moors, who carried him to Tripoli, and from thence to Adrianople. Mahomet IV. who was there at that time, asked him if he was the person that with a single vessel had fought five of the largest of those of Tripoli. " 'Twas myself, replied the knight. What countryman are you, said the sultan? A Frenchman, replied Temericourt. You are a deserter then, said Mahomet, for I am in strict peace with the king of France. I am a Frenchman, says Temericourt to him; but, besides that quality, I am likewise a knight of Malta; a profession which obliges me to expose my life against all the enemies of the Christian faith." The grand seignior, desiring to get him into his service, sent him at first to a prison, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him all these advantageous offers



that might possibly tempt a young warrior who was but 22 years old; and, to encourage him to change his religion, he promised to marry him to a princess of his blood, and to make him a *bascha*, or his great admiral. But these pompous offers had no effect upon the young knight; he resisted them with as much courage and resolution as he had done their arms. The grand seignior, incensed at his steadiness, resolved to try if harsh usage could not shake his constancy, and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon for a fortnight. They there gave him the *bastinado*, put him to the torture, and mangled his limbs, during which this noble confessor of CHRIST JESUS did nothing but call upon his holy name, and implore his grace that he might die for the confession of it. In fine, the grand seignior ordered his head to be cut off; his body was at first left at the place of execution; but Mahomet, to prevent any veneration being paid to it by the Christians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which runs by Adrianople.

A DISPUTE between the French commodores and the officers of the order about the salute when 1673. they met at sea: Lewis XIV. pronounces against himself. This negotiation, which was of a very delicate nature, succeeds by the address of the commander de Hautefeuille ambassador from the order to his most Christian majesty.

THE *mainotes*, of the Greek religion, and inhabitants of the mountains of the Morea, implore the grand master's assistance to enable them to throw off the Turkish yoke. The squadron of the order comes upon their coast; but finding them not united among themselves, some of them being for recovering their liberty, and others for continuing still faithful to the Turks, the galleys of the order gave over the enterprise.

IN the year 1618, the duke of Ostrog a Polish nobleman, had, with the consent of the republic, made the order of Malta heir to all his estate. This great family being now extinct by the death of duke Alexander d'Ostrog,

d'Ostrog, the chevalier prince de Lubomirski gave immediate advice thereof to the grand master. But duke Demetrius the petty-general of the crown, laying claim to the inheritance, under pretence that he had married the sister of duke Alexander, the grand master sent prince Lubomirski a letter of attorney to maintain the rights of the order.

THE admiral brother Paul Raphael Spinola, 1674. takes three merchant ships richly laden, in the gulph of Magra.

THE viceroy of Sicily applies to the order for succours. The grand master immediately sends him the squadron of the gallies. Several great crosses go on board them, as a testimony of their zeal for the king of Spain's service, whose subjects they were born. In the mean time, the chevalier de Valbelle throws a supply of French troops into Messina.

THE grand master Nicolas Cotoner makes an endowment to maintain the fortreis of Ricafoli in the island of Malta.

THE king of England declares war against the rovers of Tripoli, and his ships are well received in the ports of Malta. 1675.

FREDERICK de Mogelin the king of Poland's envoy arrives at Malta, and presents the grand master with a letter from that prince, in which he tells him, that, as his territories were continually infested by the Turkish forces, he should be exceedingly obliged to him if he would make a diversion by some considerable enterprize. The grand master answers him, that by complying with the solicitations of his Polish majesty, he would do no more than discharge the obligations of his own profession; that the order had always employed their forces against the infidels, but that they would now encrease their armaments, in order to answer the wants and instances of his majesty.

THE viceroy of Sicily endeavours to engage the order, as being a feudatory of that crown, to make war against the people of Messina. The grand master answers him, that they are forbid by the very instituti-

on of the order ever to concern themselves in any war between Christians, and that there was nothing of that nature to be found in the deed of infeoffment of Malta.

THE post-house is settled at Malta in the fort of Marza-muzet, which the grand master Manoel has in our time secured with very necessary fortifications.

CHARLES II. king of England writes in a very obliging manner to the grand master, to thank him for the great civilities he shewed to his admiral and his ships, which he received into the harbour of Malta.

THE Genoese embark some troops from the Milanese, and transport them into the port of Melazzo, 1676. where the gallies of the order were at that time under the command of the bailiff de Spinola, who, out of complaisance for the viceroy of Sicily, and forgetting the insult the squadron of the order had received in the port of Genoa, consents that the Patron of that commonwealth should have the post of the Patron of Malta: the great affection he had for his country was undoubtedly the motive of his acting in that manner, and perhaps too it might be to make a compliment to Augustine Durazzo, commodore of the Genoese, who had married Spinola's niece.

A DREADFUL plague at Malta, which destroys a great number of knights, and abundance of people.

MALTA being almost depopulated, is no longer able to supply the same number of knights for the 1677. gallies; so that in the naval expeditions, where, before the plague broke out, they used to have one and twenty knights on board every galley, the number was this year reduced to eleven for the admiral, and nine for the other gallies.

THE dignity of marshal being now vacant, the commander brother Lewis de Fay Garlande, and brother René de Maisonseule, both of the language of Auvergne, of the same standing in the order, and who had passed through the same employments, aspired to it in opposition to each other. After a long dispute, the grand master, and some common friends of the two claimants, finding

finding no way to decide the competitorship, persuaded them to agree, that they shall enjoy this dignity alternately, and each have his month.

MAISONSEULE dies two years after this compromise. Gerlande being left alone in the post, puts to sea with five gailles, and meets two Algerine corsairs off of cape Passaro: but instead of laying them aboard, as was the constant practice of the knights, he only cannonaded the two corsairs: this made Maisonseule be regreted, and occasioned great complaints at Malta against Gerlande, who excused himself by saying that the wind was against him. 1678.

CAPTAIN Peter Fleeches, a native of Majorca, meets an Algerine corsair in the same place, and sinks him, but saves an hundred Turkish soldiers, whom he afterwards sold to the order for an hundred pieces of eight per slave.

THE pope is desirous of putting an end to the disputes between the order and the republic of Genoa. He speaks to the Maltese ambassador upon that subject, who, by order of his superiors, told the pope, that the order was all obedience, and that, notwithstanding the insult which had been offered by the Genoese, it was yet ready to pay a blind and implicit submission to whatever determination his holiness should think fit to make in the case. The pope, not caring to take upon him the decision of that affair, it was spun out some time longer.

DON John of Austria, grand prior of Castile, being dead, the grand master and council design to retrench 3000 ducats from the revenue of that rich benefice, in favour of several persons: but the king of Spain, who laid claim to the right of patronage of that grand priory opposes the curtailing of its revenue.

PEACE concluded between France and Spain by the marriage of Charles II. with the princess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter to the duke of Orleans, his most Christian majesty's brother. Brother don Juan de Villa Viciosa goes to compliment his catholic 1679.

tholic majesty in the grand master's name, and obtain his leave to export a quantity of corn, which arrives at Malta at a time when a famine was beginning to ravage the whole island.

THE grand master, who some years before had been seized with a kind of palsy, is now at 1680. attacked with very severe fits of the gout and stone. A slow fever steals away from him his strength by insensible degrees, without any way lessening his courage or his vigilance, but a dysentery forces him at last to keep his bed. He appoints brother don Arland Seralte, prior of Catalonia, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and dies with great sentiments of piety on the 29th of April, in the 73d year of his age. This prince, who by his artful management had procured his brother the dignity of grand master, owed his own advancement to his merit only. He kept up his dignity by a superiority of genius, that made him respected by all who approached him: he had an excellent talent at negotiations; was bold in his enterprises, and prudent in the choice of proper means to execute them: he had all his fellow knights for his friends, communicated his designs but to very few among them, and never had a confidant. He was buried in the chapel of the language of Arragon, and the following epitaph was put on his tomb.

D. O. M.

“ Fratri D. Nicolas Cottoner, magno Hierosolymitani ordinis magistro, animi magnitudine, consilio, munificentia, majestate principi, erecto ad Mahometis dedecus ex navigii rostris, ac sultanæ prædâ trophæo; Melitâ magnificis extruccionibus, Templorum nitore explicato, munitoque ubi bis pomærio, splendidè auctâ; cive è pestilentiaë faucibus pene raptò; Hierosolymitano ordine, cui primus post fratrem præfuit, legibus, auctoritate, spoliis amplificato; republica difficillimis sæculi belli temporibus servata: verè magno quod tanti nominis mensuram gestis impleverit, pyramidem hanc excelsi testem animi, D. D. C. fama superstes.



“superstes. Vixit in magisterio annos XVI. menses  
“VI. obiit 29 Aprilis 1680, ætatis 73. Post ejus  
“obitum, executores testamentarii tumultum hunc fieri  
“mandavere.”

THREE days after Cotoner's funeral, they met to chuse him a successor. Parties had been forming during his illness, and were still carried on. The treasurer de Vignacour was sure of ten votes, and did all he could to engage the Spanish language on his side, but in vain.

THE electors name the prior of Rochelle, D. Gregory Caraffa, a Neapolitan. GREGORY  
CARAFFA. This choice was agreeable to all, but especially to the Italians, who, for 128 years before, had not had a grand master elected from among their countrymen.

THE new grand master applies himself diligently to regulate the affairs of the order, and finish the fortifications that had been begun by his predecessor.

GENERAL Correa returns to Malta with six Algerine ships, which he had taken, 1681. after having run a great risque of being taken himself.

THE bailiff Colbert succeeds Correa in the post of general of the galleys of the order.

THE bailiff d'Arrias, who for 24 years had enjoyed the post of vice-chancellor, and distinguished himself in the discharge of it, made a voluntary resignation of his office to the grand master, who, upon the chancellor's presentation, appointed the commander Carriero a Portuguese, secretary of the treasury, to succeed him. Carriero's post is given to the commander Bovio, who was afterward grand prior of England. 1682.

BROTHER Jerom Molina, bishop of Malta, is translated to the bishoprick of Lerida. The king of Spain, upon the grand master's presentation, names brother David Coceo Palmieri, a man of admirable probity, to the see of Malta.

THE king of France writes to the grand master, to notify to him the birth of the duke of Burgundy. Great rejoicings at Malta: the French knights of the three languages distinguish themselves by the noble feasts they make on this occasion.

THE dukes of Ganfron and Berwick come to Malta. This last receives the cross from the hands of the grand master, with the title of grand prior of England.

THE Turks besiege the city of Vienna with a formidable army. John Sobieski king of Poland, and the duke of Lorraine generalissimo of the emperor's forces, and the duke of Bavaria join to relieve it: The infidels are beaten in several engagements, and are at last repulied with so much loss, that they are scarce able to repass the Danube.

THIS success induces pope Innocent XI. to conclude a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the state of Venice, against the infidels. The grand master is desirous to share in such a laudable engagement, writes about it to the pope, and prepares all his forces to join the confederates. The squadron of the order puts to sea, under the command of the bailiff of St. Stephens, alarms all the coast of Barbary, and drives the enemy out of the two islands of Prevela and Santa Maura.

A NEW armament of the order commanded by brother Hector de la Tour Maubourg. The Venetian fleet, and the pope's gallees join the Maltese squadron at Messina. Morosini, generalissimo of the republic, attacks Coron, and takes it after a stout resistance from the besieged. The knights distinguish themselves in the siege, by incredible efforts of valour, particularly by driving the infidels out of a fort which they had recovered from the Venetians. General la Tour is killed in this attack.

1686. FORT St. Elmo is rebuilt, and the castle of St. Angelo fortified by the grand master's care.

THE knights put to sea again in the spring, under the command of Erbestin, grand prior of Hungary, meet

meet the pope's gallies at Messina, and sail together for the Levant. The Venetian fleet joins them at the isle of Santa Maura. They besiege old Navarino, take it, and go from thence to attack new Navarino, a place of great importance, by its situation, and the convenience of its harbour, but defended by a strong garrison. Morosini, after some days siege, takes it, and advances with his fleet to Modon, a town of greater strength, but forced in like manner to surrender: several knights lost their lives at these sieges.

THE confederates, encouraged by their good success, advance towards Napoli di Romania, the capital of the kingdom of the Moeca. They land there on the 30th of July, and lay siege to the place; they rout the serasquier three times, as he attempted to relieve it, and take it after a month's siege, and a gallant defence made by the besieged. General Erbestein sets sail for Malta. Nineteen knights were killed at this siege, with a considerable number of their soldiers.

THE commander don Fortunato Caraffa, the grand master's brother, prince John Francis de Medicis, prior of Pisa, brother to the grand duke, and brother Leopold Kollonistch, bishop of Neustat, are made cardinals.

NEW preparations are made at Rome for the Levant. The grand master fits out eight gallies, under the command of brother Claude de Me- 1687. chetein. A descent in Dalmatia. The three fleets join before Castelnuovo, which surrenders, and thereby leaves the Venetians entire masters of all the Adriatic gulph. Pope Innocent XI. writes to the grand master to compliment him upon the valour which his knights had shewed in this expedition.

THE duke of Uzeda is made viceroy of Sicily in the stead of count de St. Stephen, who, escorted by a convoy of Maltese gallies, goes to take possession of the viceroyalty of Naples.

BROTHER don Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca is made bailiff of Acre. Brother don Felix Inigo de'Aierva quits the post of grand conserva- 1688. tor for the bailiwick of Caspa. Brother

Ximenes de la Fontaza, bailiff of Negrepoint, is made grand conservator, and is succeeded in his bailiwick by the great chancellor Correa. Brother don Philip Escoveda is made great chancellor. Brother Fabio Gori gets the bailiwick of Venusia. Brother Ferretti, receiver of Venice, is made bailiff of St. Euphemia. The admiral Cavaretta takes the bailiwick of St. Stephens. Averardo de Medicis succeeds him in the admiralty, and Spinelli, bailiff of Armenia, is named general of the gallies.

THE Squadron puts to sea again in the spring, being headed by the commander Mechatein. The  
1689. generalissimo Morosini is made doge this year, and sends out the Venetian fleet. The two armies joining, attack the fort of Negrepoint. The siege proves long and difficult, and they are obliged to raise it at last, after having lost abundance of men, and 29 of the bravest knights.

THE grand master is sensibly afflicted at this loss. His grief, with a retention of urine, which  
1690, came upon him at the same time, throws him into a fever: he gives away his effects, appoints his seneschal, brother don Charles Caraffa, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and thinks of nothing but another world. He dies on the 21st of July, in the 76th year of his age, after having enjoyed the grand mastership nine years and ten months. Never was the humility of a religious united in greater perfection to the virtues of a soldier. He distinguished himself in a particular manner by his love for the poor. His body was carried to the chapel of the language of Italy, where he had caused a monument to be erected for himself. The epitaph which he himself composed two years before his death, is still to be read upon it.

D. O. M.

“ Fr. D. Gregorius Caraffa Aragonius è principibus  
 “ Roccellæ, magnus Hierosolymitani ordinis magister,  
 “ cui vivere, vitâ peractâ, in votis erat. Quia mortem  
 “ primam qui prævenit, secundam evitat; hoc sibi  
 “ adhuc

“ adhuc vivens non mausoleum, sed tumulum posuit re-  
 “ surrecturo satis. An. Dom. 1688.”

THE following inscription was engraved on the marble under his statue.

“ Emeritos venerare cineres, viator. Hic jacet Fr.  
 “ D. Gregorius Caraffa ab Aragonia, M. M. clarus ge-  
 “ nere, genio præclarior. Heroas, quos in nomine  
 “ gessit, in virtute expressit. Effusâ comitate, diffusis  
 “ triumphis, populos habuit amatores, orbem fecit  
 “ admiratorem. Bis ad Hellepontum, toties ad Epi-  
 “ rum, Peloponnesum, Illyrium, impertito ductu, præ-  
 “ validâ opè classes delevit, regias expugnavit. Mu-  
 “ nificentîâ, pietate princeps laudatissimus. Urbem,  
 “ Arces, Portus, Xenodochia, Templâ ampliavit, re-  
 “ stituit, ornavit. Publico semper Religionis bono  
 “ curas impendit & studia. Ærarium ditissimo spolio  
 “ cumulavit. Obiit die 21 Julii, anno æt. 76. mag.  
 “ 10. sal. 1690.”

NEW cabals for the election. They agree at last in favour of brother Adrian de Vignacourt, great treasurer of the order, nephew to Alef de Vignacourt, who was elected to the same dignity in 1601. He takes possession of the two islands, and sends the commander Riggio to Palermo to notify his election to the duke of Uzeda, viceroy of Sicily.

ADRIAN  
DEVIGNA-  
COURT.

THE squadron returns from the Levant, whither it had been sent to join the Venetian fleet, and brings the first account to Malta of the taking of Valonne, which occasions great rejoicings.

THE grand master, from his great liberality, relieves the pressing necessities of the widows and children of all such of his subjects as had been killed in the last wars. Several knights follow his example.

THE order maintains a galliot well manned to give chase to the corsairs of Barba-  
 ty, who were continually roving up and

1691.



down the Sicilian sea, even to the very channel of the two islands.

CARDINAL Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, is chose pope on the 8th of August, and takes the name of Innocent the XII.

THE grand master erects several magazines, and adds considerable fortifications to all such places as were not in a good condition of defence. In the midst of these employments, which were only intended for the security of his order, he receives letters from the emperor Leopold I. acquainting him that the Imperial army, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, had just gained so complete a victory over the Turks, that 30,000 of them had been killed on the spot.

A LARGE and fine arsenal erected at Malta for building of gallies. The ministers of the court of Rome are for comprehending the estates of the order in an extraordinary tax, which the pope was raising upon all ecclesiastical possessions. The new pope, of his own accord, exempts them from it, without staying for any remonstrances from the order; and, by a brief of the 7th of December, renews the permission which his predecessors had formerly granted of carrying the holy sacrament on board the gallies.

THE grand prior of Messina, general of the gallies, puts to sea, and advances towards the coast of Barbary, without finding any opportunity to signalize his courage. He sails for the Levant, joins the pope's gallies at Messina, and the Venetian army at Napoli di Romania: all the fleet goes to attack Canea, a place of importance on account of its port, and one of the most agreeable cities of the isle of Candia. After a siege of twenty-four days, they are forced to retire, the season being too far advanced. The squadron of the order returns back to Malta, at the time they were making public rejoicings there for the taking of the fortress of great Waradin by the imperial army.

THE marquis d'Orville, nephew to Vignacourt, arrives at Malta, where he is received with all the honours

nours usually paid to the nephews of the reigning grand master.

THE isle of Malta is greatly terrified on occasion of a dreadful earthquake which began on the 11th of January, at ten o'clock in the evening, and lasted three days, overturning several buildings in that space of time. The same earthquake destroys entirely the town of Agosta in Sicily. Four gallies arrive from that island, and bring the grand master an account of this misfortune. He immediately dispatched away the general of the squadron with five gallies to go to the assistance of the inhabitants; orders public prayers all over the island, and a fast of three days to appease the wrath of heaven, and forbids the usual diversions of the carnival this year. He after this sets about repairing the damage which the earthquake had done in Malta.

SEVERAL vessels were in want of masts, rigging, and other things necessary for their putting to sea. The grand master sends for every thing that was wanting to the fleet, and has it brought from Amsterdam. He likewise gives orders for repairing the magazines and the ovens which the order had at Agosta. The commander Ferrao, who was entrusted with this commission, rebuilds these structures with much greater magnificence than before, and puts the arms of Vignacourt over them.

THE grand prior, after coasting all the isles of the Archipelago with his squadron, returns to the bay of Terra-nova, gives chase to a ship of Tunis, and boards it notwithstanding its being defended by 130 soldiers, takes it after some resistance, and brings it to Malta. There he finds the grand master very much displeas'd with him. He was accus'd of having avoided an engagement with three corsairs and a tartan, which he met going to the Levant. The general clears himself by proving that he had pursued the enemy briskly till night came on, and resolv'd to attack them the next day, but that the corsairs got off in the dark, and he could never get sight of them afterwards. After a full

examination into the affair, and the taking of depositions in form, the general is declared innocent.

A NEW armament under the command of brother Francis Sigismund, count of Thun, who was  
1694. named general in the place of the grand prior of Messina.

TAKING of the town of Scio after a week's siege.

THE king of France and the duke of Savoy are for raising subsidies upon the estates of the order lying within their territories, under pretence of the excessive expence of the war. The grand master represents to them the privileges of the order, and both the princes desist from their design.

THE pope takes upon him the arbitration of the difference between the order and the republic of Genoa, and reconciles those two powers. Several Genoese are admitted into the order.

GENERAL Sigismund puts to sea again, and chases a ship of Tripoli. He takes it after an engage-  
1695. ment of two hours, and sends it to Malta, himself still keeping on his course towards the Levant. His voyage was entirely useless, because the Venetians, whom he joined, would not engage in any enterprize, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

THE grand master's sickness, which occasions great canvassings for the future election, but they  
1696. are stopped by his recovery. The pope makes the order a present of a great number of galley-slaves whom he sends to Malta.

THE grand master is seized with a violent fever, and prepares for death. He names the bailiff of  
1697. Leza don Gasper Carnero, of the priory of Portugal, to be lieutenant of the mastership, parts with all his effects, and dies on the 4th of February, after having been grand master near seven years, and lived 79. His piety and innocence of life and conversation, had ever made up a character of this prince. His integrity and his beneficent temper procured him a general esteem; and he was never liable to any reproach,

proach, but that of having suffered himself to be governed by some favourites who were much more intent upon their own interests, than they were on those of the order, or the honour of the person who gave them all his confidence. They buried him in the chapel of the language of France, where this epitaph is to be seen.

## D. O. M.

Eminentissimi principis  
Fr. Adriani de Vignacourt mortales exuvia  
Sub hoc marmore quiescunt.  
Si generis splendorem quæras  
Habes in solo nomine,  
Habes in affinitatibus penè regis.  
Si religioſæ vitæ merita ſpectes,  
Charitatem erga pauperes & infirmos indefeffam,  
Erga peſte laborantes generoſam  
Mirari poteris.  
Et ita intemeratam morum innocentiam,  
Ut mori potiùs, quam fædari voluerit.  
Magni Aloſſii ex patre nepòs,  
Integritatis, fortitudinis, & juſtitix laude  
Simillimus;  
Tanti principis famam eſt aſſecutus.  
Vixit ſanctiſſimè, ſanctiſſimè obiit,  
anno ſalutis 1697.

THE assembly for the election of a new grand master is held on the 7th of February; the electors are divided into ſeveral factions, but unite at laſt in favour of brother Raimond Perellos de Roccaful, of the language of Arragon, bailiff of Negrepont, and ſixty years of age. Two days after he takes poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the two iſlands; and the 15th he aſſembles the council in order to reform the abuſes that had crept into the order. The popes had frequently yielded to the importunity of ſome ambitious knights,

knights, and granted them briefs to be received great crosses of grace: which made the old knights, when they saw themselves supplanted by these young men of the recompence due to their services, retire frequently into their own countries; when, thinking they had just reasons to be disgusted with the order, they became more indifferent to its interests, and left their estates to their families; an affair, the care of which was of the utmost importance to the order. Accordingly they resolved to write to his holiness on that subject, and to desire him not to grant for the future any such briefs, which struck at the very foundation of their discipline. They likeways made a regulation, by which all such as were professed in the order were forbid to wear any gold or silver on their cloaths, and absolutely prohibited all games of chance. The duke of Veraguas, viceroy of Sicily, who had long solicited to obtain a brief in favour of the commander Riggio, receiver of Palermo, for the making of him a grand cross, continues his instances warmly, and succeeds in obtaining it, because they found the brief had been dispatched by Vignacourt.

PEACE concluded at Reswick between France and Spain. Public rejoicings at Malta upon that 1698. occasion. Boris Petrowits Seremetet, a near relation of the Czar's, comes to visit the grand master, with letters of recommendation from the pope and the emperor. He is received with all the honour due to his quality and merit.

POPE Innocent XII. puts an end to the disputes that had continued a long time between the bishop 1699. of Malta and the prior of the church, with respect to their jurisdiction. Both parties submit with joy to the decision of the holy father; and the grand master, by way of acknowledgement, causes his holiness's statue in brass to be erected over the great door of the church of Victory, with this inscription:

“ INNOCENTIO XII. optimo & sanctissimo Pontifici, dissidiis compositis inter ecclesiasticum & magistrale  
“ strale



“ strale forum exortis, utrique juribus pie servatis,  
 “ pluribus commendis liberaliter restitutis; Em. &  
 “ Rev. Dom. Fr. D. Raimondus de Perellos Roccaful,  
 “ grato & unanimi omnium voto, tot tantaque beneficia  
 “ æternitati dicavit MDCIC.”

THE gallees of the order attack two vessels of Tunis. The wind shifting on a sudden parts them, and gives the corsairs an opportunity to make their escape. The grand master and council, having been misinformed of this accident, and fearing the officers had been wanting in their duty, appoint commissioners to examine into the affair, which they perform with the utmost care, and clear the officers of all manner of blame.

THE bailiff Spinola general of the squadron, embarking on the 15th of February, spies a man of war belonging to the enemy off of Sicily, and comes up with her by hard rowing. The admiral-galley which followed him close, having lost its main-sail by a gust of wind. Spinola resolved to board her. The engagement was bloody on both sides. The commander Spinola, the general's brother, receives a mortal wound by the grand prior of Messina's side, who fought leaning upon his valet de chambre, being so very old that he could not stand unsupported. The valet de chambre is killed, and the prior holds with one hand upon the frame of wood that sustains the compass, and continues fighting. Victory was going to declare for the knights when the enemy's ship bears with all its force upon the admiral-galley, and splits it. A south wind rises and blows a terrible storm, which disperses the squadron. The commander Javon, captain of the St. Paul goes to the succour of those who were cast away in the admiral, and saves fifty of them, among whom were general Spinola, the commander Brosia, and the chevalier de St. Germain, and resolves to stay in the same place to get off the rest, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pilot, who assures them they were in great danger: “ I shall be happy enough, says the captain, if I lose  
 “ my life in saving but a single man of them.” The wind however drove him away in spite of all his endeavours.

deavours. Two and twenty knights, and above 500 men, both officers as well as soldiers, perished either in the engagement or the wreck. The other gallies are driven by the tempest towards the Levant; they join again at Augusta and return to Malta. The grand master provides for the subsistence of the families of such of his subjects as had perished in this engagement.

PERELLOS had long seen with pain, that ever since the order had laid aside their men of war, and had only kept up a squadron of gallies, the Barbary corsairs were continually taking the Christian merchant ships, making descents upon the coasts of Italy and Spain, plundering the villages, and carrying off from time to time a great number of families into slavery.

THE Christians had cast their eyes for upwards of fourscore years past upon the knights of Malta their old protectors for redress, but in vain: there had hitherto been always too many difficulties started before a squadron of men of war could be provided at Malta: but Perellos being in the mastership, and assisted with the advice of the bailiff Zondodari who succeeded him, fancied that all these obstacles might be surmounted, and brought the council into his measures more easily than he could have imagined. So that as soon as he had raised the funds necessary for building of men of war, he searched through the whole order for a knight who had the most skill to inspect their buildings, and was the best qualified to command them. The choice fell upon the chevalier de St Pierre of Normandy, a captain in the king of France's fleet, who afterwards obtained the commandry of Pieton in the grand master's gift for his services. 'Tis to this commander we are indebted for the project to extirpate the corsairs of Barbary, which has been printed abroad among the works of the Abbé de St. Pierre his brother, and had been highly approved of by the grand master.

THE St. Paul galley is driven, by a gust of wind, upon the rocks of the little isle of Ostrica near Palermo; and notwithstanding all that general Javon could do,

he

he was lost with three knights and 70 men of his crew, the rest were saved by the other galleys.

THE squadron returns towards the coast of Barbary, and meets the sultana Bingen, a large ship of 80 guns, with three hundred fighting men 1701. on board. The engagement was long, and the loss considerable on both sides; but at last the knights had the advantage, and carried the ship with them to Malta. The grand master ordered the standard of it to be put in the church of St. John at Aix, the birth place of the chevalier Ricard, as a monument of the valour of that knight who had chiefly contributed to the victory.

DEATH of Charles II. king of Spain. Philip V. succeeds him, and confirms all the privileges of the order.

CARDINAL Albani is chose pope in the room of Innocent XII. and takes the name of Clement XI.

THE squadron of the order, advances as far as Goletta, and attacks the infidels in the very port; they carry a large ship and a brigantine of the enemy back with them to Malta, having only lost one knight and four soldiers in this expedition.

THE grand prior of England goes to Rome in quality of ambassador extraordinary, in order to prevail with the pope to make a regulation 1703. with regard to the inquisitor of Malta's pretensions concerning his jurisdiction. This affair met with several delays, but was at last terminated to the grand master's satisfaction.

THE squadron of ships commanded by the chevalier de St. Pierre sails towards the Levant, meets 1706. three ships of Tunis, and gives them chase. The St. James man of war loses its mast before the engagement, and goes off. The St. John attacks the enemy's admiral, which carried 50 guns, and had 370 sailors on board, and takes it whilst the rest of the enemy's fleet crowd all the sail they can to get off. This ship was added to the squadron of the order, and called the St. Croix, or Holy Cross.

THE commander de Langon, carries a convoy of ammunition to Oran, and with a single ship  
 1707. of 50 guns passes through the midst of the Algerine fleet, which fired upon him continually, and throws a supply into the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the infidels, who fought in the presence of their king. This action occasioned his being raised soon after to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the squadron of the order, and commander of the men of war.

THE king of Spain writes to the grand master, by which he desires him to send the squadron of  
 1708. the order a second time to the relief of Oran. Preparations are made for it, but not sent away, because of a report which was spread that the infidels had taken the place, and that the grand seignior was making a powerful armament.

PERELLOS, in the midst of his concern at this news, is attacked with the gout and a violent fever.  
 1709. He receives the sacrament with great sentiments of piety, and prepares for death, after having named the grand prior of Messina, Tancred de Sienna, to be lieutenant of the mastership. Finding himself a little easier the next day, he gave brother Alexander Albani the pope's nephew, who was afterwards bailiff of Armenia, the commandry of Viterbo, that was fallen vacant by the death of Rondinelli. He insensibly grows better, and recovers his health entirely.

A STRONG report that they are fitting out at Constantinople a fleet of 20 sultana's, 40 gallies, and a great number of little vessels, and that all these preparations are designed against Malta. The council, not to be taken unprovided, desire succours of the pope, who immediately dispatches a tartan laden with powder, and other provisions necessary to sustain a siege, with 150 soldiers, and a promise to send a more considerable reinforcement as soon as possible. The commander d'Alegre is sent to the king of France; the commander de Sannazar to Leghorn; and the commander

mander de Monteclair to Genoa. They all came back with considerable forces, and landed at Malta with a great number of knights who crowded from all parts to contribute to the defence of the order. They name the general officers; they divide the soldiers into several bodies, and muster near 10,000 men, all of them resolved to make a gallant defence.

AFTER all, the mighty armament of Constantinople, which had made so much noise, proves to be no more than five sultana's, which go to join three other ships that came out of the ports of Tunis and Tripoli. They are apprehensive of a descent on the isle of Goza; they transport every thing thither that is necessary to defend it; and Tancred grand prior of Messina, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, obtains the grand master's leave to go over thither. He consults with the commander de Langon lieutenant-general, and the commander de Montfort governor of the island, about repairing the fortifications, and puts it in a good posture of defence. But the enemy, despairing perhaps of succeeding in case they should attempt to attack it, only burnt a few little vessels which they found upon the coast, and sailed back to the Levant.

THE grand master makes considerable additions to the magazines which his predecessor had built, and by that means improves commerce, and brings plenty into his dominions.

UPON the news that four sultana's were put to sea with a brigantine in order to make a descent in Calabria, the grand master sends out the commander de Florigny with a squadron. After some days sail they spy a large ship, which they know to be the admiral of Tripoli, commanded by the famous corsair Bassa-Ali-Antulla-Ogli-Stamboli. He had 600 men on board, with 56 guns and 40 paterero's, and was attended by a tartan of 12 guns, 30 paterero's, and 200 men, commanded by Mahmut Ogli Casdagli, who was resolved, notwithstanding the orders of his general to the contrary, to stand the attack of the squadron. The commander de Langon who was captain of the St.



James, began the engagement with his cannon; the enemy's sails took fire, and both ships were in a flame. The Turks, despairing to quench it, plunge into the sea; the knights send out their long boat to their succour, and saved 400 of them, among whom was the rais of the admiral of Tripoli, and 50 Christian slaves whom they set at liberty. The chevalier Pagani de Nocera and five men on board the St. John were lost.

THE grand master sends for corn to the Levant, and by that means provides against a dearth in 1710. Malta, whither the viceroy of Sicily had refused for above a year to allow any corn to be exported as usual.

THE commander de Langon sails with the squadron of ships towards the coast of Barbary. He meets the admiral of Algiers with 500 men on board, and takes it after a long engagement, in which all the enemy's officers were killed. This victory was fatal to the order by the death of the commander, whose valour and admirable qualities occasioned his being greatly regretted. His body was carried to Carthagenæ, and buried under the great altar of the cathedral. The grand master, to immortalize his memory, ordered a tomb-stone to be erected in the nave of the church of St. John, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

D. O. M.

“ FRATRI Josepho de Langon Alverno, cujus vir-  
 “ tutem, in ipso tyrocinii flore maturam, Gallicæ naves  
 “ fecere, Thraces sensere, Melitenses habuere victri-  
 “ cem. Oranum dira obsidione cinctum, cum unica  
 “ religionis navi, cui præerat, onerariam ducens, pe-  
 “ netrata Algerii classe, ejusque rege teste vel invito,  
 “ militem & comæatum invexit. Generalis classium  
 “ præfectus ad tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam  
 “ plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen consilio &  
 “ fortitudine sibi ubique coemptas in alias continuo  
 “ transtulit. Supremâ tandem Algerii nave subactâ,  
 “ acceptoque inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato cessit,  
 “ die

“ die 18 Aprilis 1710, æt. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R.  
 “ de Perellos-Roccafal ad benemerentiæ argumentum,  
 “ mortuo, hoc mœrens positum voluit Cenotaphium, ad  
 “ memoriæ perennitatem.”

ATTEMPT of the inquisitor of Malta upon the infirmary of the order. The tribunal of the inquisition had been introduced into the island 1711. by pope Gregory XIII. but with so much tenderness and caution, that they were scarce sensible of it. The bishop of Malta was the first person invested with this commission. Some time after, they put in an officer of the court of Rome, but enjoined him not to do any thing without the concurrence of the grand master, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor; and he was expressly restrained from taking cognizance of any crime but that of heresy. They did not at that time think of opposing an authority, the exercise of which was lodged in the first persons of the order, nor foresee that the inquisitors might in time “<sup>a</sup> make themselves not only independent but “ insupportable to a body of knights descended of the “ most noble blood of Christendom, and whose order is invested with a sovereign power over its subjects.”

DELICI, who exercised the office of inquisitor in 1711, after having carried his pretensions so high, as to insist that the grand master's coach should stop when it met his, thought he ought not to suffer the infirmary of the order to continue any longer exempt from his jurisdiction. Twas the most privileged place of the order<sup>b</sup>, entrusted to the guard of some French knights who were infinitely zealous for their liberty, and subject to no authority but that of the grand hospitaller. No one else, of what quality soever, can enter it with-

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out

<sup>a</sup> Memorial presented to Lewis XIV.

<sup>b</sup> The very marshal of the order cannot go into the infirmary, without leaving his staff of command at the door.

out first leaving the marks of his dignity  
 Dec. 7. at the door. The officers of the inquisition got in by surprise, and began to make a visitation in form. The commander d'Avernes de Bocage, overseer of the infirmary, upon notice of this attempt, came in great haste to oppose it, turned them out immediately, and entered a protest of nullity against all they might have done in his absence.

THE grand master sends the grand prior Zondodari to Rome as embassador of the order, to give  
 1712. the pope an account of the unjust pretensions of the inquisitor. The overseer of the infirmary goes himself to France to represent the case to his most Christian majesty, who writes in very warm terms to his holiness upon that subject, and engages him to disown and stop the attempts of his deputy.

BROTHER James de Noailles, embassador of the order in France, dies at Paris in the 59th year  
 Apr. 22. of his age. The bailiff de la Vieuville succeeds him in that quality, who makes his entry on the 4th of December with all the ceremonies used at the entry of the embassadors of sovereign princes.

THE commander Zondodari, embassador extraordinary at Rome, makes fresh complaints against the inquisitor, for taking upon him the granting of patents to a great number of Maltese to exempt them from the obedience which they owed to their sovereign.

BROTHER Adrian de Langon, captain of the St. Catharine, attacks seven Algerine vessels, puts  
 1713. them to flight, and takes one called the Half Moon of 40 guns, and manned with 400 men. Thirty-six Christian slaves are delivered on this occasion, and the order loses only seven men in the engagement.

THE pope writes to the grand master to engage him to send the galleys of the order to cruize off of the coast of the ecclesiastical state, where the corsairs of Barbary were continually taking prizes.

THE commander de Langon chases an Algerine corsair of 56 guns and 500 men, comes up with him off of the isles d'Hieres, shoots all his masts by the board in an engagement of six hours, and sinks him when he could not prevail upon him to strike. They could save no more than two Christians and six Turks of all the crew. 1714.

ANOTHER ship of Barbary taken, in which they made 95 slaves. Death of the bailiff de la Vieuville embassador of the order in France. The bailiff de Mesmes succeeds him in his post.

THE great preparations made at Constantinople give them an alarm at Malta. The grand master writes to all the knights to be in a readiness to set out upon the first orders; for that purpose repairs all the fortifications, and provides all things necessary for the defence of the island.

THE knights dispersed over the several parts of Europe begin to rendezvous in order to set out. Some, whose advanced age would not suffer them to undertake such a journey, remit the revenues of their commandries to the grand master, in order to their being employed in the defence of Malta; and others, though disabled from acting by their great age and infirmities, are resolved to go and assist at least with their advice.

THE French knights, not excepting the novices, signalize their zeal in taking up considerable sums on their own credit, which they lay out in buying a great quantity of arms and all kinds of ammunition. They send this supply to Malta, and agree to follow soon after. The grand master in the mean time takes 150,000 crowns out of the treasury, and borrows a larger sum in his own name, employing it all in fetching from different places every thing that was necessary to make a vigorous defence: he gets a reinforcement of troops and galleys from the pope, and obtains leave to raise men in the ecclesiastical state.

WHILST all these preparations were making at Malta to oppose the enemy, an unknown person of a handsome aspect came to offer his service to the grand master in quality of an engineer. His offers were the more readily accepted as he seemed to be well skilled in fortifications. Some knights were appointed to shew him all the works, particularly those of la Valette, upon which he gave them several good hints, and a great idea of his capacity. Two days after he was shewn, and whatever search was made after him, they could never find him. They made no question but he was a spy sent by the Turks to observe the condition of the island. This adventure made the grand master think of sending some person on whom he could depend to Constantinople, in order to get a more perfect account of the grand seignior's designs. Andrew Veran, of the town of Arles, who had lived a long time at Malta, offered himself for this commission, and accordingly set out with a vessel laden with merchandize under pretence of trading in the Levant. He first landed at Napoli di Romania the capital of the Morea, where he met with the captain-general of the republic of Venice. He learned from him, that the Turkish armament was increasing every day, but that it seemed to be designed only against the Venetians. Sailing from thence to the Dardanelles, he was informed that the infidels had declared war against the state of Venice. He arrived at Constantinople where he saw the count des Aleurs the French embassador, who took him under his protection, and gave him an exact account of all the designs of the porte.

IN the mean time the knights were arriving at Malta from all quarters, none of them failing to bring some succour along with them. They fitted out a naval force, and the squadron of the order joined that of the pope, that they might be enabled to meet the Ottoman fleet. Veran returned back to Malta; and, by the account he gave of the motions of the Turkish army, they found that either the grand seignior had no design upon that island, or, which was more probable, that he  
had



had alter'd his measures upon the advice he had received of the good condition it was put in by the grand master's care, and the vast resort of knights thither from all parts.

THE republic of Venice desires succours from the grand master against the Turks. The order sends them five men of war and some gallies, 1716. which give chase to three corsairs of Barbary, and take one of 54 guns with 500 men on board: they bring it to Malta with four saicks laden with all sorts of provisions.

DISPUTES between the commanding officers of the auxiliary squadrons. The pope puts an end to them by giving the commodore of the Maltese squadron the title of his lieutenant-general.

THE squadron of the order takes several Turkish ships laden with merchandize, and carries them to Corfu, where the chevalier de Langon, who commanded the pope's squadron, gains several advantages over the infidels.

THE ships of the order, with a reinforcement of two frigates and some light vessels, put to sea again to join the allies. A Maltese privateer 1717. sinks a large Turkish ship and saves part of the crew.

A SEA engagement between the auxiliary troops and the Turks near the isle of Stags. The infidels, whose ships suffered a great deal, fly away after having cannonaded one another for two hours together. The auxiliary troops came off without loss. The bailiff de Bellefontaine, who commanded the fleet, signalized himself in an extraordinary manner all this campaign, and was received at his return by the grand master with the highest marks of distinction.

THE squadron puts to sea again, reinforced with the St. John man of war of 70 guns, and goes to join the Venetian fleet. The Turks grow 1718. less eager to carry on the war, and the Christian armada finds few opportunities of signalizing it self this campaign.

THE pope gives the cross of Malta to the king of Poland's natural son. The squadron of the 1719. order make a considerable prize in the Archipelago, where they take two gallies richly laden from Constantinople, on one of which the basha of Romelia with all his family was going to Napoli di Romania.

THE chevalier Fraguier, first ensign of the grand master's company of guards, brings his most Christian majesty a present of birds of prey, a present which the grand masters are used to make to the king of France.

THE chevalier d'Orleans takes the oaths before the king for the grand priory of France, which 1720. was vacant upon the voluntary resignation of the grand prior de Vendôme.

THE grand master Raimond Perellos de Rocaful, being worn out with his great age, and a fit of sickness, which had been upon him upwards of a year, dies after a reign of 22 years. He distinguished himself by his liberality to such families as had been ruined by the infidels; made considerable improvements in the fortifications of the island, and omitted nothing he thought might any way contribute to support the lustre and glory of his order.

THE electors being assembled with the usual ceremonies, chuse the bailiff MARC ANTONIO ZONDODARI for their grand master. He was a native of Sienna, and highly worthy of the mastership on account of his personal merit and his illustrious birth. The rejoicings made on this occasion are heightened by the taking of two large corsairs of Barbary, which were brought at the same time into the harbour. This success is soon after followed by the taking of the admiral of Algiers, a ship of 30 guns, and 500 men on board.

THE bailiff Ruffo is made general of the gallies of the order. The grand master obtains a brief from the pope, to oblige all such knights as had upwards of

300 l. annual income, to maintain every one a soldier at his own expence for the security of the island; but it does not appear that this brief was ever put in execution.

THE Squadron which the grand master had granted the king of Spain to guard his coasts, puts to sea under the command of the bailiff de Lan- 1721.  
gon, and chases a galliot of Barbary that was cruising off of the coast of Sardinia. They cannot come up with her, but take a pink which she had made a prize of a little before. The St. John man of war, of which the commodore was on board, meets, some days afterwards, with an Algerine vessel of 40 guns, comes up with her, and takes her after an hour's engagement. Twenty Christian slaves were delivered, and 260 infidels made slaves. A few days after, they meet the Squadron of Tunis, consisting of the admiral, the Patrone, and the Porcupine. The two first get off in the night, after a long and smart engagement; but the Porcupine was forced to strike, after having stood it out against all the five till ten at night. They deliver thirty-two Christians, who were slaves in this ship. This success, which was owing to the valour of captain Algonis de la Grois, casts such a terror over all the coast of Barbary, that no corsair dares stir out to cruise.

DON Carlo Conti, prince of Poli, nephew to the pope, receives the cross of the order from the hands of cardinal Pamphileo, grand prior of 1722.  
Rome.

THE grand master, who had been attacked for upwards of six months with a kind of gangrene in his bowels, dies on the 16th of June, at the age of 63 years 7 months and 15 days. This prince, who was highly estimable for his singular piety, took great care to fortify the island, was exceeding charitable, maintained a regularity of discipline in his order, as much by his example as his authority, and wanted nothing but a longer reign to answer in every respect the great hopes conceived of him.

BROTHER don Raimond d'Espong, bailiff of Negropont, lieutenant of the mastership, calls the council together; and, after the usual ceremonies, the electors agreed unanimously in the

D'ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

choice of d'Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena, a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, to be their grand master. His birth,

his personal virtues, and his perfect knowledge of the rules and maxims of the order, made him truly worthy of this promotion. He had passed through all the dignities of the order, and distinguished himself in them all. He had hardly finished his caravans when he was made captain of the admiral galley, and was wounded in an engagement with two Tripoli ships, which general Antonio Correa de Sousa took in 1680. Four years after he was made captain of one of the men of war, which the order sent to assist the Venetians in the conquest of the Morea. They made him successively major, and then colonel of the country militia. In 1692 he had the command of the 8th galley, and the year following that of the St. Anthony. He was made great cross of grace in 1696, commissary of the navy two years afterwards, and commissary of war in 1701. The dignity of great chancellor of the order was conferred upon him in 1713. He quitted it three years after to take that of bailiff d'Acre; was chose one of the 21 electors for the election of the grand master Zondodari, and the same year was made procurator of the treasury. These several posts, in all of which he behaved himself to the infinite satisfaction of the order in general, were so many steps to raise him to the mastership.

THE new grand master's first care was to put the island in a state of defence against the invasion with which the Turks still threatened it. He built fort Emmanuel on the little isle of Marfa-mouffet, which the infidels might have easily seized on, and would thereby have greatly facilitated their success. He likewise ordered

ordered all such knights as were 19 years of age to repair to him.

THE grand seignior's great preparations against the order were made at the instance of a slave, called Hali, whom Mahomet Effendi, his ambassador in France, had redeemed as he passed by Malta. This slave, who was beloved by the knights, and in favour with the grand master, had served in the navy, and had been for ten years iman or chief of the Turkish slaves that were at Malta. Upon his return to Constantinople, he gave the ministers of the porte an account of the forces of the order, and persuaded them that it would be an easy matter to surprize the island, by the help of those slaves, who were ever prepared for a revolt, and were more in number than the inhabitants : that in order to succeed in their attempt, they needed only fit out a squadron of ten ships, and appear with it before Malta, where the slaves would infallibly take arms, and their insurrection crown them with success.

THE project pleased the grand vizier. Accordingly commodore Abdi Capitan put to sea with ten ships : Hali embarked likeways with a captain's commission, when they came and presented themselves before Malta. But the wise precautions the grand master had taken rendered the executing of their design impracticable. They retired after a few broadsides, and Abdi Capitan sent the grand master the following letter :

“ THE first man of the isle of Malta, the heads of his council, and chiefs of the languages of France, of Venice, and other nations that adore the Messias, are advertised by this letter, that we have been expressly sent by the grand seignior, the master of the universe, and refuge of the world, to order them to deliver up to us all such slaves as are under their miserable government, that they may be presented before his supreme and august throne. This is his pleasure, and his design in sending us with this squadron. If you fail to obey, dreadful punishments will make you repent your fault. Send your answer to Tunis.”

THIS



THIS stile, so agreeable to the pride of the grand seignior's officers, did not however hinder the grand master from answering the letter, in hopes that it might be of use in procuring the deliverance of some Christian slaves. The tenor of his letter, which was wrote with politeness and dignity, was as follows :

“ That the design of his order was not to scour the  
 “ seas in the view only of making slaves, but to cruise  
 “ with their ships for securing the liberty of the seas to  
 “ all Christian vessels; that they attacked such only as  
 “ disturbed commerce, and who deserved to be made  
 “ slaves for endeavouring to make the Christians so:  
 “ that they had nothing so much at heart as the deli-  
 “ very of such of theirs as were in slavery, and that if  
 “ his highness was in the same disposition, they were  
 “ ready to enter into a treaty for restoring the slaves  
 “ on both sides to their liberty, either by way of ex-  
 “ change or ransom, as was generally practised among  
 “ princes; and that if his highness would let them  
 “ know his intentions, they should not be wanting  
 “ on their part to second them.”

THIS answer was directed to the marquis of Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, with  
 1723. a desire that he would deliver it to any minister of the porte whom he should judge proper. The French ambassador, judging, by the contents of the letter, and the delicacy with which it was wrote, that the grand master's design was not so much to answer the commodore of a squadron, as to communicate his intentions to the grand seignior himself by his first minister, sent it to the grand vizier. Some days after he spoke to him about it, and was agreeably surpris'd to find him dispos'd not only to make an exchange of slaves, but to enter into a treaty of peace with the order of Malta. The marquis of Bonac, persuad'd that such a peace would be of great advantage to all Christendom in general, as well as to the order in particular, laboured at it with great application, and prevail'd so far with the grand vizier, whom he had wrought up-  
 on

on by his probity and sincerity, more than by the superiority of his genius, that all the articles which he proposed were agreed to. This being done, he sent them to the grand master, and wrote to the court of France, upon the same subject, which, after a mature examination, sent him orders to continue his endeavours to bring the affair to a happy conclusion.

THE grand master had the proposals of the porte examined, and sent his observations on them to M. de Bonac. They chose rather to make a limited truce than a peace; they took all the necessary precautions to keep the order from all manner of stain or reproach, and the grand vizier agreed to every thing. The articles stipulated between them were,

1. THAT the slaves should be exchanged on both sides, and that if there should be more on one side than on the other, the supernumerary ones should be delivered at the rate of 100 pieces of eight per head.

2. THAT this exchange should extend no further than to such slaves only as had been taken by the ships of the Maltese and the grand seignior.

3. THAT the truce should continue for 20 years, at the expiration of which time, they might treat for another.

4. THAT the republics of Africa should not be comprehended in the treaty, and that the porte should not give them any succour, either directly or indirectly, against Malia.

5. THAT the Maltese should have the same privileges as the French in all the grand seignior's dominions.

6. THAT the treaty should be null, whenever any Christian prince should be at war with the porte.

THE news of this treaty was received at Constantinople with great applause. But the captain basha, resenting that an affair which related to the sea should be treated without first consulting him, engaged all the sea officers to oppose it. They carried their point so far as to make the grand vizier change his note, who, seeing

seeing their universal discontent, did not care to carry the negotiation further. However, he told the marquis of Bonac, that he had not changed his views, and that it would be an easy matter to bring that affair on foot again, by only taking certain measures to gain the consent of the sea officers, whose own interest would infallibly oblige them to give into the scheme.

DURING this negotiation, the account of which I though it would not be proper to interrupt, the grand master, upon advice that a Tunis man of war was cruising in company with a tartan, between the isles of Maritimo and Panteleria, and had taken two barks, viz. one of Sicily, and the other of Genoa, sent the St. John man of war, and a frigate, to look out for them. They meet the corsairs, who pursue them for some time to reconnoitre them, but afterwards think fit to stand off, and endeavour to get from them. The Maltese frigate comes up with the ship; and, after exchanging broadsides for four hours together, forces it to strike. This ship was an excellent sailer, and had been given by the grand seignior to the bay of Tripoli, who had made her his patronne. She was mounted with 48 guns, and 14 brass pattereroes, with 400 men on board, of which no more than 267 Turks survived. Three and thirty Christian slaves recover their liberty on this occasion. This important victory was owing to the valour of the chevalier de Chambray who commanded the frigate. The St. John man of war pursued the tartan and took it, and both the prizes were brought to Malta.

POPE benedict XIII. is desirous of giving the grand master and the order of Malta a distinguishing  
 1725. mark of his affection. He dispatches a gentleman of his bed-chamber to Malta, to present that prince with a long rapier,\* and a helmet which he had consecrated

\* THE rapier is a silver sword gilt, about five foot long. The helmet is a kind of cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and embellished with an holy ghost of pearls.

crated at Christmas with great solemnity. The present is received with all possible acknowledgements by the grand master, who considers it as a new motive to signalize himself more and more in the practice of all the virtues which have so justly gained him the respect of his brother knights, the friendship of the princes of Europe, and the paternal tenderness of his holiness.

A  
DISSERTATION

UPON THE

Ancient and Modern GOVERNMENT

OF THE

Religious and Military ORDER

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

**T**HOUGH an history of this order ought naturally to give an account of the first constitutions, statutes, and original form of its government, yet a series of time, and a variety of conjunctures, have insensibly occasioned changes therein, which are unavoidable in the condition of human nature; and it would betray a gross ignorance of the inconstancy and weakness of mankind, to offer to judge of the present constitution of a state by its ancient customs, and the practice of the first ages after its establishment.

THIS consideration determined me, for the entire satisfaction of the reader, to annex, at the end of this work, a particular discourse upon the present state of the order of Malta. I shall first treat of the several classes into which the order is divided. My next enquiry shall be into the proofs of noble descent that are required in order to be admitted into the first class. Afterwards shall follow a particular account of the nature  
of



of the commandries, and the qualities requisite to be intitled to them. From thence I shall pass to the dignities which give a right of sitting either in the general chapter, or in the council, and shall add, at the end of this article, a list of the principal offices of the order, and of the persons that have the right of nomination to them: and this treatise will conclude with the form observed in the election of the grand master, a dignity of a singular nature, which, whosoever is invested with enjoys an entire sovereignty, and all the royalties of a prince over the secular inhabitants at the same time that, with regard to the knight, he is considered only as the head and superior of a religious and military republic.

THE church has in its bosom various orders of religious, who, without exercising the same functions, have all of them their particular merit in the sight of God, and who, by their variety, contribute, each in his respective way, to the ornament and beauty of the church. Some sequestering themselves voluntarily from the conversation of mankind, buried as it were in solitude, and wrapped up in their own virtue, spend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more conversant in the world apply themselves chiefly to the instruction of their neighbour, and contribute to the easing the care of pastors, when called into their assistance in the ecclesiastical ministry. There are some so enflamed with zeal for the conversion of infidels, that they go to the farthest parts of the earth to preach the gospel. The same zeal, but acted by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentry, some ages ago, take up arms to preserve the Christians from being made slaves by the Mahometans and infidels; and it is of the form of government of this last kind of religious, whose history I have just concluded, that I am going to give an account of in this place.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of the several classes of religious in the order of St. John.*

THE hospitallers, considered merely as religious, are divided into three classes, all of them different from one another, with respect to birth, and rank, and functions. The first class consists of those whom they call knights of justice, i. e. as the formulary of their profession expresses it, such, the ancient nobility of whose descent merits their being admitted to that degree of honour; and none but these are qualified to be advanced to the dignities of bailiffs and priors, whom they call grand crosses, or to that of grand master. Time, which is too frequently the author of abuses and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other persons into the rank of knights of justice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called knights of grace; they being such as being descended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal dispensation.

THE second class comprehends the religious who are chaplains, and belonging in that capacity to the metropolitan church of St. John, where they perform divine service. Out of this body they generally take their chaplains, both for the great hospital of Malta, and for the ships and gallies of the order; and they exercise the same function in the grand master's chapel. Notwithstanding that, in all the states of Christendom, the clergy have the first rank, on account of the dignity of their ministry, nevertheless the knights, though but mere laymen, take place of the priests, and have all the authority in their hands; "quia omnis potestas residet in primatibus." We do not find any instance of the like government, but among the brothers of the charity, another order of hospitallers, where the religious, who are priests and ministers at the

the altar, are so far from having any share in the government, that they are entirely dependent on superiors who are meer laymen.

WHAT they call the third class comprehends the serving brothers of arms, a body of religious, who, without being either priests or knights, are nevertheless obliged, whether they are in the field, or in the infirmary, to serve under the orders of the knights, and, like them, make four caravans of six months each on board the ships of the order. This body of half knights, if we may give them that name, was formerly very numerous and considerable, and did great services to the order. There were likewise of old a certain number of commandries designed for them, which the chaplains and the serving brothers of arms still enjoy in common at this day, they falling either to the one or the other according to their seniority. But for some years past, the number of serving brothers of arms is very much lessened, and a decree has been made to suspend the admitting of any more till further orders.

I PASS over the priests of obedience, who, without being obliged ever to go to Malta, receive the religious habit, make their vows in form, and are afterwards fixed in the particular service of some church of the order, under the authority of a grand prior, or a commander. There are still at Malta some serving brothers de stage, a kind of vassals employed in the meanest offices of the convent and hospitals; details of so little consequence that I do not think it proper to trouble the reader with them. But this account would be imperfect if I did not speak of the religious dames of this order, of which there are several nunneries in France, Italy, and Spain. These nuns, before they can be received, are obliged to give the same proofs of their noble descent as the knights of justice: there are even some famous nunneries, as that of Sixene in Arragon, and Dalgoveira in Catalonia, in which the proofs of

gentility,<sup>2</sup> which would be allowed of for the reception of a knight, would not yet be sufficient for a nun of the choir; and in those two houses they insist on such a purity and antiquity of gentility in a lady who offers herself, that it exceeds the degrees which the statutes require for the reception of the knights of justice.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the reception of the brother knights.*

**I**F we take the word chevalerie or chivalry, in the general notion that first presents itself, it is a profession of serving on horseback in war, which, among most nations, has been always a mark of gentility, to distinguish persons of a noble extraction from those of a plebeian birth. The quality of chevalier or knight was in the middle age confined to such noble persons, as either before or after an engagement, had deserved to receive the order of chivalry or knighthood from their general, as a testimony and recompence of their valour: and it was generally conferred in the field, by the general's giving them a kiss, and girding a sword about them. But this honourable distinction was never granted but to martial men, descended from antient knights, and of a military extraction, "ad militarem honorem," says the emperor Frederic II. "nullus accedat, qui non sit de genere militum." Here are two kinds of knighthood, the one entirely of descent, "genus militare;" the other meerly personal, "militaris honos." Theodore Hæping speaks of this latter knighthood, which is to be acquired only by a man's own valour, when he says, that no body is born a knight: "nemo eques nascitur, sed per habentem potestatem solitâ sub formulâ." So Peter de la Vigne, in his life of the emperor Frederic, above mentioned, says

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<sup>2</sup> N. B. The word gentility, which is made use of in several places in the translation, is, in the original, nobleſſe or nobility.

expressly, “ licet generis nobilitas in posteros derivetur, non tamen equestris dignitas.” To prevent confounding these two kinds of knighthood, the one which a man derives merely from his ancestors, and the other, which he acquires only by his own warlike exploits, some historians of the middle age have employed the term (*milites*) to signify knights who were ancestors of the person they speak of, and use that of (*equus*) only to distinguish the person who actually has received the order of knighthood.

THE knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in their military institution, kept strictly to this usage. All the remains we have in France, and in the registers of the priories of the three languages of this nation, of the names of the old knights of that order, shew plainly that they were all descended from warlike ancestors and gentlemen both by name and the arms they bore. But as in process of time different customs arose, and that every nation fancied they had a right to determine, and even extend the nature of gentility, as well as fix the proofs of it, the chief magistracies, and several civil officers, have obtained in France and Italy the same advantages as a gentility wholly military, so that in those two nations they actually receive persons for knights who would be refused in Germany. This obliges me to enter into a detail of the different proofs which are required in most of the languages to shew the nobility of all such presentees as offer themselves to be admitted into the order in quality of knights of justice: and as the kingdom of France alone comprehends three languages<sup>a</sup>, and consequently furnishes more knights than any other country, I shall give a short account of the different rules which they have observed at different times in the reception of the knights.

IF we may give credit to persons who are well skilled in heraldry, the use of coats of arms is derived from the crusades. So many crosses of different figures, as we see in the escutcheons of the ancient gentry are a sufficient proof of this fact: and the colours, the enamels,

<sup>a</sup> Provence, Auvergne, France.



mels, the vaire, and the contrevaire that we meet there, owe their original to the furs which those warriors used for an ornament to their coats of arms. The generality of them went to the holy land on purpose to receive the order of knighthood; and they thought themselves more than recompensed for the perils and fatigues of so long a voyage, if in any battle fought against the infidels, they had but received the kifs from a prince or general and been dubbed a knight. The military order, whose history I have been writing, was founded upon the same principle, and formed upon the same model. They admitted none for knights but such as before their entrance into the order, had either themselves been graced with that title, or who were at least descended of ancient knights: so that we may look upon this part of the order of St. John, as a crusade composed entirely of gentry. Anciently Jerusalem and the holy land were the only places where they received all such knights as dedicated themselves to this holy order of knighthood. We find, that gentlemen sent their sons thither very young to be brought up in the head convent of the order, in hopes that they would be there formed alike for piety, and the art of war; but they never received these young gentlemen, unless they brought with them an authentic testimony of their noble extraction, attested by the priors of the country where they were born: and before their setting out, these priors were likewise to give them letters of recommendation, and a promise that they should receive the habits of the order, and be admitted to make their vows, as soon as ever they came to the statutable age for being made knights, which among the seculars was settled at the twentieth year. “Nullus” says a statute of the order made in 1144, “ex hospitali miles fieri requirat, nisi, antequam habitum religionis assumeret, extiterit ei promissum: et tunc quando in illa erit constitutus ætate, in qua sæcularis officii miles possit fieri: nihilominus tamen filii nobilium in domo hospitali nutriti, cum ad ætatem militarem  
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“ pervenerint de voluntate magistri & præceptoris,  
 “ & de consilio fratrum poterunt militia insigniri.”

WE have already observed, that the young knights were at first received in no other place but at the head convent of the order; but the recruits they wanted to supply the place of such as were continually losing their lives in fighting against the infidels, obliged the chapters and supreme councils of the order to consent, that they might, after the proofs of their gentility had been examined, give the habit to novices in the grand priories on this side the sea; and as the ill practice of contracting unequal marriages with women of mean birth and condition, had not yet crept into noble families, all the attestations of the gentility of the presentee went no farther than the mentioning his father and mother's name, who were justly supposed to be descended of gentlemen by name as well as arms. A proof of this may be seen in the list that will be given at the end of this discourse, when it will appear, that in 1355, the date where the oldest registers of the grand priory of France begin, they never received any body but gentlemen whose names and families were known, and even distinguished in their several provinces.

BUT this very gentry, which till that time had preserved itself un sullied, being reduced to narrow circumstances by expences that are unavoidable in war, was soon forced for their support, to prostitute as it were their noble blood by contracting marriages below them: and lords and gentlemen by name as well as arms, began to debase themselves in marrying rich plebeians. The fear, lest these unequal matches should bring the order in contempt by the reception of knights descended of them, engaged the whole body to make a regulation, requiring that an authentic instrument should be drawn up in writing with legal proofs, to shew the legitimacy and descent of the person presented; and the like proofs were to be produced with respect to his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, for upwards of an hundred years, with a blazon of these eight quarters  
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annexed to the instrument ; and the person presented, was likewise to prove that his great grandfathers had been generally reputed gentlemen of name as well as arms. This last article of the statute is still in force at this day, or is at least kept up in the form of the instrument. But the proof of this last qualification required with respect to the great grandfathers does not seem to be very easy to be given in France, by knights who have no other stem from whence they can derive their gentility, but a petty secretary of the king's<sup>a</sup>, a gentleman of the town-hall, a mayor or alderman of some of those towns which entitle their magistrates to the rank of gentlemen : and I cannot possibly comprehend how a man, who has no other source of his gentility but one of these offices, which after all convey it no lower than a grandson, can be employed in a genealogy in the proofs of a great grandfather as if he was a gentleman by name as well as arms ; how he can pass for a gentleman of ancient race who stopped by dint of money only the plebeian blood that was creeping in his veins, and who was never seen to draw his sword in the service of his country. Nor is it less difficult to account for, how the quality required in a grand father of being a gentleman by name as well as arms, can sometimes be applied to a tradesman who is ennobled by an office in the law, without giving an unnatural and forced interpretation to that title, and it is very extraordinary to pretend, that a magistrate's robe ought to be put upon the same level with a warrior's coat of arms, and to annex the privileges of true nobility to that robe.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding this difficulty, which after all arises only from an unwillingness to alter any thing in the old stile of the statutes, we must needs own that they are very exact and strict with respect to the proofs which they require of gentility for the eight quarters of the presentee. These proofs must be testimonial, literal, local and secret, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular manner.

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<sup>a</sup> Un noble de la cloche.

THE first proof is called testimonial, because it arises from the testimony of four persons of noble extraction, who ought to be gentlemen of name as well as arms. The commissioners, who are generally old commanders, make them take a solemn oath to speak the truth, and likewise interrogate them separately. If there be any thing that can makethis kind of proof suspected it is, that in France, the person presented, or his relations, generally provide these witnesses.

THE second proof is called literal, because it is taken from writings, deeds, contracts, acknowledgements of tenures, and surveys which the person presented produces: upon which it may be proper to observe, that though marriage, writings, and wills are necessary to a full proof of the descent and statuteness of the person presented, yet these kind of writings are not sufficient to prove his gentility, by reason of the opportunity notaries have of furnishing the parties contracting with any titles and qualities which they please to bestow on themselves, without ever examining whether they are really due to them or not. But in defect of these writings, which amount to no more than a bare declaration, without any legal proof, they have recourse to the partition of lands of a noble tenure, to deeds of guardianship, to grants of the wardship of lands held in capite, to acts of fealty and homage, to acknowledgements of vassalage and surveys, to commissions, warrants, and grants of posts and dignities that either imply gentility, or entitle a man to it, to summons for attending the king in the field, and lastly, to monuments, epitaphs, coats of arms, glass-windows, and ancient escutcheons in churches.

THE third proof is called local, because the commissioners are obliged to go to the very place of the person's nativity, and when they are desirous of being exact, they ought to go likewise into the country from whence this family came originally, and to the very place whence these his ancestors came who he pretends were gentlemen by name as well as arms; or, if this place is very remote, and lies in another priory, to

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send to the prior of that district to make the enquiries, and take the examinations necessary in this case.

THE fourth kind of proof is derived from a secret enquiry, which the commissioners make unknown to the person presented. They do not insist, that the witnesses should be gentlemen like the four first; in this choice, regard is only had to their probity. When these four kinds of proofs appear to be substantial, and consistent with one another, the commissioners draw up an instrument in form containing an account of them, which is carried to the chapter of the priory; from thence it passes into the hands of two new commissioners, who examine whether all the rules prescribed by the statutes have been exactly observed in these informations; and when it appears that nothing has been omitted, this instrument with its proofs, and the blazon of the eight quarters, is sent to Malta, from whence there comes a warrant to give the habit of the order to the presentee. We have already observed, that with regard to the three languages of the kingdom of France, viz. Provence, Auvergne, and France, the statutes and the present practice require that the presentee prove his great grandfathers by the father and mother's side were gentlemen by name as well as arms; which forms, as was before observed, the eight quarters of gentility.

IN the language of Italy they are obliged to produce no more than four quarters: but every one of these, viz. that of the father and mother, and that of the grand mother by the father and mother's side, must have a known gentility of 200 years, and it must be proved that every one of these four families have had the quality of gentlemen for 200 years past. In like manner they require only the blazon and the arms of these four families, without going, as they do in France, so far upwards as the great grandmother. We must likewise observe with regard to the language of Italy, that in the commonwealths of Genoa and Lucca, and the grand duke's territories, traffic, and the trade of banking, are not any way derogatory to a person as in the  
other



other priories of the same language, and in all the other languages of the order. We are told that they are not a jot more scrupulous upon this article at Rome and all over the pope's dominions, than they are at Genoa and Florence; upon which the following reflection may very well be made, viz. that this is making knights of a very base alloy.

WITH regard to the languages of Arragon and Castile, the candidate is first to present the names of his four quarters, i. e. of his father and mother, and his grandmothers both by the father and mother's side, and to express in his petition the places from whence these four families originally came: whereupon the chapter of the priory to which he applies himself dispatch some commissioners secretly to go upon the spot, and inform themselves whether these families are reputed noble, and whether they do not descend originally from Jewish or Mahometan ancestors. If the report of these secret commissioners is favourable to the presentee, they appoint others to take authentic informations from the lords and persons of the greatest quality in each quarter: and these commissioners usually take all care possible to surprisè such as they have a mind to interrogate, that they may not be prepared before-hand. The depositions of these lords and gentlemen are judged to be sufficient, and they do not insist on writings or settlements as in France. So that all the proof of gentility in the provinces of Spain, consists in informations and interrogatories with respect to the four quarters. They however do not fail to visit the churches where there are any monuments, epitaphs, or other marks of honour of the ancestors of the presentee, and to examine whether their coats of arms are the same with his. For besides the authentic proof which they insist on of the religion and gentility of the presentee from the fourth generation, he is obliged to present on a sheet of paper an escutcheon bearing quarterly the arms of the four families which he produces of the proof of his gentility.

WITH regard to Portugal, which makes part of the language of Castile, they have no occasion to take the secret and preliminary informations concerning the quality of the families of the four quarters; because, by virtue of an old custom established by the kings of that nation, the names of all the noble families of the kingdom are carefully preserved in public registers; and if the four quarters from which the candidate pretends to be descended are not inserted in them, they never proceed to the public information.

THERE is not in the whole order of Malta any language or nation where the proofs are more rigorous, or made with greater exactness than in Germany. In this the natural sons and bastards of sovereign princes are not admitted to be knights of justice, as is practised in the other languages. The legitimate children also of chief magistrates, though their families have been always reputed noble, are in like manner excluded, because their gentility is deemed to be a civil gentility, and for that reason unqualified to enter into a body where they admit only a military gentility by name as well as arms: and the custom of the language of Germany is to insist on proofs of sixteen quarters before any knight can be received, and the very same proofs which they require in the noble collegiate bodies of that nation. The gentlemen that depose as witnesses assert upon oath, that these sixteen quarters are very noble; that the genealogy which the candidate has given in is a faithful one, and proved by authentic writings, and that all the quarters produced are of families already received in the assemblies of the circles, and qualified to be admitted into all the noble collegiate bodies. The blood from which a man must be descended, ought to run in a very pure stream, and all the alliances of it must be very noble, otherways there is no making proof of these sixteen quarters. And, at the same time, they are so very rigid in this language, that they would not let a single quarter pass that had been refused in any collegiate body: which has given occasion to a saying, viz. that if a son of the grand seignior's

was to be converted, and desire to be received as a knight in the language of Germany, he could not be admitted in it, as well for want of legitimacy, as for the difficulty he would have to prove sixteen quarters on the woman's side.

WHEN a knight hath made all his proofs, he may be received at three different ages. He is received as of age at sixteen, though he is not obliged to go to Malta till he is twenty, and he pays about 260 crowns of gold, worth about an hundred pence each, for his passage-fees. Secondly, they may enter themselves as pages to the grand master, and are received as such at twelve years of age, and quit it at fifteen: the passage-fees for a young page are almost the same as those which are paid when a person is received of age. In fine, within these hundred years they have made knights of minority, children in their very cradles; a very modern practice, which the passion of parents for the advancement of their children has rendered very common: the occasion of it shall be related in few words.

WHEN the order was in possession of the isle of Rhodes, there was, in the city of that name, a place called the Collachium, or the Cloister, a quarter set apart for the lodgings of the religious only, and divided from the dwellings of the secular inhabitants. In the general chapter held at Malta in 1631, it was resolved, that they should build a cloister of the same nature; a project which could not be put in execution without a fund of 100,000 crowns. As the treasury was very low, they resolved, for the supplying of what was wanting, to grant an hundred dispensations for receiving a hundred young children into the order, upon condition that they gave a thousand crowns a piece for their passage-fees, besides some other small fees. These hundred dispensations were presently filled; but the Collachium was not built: the money arising from this scheme was employed upon other occasions, and this contrivance has been found to be so convenient, that, in default of a general chapter, they have recourse to the authority of the popes, the first superiors of the

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order, who, by particular briefs which they issue out, authorise this reception of minors, on condition of paying 322 pistoles and a third, at the current rate of Spanish pistoles for their passage-fees. This entrance-money is called passage-fees, and owes its original to a sum of money which a young gentleman, who was desirous of going to take the habit at Jerusalem, or at Rhodes, formerly paid to the master that carried him thither.

THIS is pretty near the form observed in the reception of the knights of justice, and in the proofs which are required of their gentility. As for the chaplains or conventual brothers, and the serving brothers of arms, who are not tied up to such kind of proofs, they are however obliged to shew that they are born of honest parents, who never were servants, or practised any vile or mechanic art; that their fathers, mothers, and grandfathers, by both father and mother's side, as well as they themselves, were all born in lawful wedlock. These serving brothers, whether of the church or of arms, though born of parents who had no title to gentility, do nevertheless, in quality of religious, make up part of the body of the order in conjunction with the knights of justice, and are called to the grand master's election in which they have their votes. The chaplains have this further advantage, viz. that the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, are taken out of their body, and have the first place in council after the grand master, or, in his absence, after his lieutenant. But they are the only persons of these two last classes who have any share in the government, all the authority being lodged in the hands of the knights of justice. However, to make them some amends, they have assigned them some commandries, to which they succeed by turns, according to their rank and seniority from the time of their reception: they are likewise entertained, and have their table like the knights in the inns of their respective languages.

THERE are at Malta seven palaces, which they call inns, where all the religious, both knights and serving brothers,

brothers, and the novices of the seven languages, as well as such as are actually professed, have their tables. The commanders, who are supposed to be rich enough to subsist on the revenues of the ircommandries, are very seldom there: every head or pillier of an inn has a considerable apartment in it. The treasury of the order furnishes him a sum either in money, corn or oil for the diet of the religious of his inn. His own particular table is served with a plenty that spreads itself over the tables about it: but with all this the religious would often make but sorry cheer, if the pillier of the inn did not, out of his own purse, supply what was wanting in the allowance from the treasury. But as those who have the keeping of the inn, have a right to the first dignity that becomes vacant in their language, they all strive, either by thriftiness, or by borrowing of their friends, to procure wherewithal to keep house with credit. Whenever the inn becomes vacant, either by the pillier's death, or by his promotion to an higher dignity, the oldest knight of the language succeeds him. They have no regard whether he is a commander or a private knight; all they consider is only whether he be the senior knight of his language; that he owe nothing to the treasury; and in case he enjoys any of the orders estates, that he has made improvements on them, and given in his terrier, or account of their rents; that he has kept a ten year's residence in the convent; in fine, that he, by virtue of his seniority, has demanded the vacant dignity, which, though it be burdensome, is nevertheless always courted, because it is ever a path that leads to another, which has revenues sufficient to make them an ample satisfaction for all the expence they have been at.

'Tis for the same reason that some young knights, as soon as they have made their caravans, desire leave to fit out gallies, in hopes of getting a commandry the sooner. For though the order is always at part of the expence of such armaments, it nevertheless costs these young knights very considerable sums out of their own pockets, in the hopes they entertain of being indemnified



fied by a commandry of courtesy, which they generally receive from the bounty of the grand masters.

FOR the defraying of so many different expences, as the order is obliged to be at, either for the maintenance of the knights, the support of the hospital, or the keeping up of forces by sea and land, they have funds arising from the prizes which they take from the infidels, from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and revenues of vacant dignities. A mortuary is the personal estate of a deceased knight, and if he be a commander, it takes in the revenue of the rest of the year from the time of his death to the first of May following. The profits of vacancies go likewise to the order, and continue a year longer. In fine, the most substantial revenue the order has, consists in the responsions which they levy upon the priories, bailiwicks, and commandries: employments and dignities, each of which will now be treated of in particular.

### A R T I C L E III.

*Of the dignities, priories, bailiwicks, and commandries appropriated to the knights of justice.*

**I**N the history preceeding this dissertation, we have seen that the order is divided into eight languages, viz. Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Castile, to each of which a particular dignity is annexed. Provence enjoys that of great commander. The marshal is always taken from that of Auvergne. The language of France has that of great hospitaller. The admiral is taken from that of Italy. The drâpier, who is now stiled the great conservator, is of the language of Arragon. The turcopolier, or general of the horse, was formerly of the language of England; but since the change of religion in that kingdom, the grand master's seneschal is invested with this title. The post of grand bailiff belongs to the language  
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of Germany, and that of great chancellor to the language of Castile.

IN the language of Provence there are two priories, viz. St. Giles and Toulouse, with the bailiwick of Manosque. There are 54 commandries in the priory of St. Giles, and 35 in the grand priory of Toulouse.

THE language of Auvergne has but one grand priory, which bears the same name, and the bailiwick of Lyons, which was antiently called the bailiwick of Lurveul : there are 40 commandries of knights, and eight of serving brothers within this priory.

THE language of France has three grand priories. The grand priory of France contains 45 commandries, that of Aquitain 65, and the grand priory of Champagne 24.

THERE is likewise in the same language, the bailiwick of the Morea, the title of which is annexed to St. John de Lateran at Paris, and the post of great treasurer united to the commandry of St. John de Corbeil.

IN Italy, the grand prior of Rome has 19 commandries under him, the prior of Lombardy 45, the prior of Venice 27, the priors of Barletto and Capua have 25 together, the prior of Messina 12, the prior of Pisa 26, and the bailiffs of St. Euphemia, St. Stephen's of Monopoli, the Trinity of Venusia, and of St. John de Naples, are comprehended in the language of Italy.

ARRAGON, Catalonia, and Navarre, compose the language of Arragon.

THE grand prior of Arragon, commonly called in history the Castellan of Emposta, has 29 commandries within his district, the prior of Catalonia 28, and the prior of Navarre 17 : the bailiwick of Majorca is of this language, and the bailiff of Caps in Africa depends likewise upon it. But this bailiwick has been lost to the order ever since the loss of Tripoli and its adjoining territory.

THE language of England and Scotland, comprehended formerly the priory of England, or of St. John of London, and that of Ireland : there were in this priory

priory 32 commandries, besides the bailiwick of l'Aigle, or of the Eagle.

THE grand prior of Germany is prince of the holy Empire, and resides at Heitershexm. He has in High as well as Low Germany, 67 commandries in his dependence, besides the priors of Bohemia and Hungary, and the bailiwick of Sonneberg, which is now in the hands of the Lutherans.

CASTILE, the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal, compose what is called the language of Castile. Under the priors of Castile and Leon are 27 commandries, and that of Portugal, called the priory of Crato, has 31, besides the bailiwick of la Bouëde. The title (in partibus) of the bailiff of Negrepoint, is common to the languages of Castile and Arragon: so that there are actually near 500 commandries in the order, besides the priories and bailiwicks. The commandries, and all the estates of the order, in what country soever they live, are the property of the body of the order. Formerly they were let out to receivers and secular farmers, who paid the rent of their leases to the common treasury: but as the city of Jerusalem, and afterwards the isle of Rhodes, lay at a great distance, these secular farmers took advantage of it, and proved very unfaithful, for which reason the management of these estates were afterwards entrusted to the grand priors in their several districts: This was at first no more than a trust and a bare administration; but they soon began to consider it as their property, and under one pretence or other, and sometimes without any at all, they consumed all revenues of the order. This male-administration obliged the general chapters, and, in their default, the council to have recourse to a new expedient: they appointed a knight of known probity and disinterestedness to superintend over each particular mannour or portion of estate which the order had in the same canton or district. But they held this administration from the council only (*durante beneplacito.*) The order likewise sometimes required him to take care of the education of some young knights probationers, and there was always

ways a brother chaplain to say mass in this little community. They were forbidden going beyond the limits of their house, without leave first obtained from the knight who was the superior of it; and such as were found to transgress were arrested and put in prison. This superior, in antient writings, was called Preceptor, and afterwards commander; a name which imported no more than that the education of these young knights, and the management of the possessions of the order were recommended to his care. He was impowered to take out of these revenues a portion sufficient for the subsisting of his community, and assisting the poor of his district; and he was obliged to send to the common treasury a certain sum yearly, which was always proportioned to the revenue of the commandry. This quit-rent was called a Responsion, the use of which is continued to this day: general chapters have a right of augmenting these responsions in times of war, and according to the wants and occasions of the order. I cannot say whether these little communities above mentioned were suppressed in order for the drawing off more considerable responsions from the commandries, or whether a spirit of division arising among them, they dwindled away of themselves. That which appears more certain is, that they left the administration of a commandry to a single knight, whom they sometimes required to pay certain pensions, which served in lieu of the sustenance he was obliged to furnish to those knights who dwelt with him. At last, to obviate all caballing, and pursuit of employments, which might have very fatal consequences in a military body, they resolved to confide the administration of these commandries to the knights, according to their seniority; but in order to keep them still in that just dependence which they owed their superiors, they entrusted them with the commandries, on the foot only of a bare administration, for a certain time limited by the council, (*ad decem annos, et amplius, ad beneplacitum nostrum*;) as the commissions issued out of the chancery of Malta for this purpose expressly declare

by

by which it is evident that these administrations might be taken away.

EXPRESSIONS in such positive and explicit terms, prove undeniably that commandries are no absolute possessions or benefices, but meer concessions for which the administrator was accountable to the public treasury of the order, and liable to be turned out in case either of male-administratton, or of irregularity in his life and conversation. The statutes (*de prohibitionibus & pœnis*) say expressly, that if a knight be justly suspected of entertaining a loose commerce with a woman, and continues it after having been admonished of it, he shall be immediately ejected from his commandry, and all other possessions of the order, and that without the least formality of trial or prosecution. The same penalty is denounced in this statute against duellers, usurers, all those who forswear themselves, and against all such receivers of the order as were guilty of any prevarication in their accounts. “*Statim, non expectatâ aliâ sententiâ, commendis, membris, & pensionibus privati censeantur, & sint.*”

BUT withal, from the same spirit of regularity and justice, if a commander has given no scandal to any one in his commandry; if he, like a good father of a family, has taken care of the estate entrusted to his administration; if he has been exact in paying the responses that are to be remitted into the common treasury; if he has taken all due care of, and rebuilt the churches and buildings that depended on his commandry; if he has made an exact terrar, i. e. given a just court-roll of all the lands that hold under his fiefs, in the terms prescribed by the statutes: in fine, if, agreeable to the spirit of his order and his own obligations, he has taken care of the poor; the order, like a good mother, takes care to reward his exactitude; and after five years continuance in such an administration, if any more considerable commandry falls vacant, allows him to (*emeutir* or) have his option of it in his turn, according to his seniority.

BUT



BUT he is first of all, after having been five years in possession of his first commandry, to get his language to appoint commissioners to take an account of the good order in which they have found the buildings and the lands, and to draw it up in an instrument in form : this is called making his Improvements ; and if this verbal process be received and approved at Malta, the commander may be advanced to a richer commandry. 'Tis to this wise precaution that the order is indebted for the preservation of its estates and buildings : every commander, in hopes of acquiring a greater estate, taking the utmost care of that which is entrusted to his administration.

THE knights, besides the commandries, may arrive at the great dignities of the order, according to their seniority and merit. I have already spoke of the grand priors, who are the superiors of all the religious that reside within their priories. They are directed to have a watchful eye over their conduct, and to see that the possessions of the order be justly managed ; they preside in provincial chapters, and in their absence are to name a lieutenant, who, in that capacity, takes place of all the knights of the petty cross.

THERE are three kinds of bailiffs in the order, viz. the conventual, the capitulary, and the bailiffs by courtesy and " ad honores." The conventual bailiffs are so called, because they are bound to reside in the convent. They are chosen by the languages, and are likewise their chiefs, and pillars of the inus. They are the first knights after the grand master : and though this dignity generally " s'emeutisse," or passes by option according to seniority, they yet are not so absolutely tied up to this rule, but the languages and the council may take a liberty of chusing any person whom they think most deserving.

As the language of Provence is the first of the order,<sup>a</sup> it enjoys the first dignity in it, which is that of great commander. This conventual bailiff is, by his post, president of the public treasury, and the court of exchequer.

<sup>a</sup> Great commander.

exchequer. He has likewise the supreme direction of the magazines, the arsenal, and the artillery; he names their officers, with the good liking of the grand master and council, and he takes them out of what language he pleases. His authority extends even to the church of St. John, several officers of which he names: he has the same right in the infirmary, and chuses the petty commander, whose office is to assist in visiting the medicines of the hospital.

THE dignity of marshal<sup>a</sup> is the second of the order, and is annexed to the language of Auvergne, of which he is the chief and the pillier. In military affairs he commands all the religious, except the grand crosses, their lieutenants, and the chaplains. In time of war he gives the great standard of the order to any knight whom he thinks most worthy of it: he has a right of naming the first equerry; and when he is at sea, he commands the general of the gallies, and even the high admiral.

THE care of the poor and sick being the great design of the institution of the order, and the basis as it were of their profession, the treasury maintains an hospital at Malta, the charge of which amounts to 50,000 crowns per annum. This hospital is under the jurisdiction of the great hospitaller,<sup>b</sup> who is the third conventual bailiff, and the chief and pillier of the language of France. He nominates the overseer of the infirmary, who is always to be a knight of justice, the prior of the infirmary, and two scribes, all officers of but two years continuance, and presents them to the council for their approbation: but for all other employments about the hospital, he disposes of them by his sole authority.

THE admiral is chief of the language of Italy:<sup>c</sup> in the marshal's absence, and at sea he commands the soldiers as well as the seamen: he names the inspector and the scribe of the arsenal; and whenever he de-

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<sup>a</sup> Great marshal.

<sup>b</sup> Great hospitaller.

<sup>c</sup> High admiral.

mands the generalship of the galleys, the grand master is obliged to propose it to the council, who either admit or refuse him as they see proper.

BEFORE England, Scotland and Ireland had separated from the church of Rome, and embraced the protestant doctrines, the turcopolier<sup>a</sup> was the chief of that language. He, in that quality, had the command of the cavalry and the marine guards. Turcopole was a word used antiently in the Levant, and signified a light horse, or kind of dragoon. As this dignity was abolished upon the seizure of the estates of the order in those isles, part of the functions of the turcopolier have been given to the grand master's seneschal.

THE grand bailiff is chief of the language of Germany.<sup>b</sup> His jurisdiction extends itself over the fortifications of the old city, the antient capital of the island. He hath the same authority over the castle of Goza; the grand bailiffs having, during the time that the order had the sovereignty of Rhodes, enjoyed the like post with regard to the castle of St. Peter in Caria, as may be seen in the history.

THE dignity of chancellor<sup>c</sup> is annexed to the pillier of Castile, Leon and Portugal. The chancellor presents the vice-chancellor to the council. He is obliged to be present when any bulls are sealed with the ordinary seal, and sign the originals himself. 'Tis expressly required by the 35 chapter de bajulis, that he be able to write and read.

BESIDES these conventual bailiffs, who are the chiefs and pilliers of the order, they have admitted the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, in the same quality; <sup>d</sup> these dignities are common to all the languages, and the prelates who enjoy them get over the default with respect to birth, "a defectu natalium," though they are chose out of the body of chaplains, who, by their rank, are excluded from all the dignities of the order.

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<sup>a</sup> The turcopolier.<sup>b</sup> The grand bailiff.<sup>c</sup> The high chancellor.<sup>d</sup> Bishop of Malta, and prior of the church.

THE emperor Charles V. in his deed of conveyance of the isles of Malta and Goza to the order, reserved to himself, and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, the advowson of the bishoprick : and it was agreed, that in case of a vacancy of the see, the order should be obliged to present to him and his successors kings of Sicily, three religious in priests orders, one of which was to be born in Sicily, and that these princes should have the liberty of chusing any one of the three whom they should best approve.

THE prior of the church of St. John is deemed the prelate and ordinary of all the religious : he likeways officiates pontifically in his own church, and in all those of Malta, which are served by the chaplains of the order, and preceeds the bishop there. When this dignity becomes vacant, the council allow the chaplains to meet and confer about the choice of his successor. They even go so far as to vote for one : this being done, they carry the scrutiny to the council, who, without any regard to such as had the greatest number of voices in the meeting of the chaplains, determine, by their own votes, who shall succeed to this dignity, which gives the prior, in the same manner as the bishop, the first place in the chapters and councils, in quality of conventual bailiffs.

OF these seven conventual bailiffs, four at least ought always to be residents in the convent ; nor can any one of them be absent without leave from a full council. To obtain which, they must have at least two thirds of votes ; and, in their absence, the languages, who cannot be without their heads, name immediately lieutenants to supply their places. When one of these pillars is general of the gallies, and goes to sea, his language, notwithstanding his being absent for the service of the order, names in like manner his lieutenant, whose authority ceases as soon as ever the general returns into the harbour.

ALTHOUGH the capitulary bailiffs are not, like the conventual ones, obliged to an actual residence in the convent, yet there is no holding a general chapter without

out these great crosses, or their lieutenants. They are likewise obliged to assist at all provincial chapters, or at least to send a knight thither to represent them. This second kind of bailiffs are not capable of being made conventual bailiffs, because the one are to reside in the convent, and the others in the priory, where there bailiwick lies. Of all these capitulary bailiffs, there was not any one, the bailiff of Brandenburgh excepted, who, like the grand priors, had any commanders under his jurisdiction. This bailiwick had formerly 13 that depended on it : but since its falling into the hands of the protestants, six of these commanderies have been suppressed by the Lutherans. There are however still seven left, whose titles and revenues are preserved ; but they are in the hands of the protestants. These Lutheran commanders however wear the cross, and assume the name of knights ; they likewise chuse their own bailiff, who names to the commanderies. Several of these pretended commanders have besought the grand masters to suffer them to be received at Malta, and make their caravans on board the gallies of the order : but the difference in worship was an invincible obstacle to their admission into a catholic society. Some, when they could not obtain leave to fight under the banner of the order, have, from a principle of conscience, gone to make their caravans in Hungary against the Turks, at the time when the country was the seat of war. 'Tis likewise said, that out of the same motive, they have sometimes sent considerable sums to Malta by way of responsions ; but no regard was ever had to these seeming acts of submission, and attachment to the body of the order ; and the title of bailiff of Brandenburg is *emeuti*, or goes by opinion and seniority in the language of Germany, in the same manner as a great many other capitulary bailiwicks in the other languages of the order, notwithstanding the estates and revenues are actually possessed by the infidels or protestants. All these dignities were formerly common to all the languages in general, without any distinction, and lasted but from one general



chapter to the next; the chapter disposing of them to persons of the greatest merit. But since the end of the fourteenth century, they have been conferred on the languages only to which they were annexed. The knights, who were invested with them, wear upon their breast a great octangular cross of white linnen cloth, and take place of the knights of the little cross, though the latter should chance to be their seniors.

THE general chapters sometimes granted this honourable distinction to such private knights as had distinguished themselves by their valour against the infidels, and done any considerable services to the order: they were stiled bailiffs by courtesy. When there was no general chapter sitting, the grand master and the council named these bailiffs, "ad honores," and exercised this power for a long while: but as they were continually teased with recommendations from christian monarchs in favour of knights who indeed were born their subjects, but were not thought the most deserving in the order, the grand master and council, to get rid of these importunities, thought it best to give up their right. They fancied that they, by this wise precaution, should put a stop to the ambition of the knights, but that warm and restless passion put them upon other expedients; they employed the same kind of recommendation to the popes, who, justly considering themselves as the first superiors of all the religious orders, supplied the default and absence of a general chapter by their own authority. 'Tis true indeed, that the private knights or commanders, who thus get themselves made bailiffs by courtesy by the pope's briefs, do not acquire any particular privilege with regard to other promotions; for when any vacant commandries or dignities are to be disposed of, they have no right of preceding private knights who are their seniors: so that all they get by the recommendation of the princes who interpose in their behalf, is no more than the privilege of wearing the great cross, the right of sitting in the chapter and the council when they are at Malta, and the taking place of knights who are their seniors,

in some assemblies, and days of ceremony : most of them empty honours, and that have nothing substantial in them.

#### ARTICLE IV.

*Of the general chapter, and different councils of the order.*

**T**HE order of Malta, as it is now stiled, is a noble republic, partly resembling that of Venice in its government, which has more of an aristocracy than of any other form. The grand master, like another doge, presideth at the head ; but the supreme authority is vested in the general chapter, a tribunal established ever since the foundation of the order for the determining of their warlike preparations, and the redressing public and private grievances : they treat therein of all affairs, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military ; they repeal and reform old statutes, when the observance of them is found inconvenient, and they make new ones, which subsist without appeal till the next chapter.

IN ancient times these famous assemblies were held regularly every five years : sometimes, if the exigence of affairs demanded it, they called them every three years ; but in process of time they came to meet only every ten years, and now there has not one been held for near an hundred years, to the great prejudice of their regular and military discipline. But as it may happen, which indeed were highly to be wished, that the zeal of the knights, and the wisdom and prudence of the grand masters, may revive the usage of them, we think it not improper to specify in this place what persons these great assemblies were composed of, and the form that was observed in them ; and that particularly, because the very same dignities, in default of a general chapter, give them a right of sitting in the councils.

WHEN all the chaplains were arrived from the several provinces of Christendom in the head convent of the

order, whether at Jerusalem, Rhodes, or Malta, the grand master, on the day fixed for opening the chapter, after hearing a mass of the Holy Ghost, entered the hall appointed for the assembly; when he took his place under a canopy, upon a throne raised three steps from the ground, and the members of the chapter, who were dignitaries, to the number of 54, placed themselves on the two sides in the following order, viz.

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| 1. The bishop.   | 2. The prior of the church.                |
| 3. The great commander.                                      | 4. The marshal.                            |
| 5. The hospitaller.  | 6. The admiral.                            |
| 7. The great conservator.                                    | 8. The grand bailiff.                      |
| 9. The great chancellor.                                     | 10. The grand prior of St. Giles.          |
| 11. The grand prior of Auvergne.                             | 12. The grand prior of France.             |
| 13. The grand prior of Aquitaine.                            | 14. The grand prior of Champagne.          |
| 15. The grand prior of Toulouse.                             | 16. The grand prior of Rome.               |
| 17. The grand prior of Lombardy.                             | 18. The grand prior of Venice.             |
| 19. The grand prior of Pisa.                                 | 20. The grand prior of Barletto.           |
| 21. The grand prior of Messina.                              | 22. The grand prior of Capua.              |
| 23. The castellan of Emposta, or the grand prior of Arragon. | 24. The grand prior of Chrato or Portugal. |
| 25. The grand prior of England.                              | 26. The grand prior of Navarre.            |
| 27. The grand prior of Germany.                              | 28. The grand prior of Ireland.            |
| 29. The grand prior of Bohemia.                              | 30. The grand prior of Hungary.            |
| 31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia.                             | 32. The grand prior of Catalonia.          |

33. The

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| 33. The bailiff of Negre-<br>pont.    | 34. The bailiff of the Mo-<br>rea.        |
| 35. The bailiff of Venu-<br>fia.      | 36. The bailiff of St. Ste-<br>phens.     |
| 37. The bailiff of Major-<br>ca.      | 38. The bailiff of St. John<br>of Naples. |
| 39. The bailiff of Lyons.             | 40. The bailiff of Ma-<br>nofque.         |
| 41. The bailiff of Bran-<br>denburg.  | 42. The bailiff of Capfa.                 |
| 43. The bailiff of Lora.              | 44. The bailiff of Aquila.                |
| 45. The bailiff of Lango<br>and Leza. | 46. The bailiff of St. Se-<br>pulchre.    |
| 47. The bailiff of Cremo-<br>na.      | 48. The great treasurer.                  |
| 49. The bailiff of Neuvil-<br>las.    | 50. The bailiff of Acre.                  |
| 51. The bailiff of la Roc-<br>cella.  | 52. The bailiff of Arme-<br>nia.          |
| 53. The bailiff of Carlo-<br>ftad.    | 54. The bailiff of St. Se-<br>bastian.    |

THE second day of the assembly of the chapter, the members chuse, by plurality of voices, three commanders of three different languages or nations, to examine the proxies of such as represent the languages and priories, or are deputed by the priors and bailiffs that are absent. When their powers have been examined and found good, they are admitted to give their votes; but if they are not drawn in due form, they are excluded the assembly. When the number of the members are settled, every one of them in his turn, according to his own rank, and that of his language, presents a purse with five pieces of money, as a mark of his perfect renunciation of all property. The marshal of the order, from the same principle, lays down the great standard, as do likewise the great officers the marks of their respective dignities, which they do not resume till after a new grant from the chapter is first obtained. This custom has been practised from time  
imme-

immemorial in the order, and cannot be too highly esteemed, provided it be not degenerated into mere ceremony.

THEY appoint at the same time three commissioners of three different nations to receive petitions, which are usually presented during the three first days, and afterwards are either dispatched or rejected by the general chapter: but as the members that compose it are very numerous, and by that means it would take up too much time to examine every particular affair, they therefore refer the consideration and decision of them to a committee of sixteen of their members who are all commanders.

THE seven languages chuse each of them two by a plurality of voices, and the chapter chuse two more to represent the language of England. These sixteen commissioners being thus elected take an oath before the grand master, who, with the rest of the members of the chapter, make a reciprocal promise upon oath to accept and ratify all that shall be resolved on and determined by the sixteen.

THE committee withdraws to consider of the matters represented in these petitions to the chapter. But for fear lest these sixteen commanders should not be acquainted with the true interests of the order, and perhaps lest they should come to resolutions contrary to those of the grand master, his procurator, the vice-chancellor, and the secretary of the treasury are admitted into this particular assembly, but without any right of voting. The sixteen alone regulate, ordain, and judge absolutely, and without appeal, all matters which the chapter refers to their determination: and as these great assemblies are to continue sitting above a fortnight, if there happen to be any affairs left, which they had not time to terminate, they refer them to a new committee, which is called the council of reservations.

BESIDES this provisional and transient council, there are always, in default of a general chapter, four standing councils at Malta, viz. the ordinary, the complete, the secret, and the criminal councils.



THE ordinary council is composed of the grand master, the conventual bailiff, all the great crosses that are at Malta, the procurators of the languages and the most antient knight for that of England. In this council they decide all disputes that arise about receptions, pensions, commandries, dignities, and other matters relating to bulls granted by the order.

THE complete council differs from the ordinary council, only by the addition of two ancient knights for each language, who before they can have a seat in it must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals lie to this complete council from the sentences of the ordinary, as well as of the criminal council. 'Tis not long since they introduced a custom of appealing to Rome, whither, in default of a general chapter all affairs are intensibly carried. From the court of Rome come all dispensations, knights of minority, knights by courtesy, bailiffs and great crosses by courtesy: and there is just reason to apprehend, that their lavish bestowing courtesies on particular persons will at length ruin the whole body of the order.

IN the secret council, affairs of state, and all sudden and extraordinary cases that require an immediate consideration, are treated. When any weighty complaint is made against a knight or any other religious, 'tis laid before, and debated in the criminal council. The grand master or his lieutenant presides in all these councils, and he only has a right of proposing any matter for them to debate on. When they come to vote in any case, he has two ballots, and when the voices are equal, 'tis his that weighs down the scale.

THERE is still another council, which is commonly called the chamber of the treasury, of which the great commander, chief of the language of Provence by virtue of his office, is president. To defray the immense expences which the order is obliged to be at, they raise funds out of the responsions due from the priories, bailywicks and commandries, and from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and vacancies. A mortuary is the revenue of a commandry for the remaining part

of the year, from the day of the commander's decease to the first of May next ensuing, and they call the vacancy the revenue of the whole year, which begins at the said first of May, and ends on the same day of the year following. The prizes which they take from the infidels, are also reckoned among the casual revenues of the order. All these several funds are under the direction of the chamber of the treasury, which cannot meet without the great commander or his lieutenant: and if the great commander or his lieutenant are not satisfied with the debates in this court, they need only withdraw out of the chamber, and the session is immediately dissolved.

THE great commander has two procurators of the treasury for his colleagues, who were always chose out of the great crosses. The grand master and council change them every two years, but not both at once, that there may be always one left who is acquainted with the affairs and interests of the order. The grand master, in consideration of the interest he has in the just and exact administration of the revenues of the order, has a procurator in this chamber, who has a right of voting in it; and whenever he names him, he notifies it to the council.

THIS procurator, on account of the dignity of the person he represents, has his place in this council before the conventual conservator and the auditor of accompts. The chamber has a power of giving assignments to the value of 500 crowns, but when a warrant is to be issued for a more considerable sum, it must be laid before the council, who order it to be passed in the chancery.

THE high treasurer, or his lieutenant, hath a right of assisting at the accompts which are given to the common treasury. Antiently the treasurer was reckoned among the conventual bailiffs, and had the chest of the order in his keeping. But this function having been since assigned to the conventual conservator, and the bailiwick annexed to the language of Germany, the post of high treasurer is at present no more than a capitulary

capitulary bailiwick, appropriated to the language of France.

EACH language names every two years a knight to be auditor of the accompts ; but they must be confirmed by the ordinary council, where they take the oath for their office. They take their places according to the rank of the languages they represent : their business is to go to the chamber as often as they are summoned to be present, when accompts are given in by the receivers, and all such persons as are concerned in the administration of the possessions of the order.

IN treating of the conventual bailiffs we had occasion to speak of the great conservator. Antiently his office continued from one general chapter to another ; but since the time that those assemblies appeared to be suppressed, the complete council changes him every three years. He is taken out of all the languages by turns : his functions cease at the assembly of a general chapter, and are suspended during the vacancy of the mastership

THE post of secretary of the treasury is an office in which a vast deal of business is transacted. 'Tis he who makes up and balances the accompts in the presence of the two auditors. He gives out and pays all bills of exchange ; and as all the affairs of the treasury pass through his hands, they scarce ever change him but for very urgent reasons.

BEFORE the conventual and capitulary dignities were divided amongst the languages, the general chapters disposed of them in favour of persons of the greatest merit in the order, without regarding what nation they were of. But ever since the year 1466, they have been appropriated to particular languages : and the pillars or conventual bailiffs abovementioned, when they are not filled up, have a right of demanding the first dignities that become vacant : thus in the language of Provence, the great commander may demand either the grand priory of St. Giles, or the grand priory of Toulouse, or the bailiwick of Manosque. In the language

guage of Auvergne, the great marshal has a right to the grand priory of that name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons : but when he is once possessed of one of these dignities, he has no option with regard to any other. Notwithstanding that in the language of France, the commandries in its dependence are annexed to particular priories, nevertheless the high dignities appropriated to that language are common to all the knights of the three priories of the same language ; so that, independent from the priories, 'tis seniority alone that decides between the knights of the language of France, with respect to the grand priories of France, Aquitain and Champaign ; of the bailiwick of the Morea, the residence of which is fixed at Paris at St. John of Lateran ; and of the post of treasurer, which is united to the priory of Corbeil.

IN the language of Italy, the dignities and commandries are in common. In the language of Arragon, which is composed of the knights of the kingdom of Catalonia and of Navarre, if the great conservator is an Arragonian or Valentian, he has a right to the Castellany of Emposta, otherwise called the grand priory of Arragon.

THE bailiwick of Majorca is common between the knights of Majorca and Catalonia : and the bailiwick of Capla is common to those of Arragon and Valencia ; they remove from this bailiwick to the Castellany of Emposta.

THE bailiwick of Negrepont, which at present is " in partibus," and in the hands of the Turks, is annexed alternately to the languages of Arragon and Castile : any one may resign it to take the inn, and they may likewise quit the inn by making their option of the same bailiwick.

THE dignity of grand bailiff is common between the knights of Germany, and those of the kingdom of Bohemia. It gives a right to the grand priory of Germany, a post of greater antiquity in the order, than that of grand bailiff.

THE chancellor may be made grand prior of Castile, who, when he is invested with that dignity, becomes a grandee of Spain. The grand priory of Crato is in Portugal; but the great chancellor cannot make it his option for fear of engaging in a dispute with the king of Portugal, who pretends that the advowion of that dignity belongs to his crown.

THE grand priory of Hungary might anciently have been challenged by the great commander, pillier of the language of Provence, and the same right was afterwards conveyed to the admiral, who is pillier of the language of Italy. But at present that dignity, by the abdication which the Italians made in 1603, is fallen to the language of Germany, and is common to the knights of that nation and those of Bohemia. Notwithstanding that the last emperors of Germany have recovered the best part of Hungary from the infidels, nevertheless the order has not been able to recover the possession of their priories and commandries in that kingdom, although cardinal Colonitz, an old knight of Malta took the utmost pains in that affair. The commandries of Dacia, depending on the grand priory of Hungary, are entirely lost.

ALTHOUGH the provinces of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, composed formerly the ancient Dacia, nevertheless, in the order of St. John, this name of Dacia, in the language of the middle age, was given to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. We have seen in the preceeding history, that the grand master Dieu-donné de Gozon wrote, during his administration, into these provinces, to oblige them to remit their responsions, and that in 1464, they sent visitors thither to take care that the regular and military discipline should be observed in those places.



## ARTICLE V.

*Of the offices and employments in the order.*

**T**HE grand master has a right to chuse himself a lieutenant, who, when he has named him, notifies it to the council, but without having any need of their consent and approbation. He likewise names the feneschal of his household; and when the person who is invested with it has a brief from the pope, he enjoys his office for life.

The vice-chancellor presented by the great chancellor,	}	named by the full coun- cil for life.
The secretary of the treasury named by the grand master.		
The master Equerry named by the great marshal,		

The grand master names the following officers.

Le cavalerizze, or master of the horse.

The receiver of the grand master's revenues.

The master of the household.

The grand master's procurator in the treasury.

The great chamberlain.

The deputy master of the household.

Le sous cavalerizze, or first gentleman of the horse.

The falconer.

The captain of the guards.

Three auditors.

The almoner and four chaplains.

Four chamberlains.

Four secretaries for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

The secretary or intendant of the revenues of the principality.

The credencier or clerk of the kitchen.

The garde-manger, or keeper of the pantry.

The keeper of the wardrobe.

Coun-

Counsellors of the complete council.

- Fourteen counsellors taken out of the seven languages. } named by the languages, and approved by the council.
- Seven auditors of the accoupts of the treasury, } approved by the council.
- Two procurators of the treasury, great crosses, named by the grand master and approved by the council.
- The conventual conservator who has been already mentioned when we treated of the conventual bailiffs.
- Comptroller of the conservator, in the nomination of the grand master and council.
- Castellan of the castellany. This office is entered upon the first day of May, and continues for two years.
- Two procurators of the prisoners, of the poor, of widows and orphans; the one a knight, and the other a priest, who is chaplain, or brother of obedience.
- The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula, a great cross.
- 2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the church, } a great cross and a knight.
- 3 commissioners of the poor beggars, } great crosses.
- 2 ditto of the alms, } 1 great cross, 1 knight.
- 2 ditto of the sick poor women, } knights.
- 2 protectors of the catechumens, and the new converts, } 1 great cross, 1 knight.
- 3 commissioners of the redemption, in the choice of the grand master, } 1 great cross, 2 knights.
- The overseer of the infirmary, } a knight of the language of France, in the presentation of the great hospitaller.
- The prior and sub-prior of the infirmary, } presented by the great hospitaller, and approved by the grand master and council.
- The scribe, }
- The Armonier or press-keeper, }

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the infirmary,  | } two knights named by the grand master, and approved by the council.                           |
| 4 commissaries of war and fortifications,  | } 4 great crosses of the four nations, viz. France, Spain, Italy and Germany.                   |
| 4 ditto of the congregation of the gallies.  | } 4 knights of the 4 nations.   |
| 2 ditto for regulating the caravans,   | } 2 great crosses.  |
| 4 ditto of the naval armaments,  | } 3 great crosses and 1 knight.   |
| A president and four commissioners of the congregation of the ships of the four nations, | } 1 great cross, and 4 knights.   |
| 2 commissioners of the chest of the flags,   | } 1 great cross, 1 knight.  |
| 3 ditto of the novices of different nations.   | } 1 great cross, 2 knights.   |
| 2 ditto of the prizes,   | } 2 knights.  |
| 2 ditto of the prison of the slaves,   | } 2 knights.  |
| The governor of the prison of the slaves,  | } a serving brother in the nomination of the grand master.                                      |
| 2 Commissioners of the mint,   | } 2 great crosses.  |
| 4 ditto of the gentry,   | } 4 knights of the four nations.  |
| 3 ditto of agreements,   | } 3 knights.  |
| The governor of the magazines,   | } 1 knight in the presentation of the great commander.  |
| 2 prud'hommes, or comptrollers of the stores,  | } 2 knights.  |
| 2 commissioners of the two houses,   | } 2 knights,  |
| 2 ditto of health,   | } 2 knights; but when there is any suspicion of infection, they join 4 great crosses with them. |

The commander of the artillery,	}	1 knight, in the nomination of the great commander.
2 comptrollers of the artillery,		2 knights.
2 commissaries of the soldiers,	}	2 knights, named by the grand master.
The fiscal, or attorney ;		He is generally a brother of obedience.
The deputy-master-equerry,	}	a serving brother, named by the grand master, who notifies his nomination to the council.
The porter of la Valette,		a serving brother in the grand master's nomination.
The governor of the arsenal,	}	a knight in the nomination of the great commander.
The comptroller of the arsenal,		a knight in the presentation of the admiral.
The vestry-keeper,	}	brother chaplains in the nomination of the great commander.
The candle-keeper of the church of St. John,		
The belfrey-keeper,		
The general of the gallies,	}	He chuses the captain of the admiral-galley, and presents him to the council.
As many captains and masters as there are gallies.		
The reveditor or inspector of the gallies.		
The commodore of the ships.		
As many captains as there are ships, and several subaltern officers.		
The proveditor or overseer of the ships.		

## The GOVERNORS.

Of Goza, St. Angelo, St. Elmo, Ricasoli, The Town, The isle de la Sangle,	}	In the nomination of the grand master.
The captain of la Valette, The seven captains of the hamlets or villages of the country, The captain of the grove, a serv- ing brother,		
The three judges of appeals, of criminal cases, of civil causes,	}	Lawyers and doctors of laws named by the council.

## OUT OF THE CONVENT.

Three ambassadors in ordinary of the order.

M. the bailiff baron of Schaden em- bassador to the pope	}	At Rome.	} The ambassadors of France and Spain are always great crosses. The ambassador of Rome is often a little cross ; their employ- ment lasts for three years, but it is frequently continued to them longer.
M. the bailiff of Diestrincken em- bassador to the emperor			
The bailiff de Mes- mes ambassador to the king of France	}	At Paris.	
The bailiff d'Avila ambassador to the king of Spain			
	}	At Madrid.	

In all the priories of the order there are receivers, whom the treasury presents to the council: their office is granted them for three years, but they sometimes continue them, and they may be great crosses.

THERE



THERE are likewise in all the priories several procurators in the presentation of the treasury, whose employments also last for three years.

THE money is coined with the impress and arms of the reigning grand master.

THE grand master don Raimond Perellos de Rocaful was the first that ever had guards; the company consists of 150 men, and they mount the guard at the palace, and the two gates of the city of la Vallette.

THE grand master is to be deemed the first patron general of all those offices abovementioned, for which we have not assigned any particular patron: but he is obliged to propose his nomination to the council, who have a power either to allow or reject it.

SUCH are the dignities and offices of this order, the first of which is that of the grand master, the highest honour to which a knight of justice can arrive; and for the better understanding thereof, we shall now explain the form observed in his election, his titles, his rights, his prerogatives, and from whence his forces and revenues arise.

## A R T I C L E VI.

### *Of the election of the grand master.*

**A**S soon as the grand master is dead, the council breaks his seal: and, that the order may not be left without an head, they chuse a lieutenant of the mastership, who, in concert with the council, presides in the administration, but never makes any grant, or offer to touch the revenue of the grand mastership.

THE second day they lay the corps of the deceased in state in the great hall of the palace on a catafalco, or scaffold, with a complete suit of armour on his right hand, lying upon a table covered with a carpet of black cloth. They bury him in the evening with the proper solemnities; the function of the conventual conservator is suspended during the vacancy of the mastership.

The

The same day they appoint three knights of different nations, to receive what is due to the treasury from the religious that pretend to give their votes in the election. They then draw up a list of all who have a right to vote in it, and fix it up publicly at the door of the church of St. John: they likewise fix up the names of all such as lose their right of voting for that time, by their being in debt to the treasury.

IN the election of the doge of Venice, all the nobles above 30 years of age meet in the palace of St. Mark, and put as many balls into an urn as there are gentlemen present, thirty of which are gilt. The gentlemen to whose lot they fall put, in presence of all the state, nine of the gilded ones amongst 24 white ones, and the nine gentlemen who happen to draw them elect forty others, all of different families, but who are allowed to name themselves in the number. These 40 are again by lot reduced to 12; those 12 elect 25; the first naming three, and the two others two each. These 25 drawing lots again like the former, are reduced to nine, who name 45, which is five each: the 45 cast lots again, and are reduced to 11, who at last elect 41, who are the final electors of the doge, when they are confirmed by the great council; for if they are not, they must begin anew till they come again to another 41.

A MAN, to entitle him to have a vote in the election of grand master, must have been received of justice into the order; must be at least 18 years of age; must have resided three years in the convent, have made three caravans, and not owe at most above ten crowns to the public treasury. Notwithstanding that the brother chaplains, provided they are priests, and the serving brothers of arms are allowed to give their votes in the several languages into which they have been admitted, they yet have no manner of share in the government afterwards. Such of the Maltese as have been received into any of the languages, by virtue of a particular dispensation of the popes, are not allowed to give their

their votes in the election, much less to be competitors for it; the reason of which general exclusion is in all probability to prevent any temptation which a Maltese grand master might possibly be under of perpetuating the sovereignty of Malta among his own countrymen.

THE third day after the grand master's decease is always fixed for the proceeding to the election of his successor, and they never defer a choice of such importance to a longer time, not only to stop all canvassings and cabals, but also to prevent certain pretensions of the court of Rome, where it is a maxim, that, so long as the vacancy is not filled up, the pope has a right of prevention to nominate the grand master; so that the third day all the convent assemble together after having heard a mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. John. The seven languages which compose the order retire every one into their respective chapels, except that which the lieutenant of the mastership is of, which takes its place in the nave of the church. These seven languages are each of them to chuse out of their respective knights, three electors, to whom they give up all the right of election: these make in all one and twenty electors.

THE religious being shut up in their chapel write in their turns, and according to their seniority, the name of the knight of their language whom they chuse to be the first of the three electors they are to name. And, in order to ascertain their election, they are obliged to put their own name at the bottom of their ticket, and then seal it with the seal of the language.

WHEN all the voters of a language have given their votes in this manner, the procurators of the language take all the billets, and, counting them over in the presence of all the language, they examine whether their number agrees exactly with that of the votes; for if it were to differ they would burn them immediately, and vote afresh till the number of tickets tallied exactly with the number of religious who have a right to give their votes.

BUT

BUT if every thing appears in due order, the procurators, with the most ancient of the language, open the tickets on the side on which the name of the knight is written, whom they chuse for their first elector; after which they count the votes given in favour of the other knights who were competitors in the same election, and if none of them have a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, they must begin to vote again afresh, till such time as one knight has a clear quarter part of the votes; and then he takes the oath required by the statutes before the lieutenant of the mastership, and goes into the conclave: after this all the voters begin to ballot again for chusing the two other electors, who, like the first, carry it by plurality of voices; but the three electors are generally named at the very first balloting.

By a clear quarter part of the votes in a language is meant a number which cannot be found four times among those who compose the language: so the clear quarter part of nine is three, of thirteen four, of seventeen five, &c. If it happens that there is an equality of votes as well as a clear quarter part, the senior carries it, and the three persons elected go up to the Conclave where they themselves act as electors.

EVERY language chuses afterwards another knight to represent England by plurality of voices, and out of these seven knights three are chose, by plurality of votes, to enter the Conclave, and represent the language of England. These three new electors must be chose out of three different nations. It must be observed, that if the lieutenant of the mastership should be named for one of the three electors whom his language is to chuse, the council of state would immediately put another in his place, in order that the government might not be left a moment without a chief and a superior.

WHEN the three electors of each language are assembled in the Conclave to the number of twenty one, and are joined by the three electors for the language of England, making in all four and twenty knights of justice

justice or great crosses, though indeed the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church, may be of the number, their dignities being a dispensation for their default of birth. These four and twenty, taking an oath before the lieutenant of the mastership, afterwards chuse the president of the election, whose nomination abolishes the office of lieutenant of the mastership. After this they proceed to the choice of the triumvirate, i. e. of a knight, a chaplain, who is a priest and a serving brother, to whom the first 24 electors deliver up the power of electing, when they retire out of the Conclave.

THIS triumvirate having taken their oaths retire into the chamber of the Conclave, and proceed among themselves to the choice of a fourth elector: when this fourth is joined with them, these four new electors chuse a fifth, and so on till they have chose to the number of thirteen, which with the three first, who were named by the 24, make up the number of 16 electors, two for every language, including that of England. In the nomination of the first eight, including the triumvirate in the number, they have no regard to the pre-eminence of the languages; but in the nomination of the other half, they always observe the rank which the languages have in respect of one another; so the sixth of this second half, which is the 14th in the order of the 16, is that taken out of any language they please to represent England.

IF the triumvirate do not in an hour's time agree in the election of the fourth elector abovementioned, they are each of them obliged to name one, and the 24 first electors ballot for them in the vestry, where they make their scrutiny on this occasion; and he of the three named by the triumvirate, who has the most votes among the 24, carries it; but if they all chance to have an equal number of voices, the senior of the three would be preferred. The 13, according as they are called, take each the usual oath, before the president of the election, before they join the triumvirate; and when they are all together, they ballot among them-



themselves for one or more persons ; he who has a majority of votes is made grand master. In case of an equal division among the 16 electors, the vote of the knight of the election carries it, and turns the scale. As odd as this form of election may seem, the knights had reason enough to establish it in that manner ; for these different changes of elector break all the measures private men might take ; and when all depends upon the choice of persons who owe their power to the favour of fortune, all artifices and intrigues prove ineffectual : besides, this is a means in this noble republic to please almost every particular person in it, by the share which they flatter themselves they have had in the election of the grand master.

THE balloting being over, the triumvirate leave the thirteen who had been concerned with them in the election, and, going up to the rails of the gallery which is over the great gate, the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right, and the serving brother on his left, demands three times of the religious assembled in the church, if they are disposed to ratify the election they have just made of a grand master ; and when all the assembly has answered that they approve their choice, the knight of the election proclaims him aloud, and the new grand master, if he is present, goes and seats himself under the canopy. He first takes the oath which is administered to him by the prior of the church, and after *Te Deum* has been sung by way of thanksgiving, he receives the homage of all the religious, and is carried from thence in triumph to the palace. The day of the election, the treasury, in order to save the house of the mastership from being plundered, distribute three crowns to each religious, both novices as well as those who are professed. And a day or two after the election, the full or complete council puts the new grand master in possession of the sovereignty of the isles of Malta and Goza ; so that by his new dignity, he reunites in his person a military and regular superiority over all the religious of his order, and at the same time a sovereignty and all manner of royal rights

rights over the laity who are his subjects. But how lawful (soever this sovereign authority may be, it has, nevertheless, ever since the settling of the inquisition in Malta, been incroached upon by the pretensions of the inquisitors. Formerly the supreme council of the order had the sole cognizance of every thing relating to faith and religion. But during the mastership of the grand master de la Cassiere, the bishops Cubellet and Royas, having successively got orders from Rome, that the cognizance thereof should be referred to them, the order being incensed at these proceedings, by way of revenge applied to pope Gregory XIII. and prevailed with him to send an inquisitor to Malta to take away that jurisdiction from the bishop. 'Tis true indeed that the council of the order, for the preservation of their authority, insisted with his holiness, that the officer of the court of Rome should not proceed in any case, but in concert with the grand master, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor of the order: so that the authority of this tribunal was divided between the inquisitor and the principal officers of the order.

BUT this wise and prudent temperament did not subsist long; for the inquisitors, from a kind of emulation so common among them, took in other assessors, in order to make themselves absolute masters in their tribunal, though still under pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy see; and not content with this step, they took another which is scarce to be paralleled: they created so prodigious a number of what they call the Familiars of the holy office, that they have formed with this set of people a new government as it were, and a body of subjects, who, by virtue of certain patents of the inquisition, pretend to exempt themselves from the sovereign authority of the order. These subjects of the order, who may very well be treated as rebels, make up two thirds of the inhabitants of the island; so that all who have either money or credit with the inquisitor, pretend that they, by virtue of his protection and patents, are not obliged to take arms upon the grand master's orders, to repulse the infidels,

when they make descents upon the island. The secret views of the inquisitors are in all probability these; they suppose, that after they have robbed the grand master of his natural subjects, they may afterwards reduce him by insensible degrees to the miserable condition of being their inferior. And in a memorial presented by the language of France, to king Lewis the X.Vth, of glorious memory, we see that the inquisitors of that time, forgetting the respect due to the character of a sovereign, had the boldness to pretend to oblige the grand master to stop his coach when they should meet him in the street with theirs. After this, nothing was wanting to complete the ambitious projects of the inquisitor, but to seize on the revenues annexed to the dignity of grand master, both those which arose from the principality of the islands, as well as those that belonged to him by virtue of the grand mastership.

THE revenues of the principality consist in the rights of the admiralty, at the rate of ten per cent. upon all prizes, and comprehend likewise the customs, assessments, imposts, lands of the Demesne, farms, houses, gardens, duties on alienation and purchasing of lands, fines and confiscations.

THE revenues of the mastership consist first of six thousand crowns. which the treasury pays him every year for his table, two hundred crowns for keeping his palace and country-house in repair; a very scanty sum indeed with regard to his dignity, but which shews the frugality and temperance of the age when this regulation was made. Secondly, the grand master has a year's revenue of all the commandries of courtesy, which he disposes of every five years in each priory: and he has likewise in every priory the perpetual enjoyment of one commandry, which is called the Magistral Chamber, because it is annexed to the mastership. He may, in case he thinks proper, have them managed in his own name, or otherwise he may give them to any knights who have deserved well of the order by their services; and when the grand master be-

flows

flows one of these magistral commandries upon a knight, he may, besides two annates, or the revenues of two years which he receives out of it, reserve likewise a pension to himself; but the knight who is gratified with this commandry, in consideration of these clogs upon it, is dispensed from paying any mortuary or vacancy to the order.

THE grand masters have frequently ships out a cruising, and have themselves all the profits that arise from the prizes they take: they likewise, in conjunction with the council, give leave to such knights as are able, to fit out vessels against the Turks, and cruise with the master's flag; but as for traffic and merchandize, that kind of venal profit is forbid by the statutes; and besides, all commerce is odious to most of the languages, who would think that a gain of that nature would debase the nobility of their extraction.

*End of the dissertation upon the government.*

A

# DISSERTATION

O N

*Two cotemporary and original historians, who relate the same fact, but with circumstances so very different, that they entirely alter the nature of it.*

SUCH as undertake to travel through the immense space of history, often meet with rocks in their road<sup>a</sup>, which they can hardly keep from splitting on, without carrying the plummet always in their hand, and calling in the assistance of criticism, which a prudent writer should consult every moment, as a compass absolutely necessary to steer by in this kind of navigation. No body need be told that this art, like other sciences, is guided by principles and rules that are peculiar to it: The first that is proposed to us is, to advance no fact, as far as is possible, but upon the testimony of cotemporary and original historians: 'tis this testimony that engages the reader's confidence and establishes his assurance of facts. But if such antient authors, of equal authority, relate the same fact in a different manner, by what rule can a later writer be determined? What motive can fix his choice, and to which of the two historians shall he give the preference?

THIS is the very difficulty I met with in that part of my seventh book, where I give an account of the manner in which prince Gem or Zizim, son to Mahomet II. was received in the isle of Rhodes by the grand master and the knights of St. John. To guide me in my relation of that fact, I consulted the cotemporary and original historians: I found two of them, who deserve that title indisputably, who yet contradict one another directly in the narration of the same fact. The first

<sup>a</sup> See the 7th book of this history, p. 35. Vol. III.



first is William Caourfin vice-chancellor of the order, and the other is William de Jaligni secretary to Peter de Bourbon, second of the name, seignior of Beaujeu, who to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, presumptive heir of the crown, seized on the government, and under whose administration most of the affairs, of which his secretary gives an account, were transacted. The whole affair between those two writers is to know, whether after the death of Mahomet II. prince Zizim his son, then in quest of an asylum against the power of his brother Bajazet who was for putting him to death; whether, I say, this unfortunate prince applied to the grand master of Rhodes, in order to obtain from him a retreat in his dominions, and a pass to come in and go out of them as he pleased; and whether this pass was sent him by a squadron of ships to serve him for an escort, as Caourfin relates; or whether he did not throw himself into the port of Rhodes and expose himself to be made a prisoner of war by the knights, purely to avoid being taken by the galleys of the sultan his brother, which were pursuing him on all sides, as Jaligni informs us, who pretends, that the grand master and the knights seized on his person, "Hoping, says he, to make their advantage of him."

IF we follow Caourfin, Zizim was Bajazet's younger brother; but he says, the prince pretended to the crown, as being born in royalty, after the emperor Mahomet his father was in possession of the empire: whereas Bajazet, though the elder, was born in the reign of Amurath II. when Mahomet was but a private man. "Fateor, he makes Zizim say, *fratrem prius in lucem prodiisse; sed patre est genitus non rege.*" Jaligni on the contrary says expressly, that Zizim was the eldest. The vice-chancellor adds, that Zizim being defeated in two battles against his brother, and having in vain solicited the sultan of Egypt for succours, and finding himself without troops, skulking up and down in the midst of his own territories and the rocks of mount Taurus, was forced to seek an asylum in the

of Rhodes ; that he ſent embaffadors to the grand maſter to deſire a paſs from him, “ *Fidem publicam implorat, ſaid theſe embaffadors to d’Aubuffon, quâ tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus.*” The hiſtorian continuing his narration, ſays, that the grand maſter ſent him this paſs, with full liberty of coming in and going out of his dominiions, in the very form that the embaffadors deſired.

WE have ſeen in the ſeventh book, that the grand maſter ſent theſe miniſters back with a ſtrong ſquadron to convoy the prince to the iſle of Rhodes, “ *Firmatus animo, ſays Caourſin, navim conſcendit & Hieroſolymorum equitum fidei ſe committit.*” He truſts himſelf, ſays the hiſtorian, to the faith of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile giving him his hand to help him aboard his ſhip, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſpoke as follows : We receive you, ſir, ſays he to him, as our gueſt, and not as an enemy ; “ *Te excipimus ut hoſpitem, non ut hoſtem.*” This was afterwards confirmed to him by the grand maſter, who ſaid to him, when he accoſted him, ſince you are come into our territories as our friend and gueſt, it is fit we ſhould render you all the offices of hoſpitality : “ *Tu ut hoſpes & amicus accedis, jura quidem hoſpitii ut præbeamus decens eſt.*”

BUT the treaty which the grand maſter afterwards made with ſultan Bajazet ſoon contradicted a conduct that appeared at firſt ſo generous ; for the knights agreed with the ſultan, in conſideration of a penſion of forty five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep Zizim in their power, and hinder him from diſturbg the ſultan his brother in the enjoyment and government of the empire, ſo long as on his ſide he did not invade their territories or thoſe of the chriſtian princes \*. Caourſin, and after him Pere Bouhours, to excuſe the injuſtice and ſcandalouſneſs of ſuch a treaty, that was inconſiſtent with the paſs which the grand maſter and the order had ſent to prince Zizim, pretend that he engaged,

\* Hiſt. de Pierre d’Aubuffon.

ed, when he desired the pass, to guide himself entirely by the grand master's advice ; that the pass was granted on this express condition ; and that besides, Zizim had given a very ample letter of attorney to the grand master to treat with the Turks as he should see fitting ; and it was, says Pere Bouhours, by virtue of this letter of attorney, that the grand master brought Zizim into the treaty of peace.

As for what relates, add these two historians, to the forty or forty five thousand ducats, which ill designing people make use of as an handle to asperse the order, 'tis certain that the money which they received from Bajazet was employed in Zizim's maintenance ; and the grand master, far from making any advantage of it to himself, made an addition to it out of his own revenue ; as may be easily imagined, if we consider the royal magnificence with which the Ottoman prince was always treated, to say nothing of the infinite expences necessary to be made on his account, both in sending and receiving embassadors.

BUT it may be urged, in answer to these two historians, that supposing, as they pretend, the Turkish prince had, in order to obtain the pass, submitted to be guided entirely by the grand master's advice and orders, yet this pretended submission and engagement could never have been stipulated to the prejudice of the prince's liberty, the sole end and principal motive of the pass ; otherways the asking it on such a condition was to destroy it entirely. As to what is alledged relating to a letter of attorney that Zizim gave to the grand master, that reason seems to be altogether as frivolous.

THIS prince, if they are to be credited, gave a letter of attorney to the grand master, to treat in his name with the grand seignior his brother ; and the proxy makes use of this letter of attorney as a pretence, in concert with his enemy, to keep him in close imprisonment. As to the 45000 ducats of gold that Bajazet furnished for his brother's pension, I leave the reader to judge, whether a sum so considerable as that,  
 espec-

especially in 1485, was not enough for the maintenance of a prisoner and his guards. If any body would take the pains to make an estimate of this sum, with regard to what it would produce in our days, they will easily see whether there was any occasion for the grand master, as his two historians say, to make up out of his own revenue, what was wanting for the expences of the Turkish prince; or whether a pension so considerable, as that which the grand master remitted every year with great exactness to Venice, was not one of the motives that engaged the order not to part with so useful a prisoner. After having consulted Caoursin, let us see how Jaligni relates the same event.

OF all the facts related by these two historians, in which they contradict one another, I find but one of any great importance, or which, in my opinion, concerns the honour of the grand master and his order, and that is the pass which Caoursin pretends Zizim obtained before he entered into the port of Rhodes. For if he only offered himself there as a prisoner of war, which Jaligni asserts, there is no doubt but the order might dispose of their prisoner, transport him to France, treat with his brother about his pension, deliver him up, and consign him over a prisoner to the pope. There is nothing in all this that clashes with the ordinary rules of justice and equity. But if we only consider the facts as Caoursin states them, and that the Turkish prince, before he delivered himself up to the knights, did indeed take the precaution of a pass for his security; how is it possible to vindicate the grand master and his order from a breach of promise, and a violation of the public faith which they engaged to that prince? Here lies the difficulty; which of the two historians shall we prefer? every thing seems to favour Caoursin. This historian was not only cotemporary, but likewise actually at Rhodes when Zizim arrived there; he was a minister, and one of the principal officers of the order, and in all probability, as he was vice-chancellor, he was the very person that drew up and signed the pass: and what seems to determine  
still

still more in his favour is, that this writer, who seems passionate for the interests of his order, and in all his works loses no occasion of celebrating their illustrious actions, does on this occasion ingenuously relate a fact that is not much for its honour. The vanquished party's owning a defeat, is an incontestible proof for the glory of the vanquisher.

BUT that which might make us suspect Caourfin's account is, that this writer amplifies and exaggerates every thing he says ; and that on the foundation of a certain and undoubted fact, he almost builds a romance, or at least dresses up his relation of it in circumstances that very often have little or no probability in them. If he speaks of Mahomet, father to Zizim, he makes him a forcerer and a magician, though it is well enough known that that prince was a perfect atheist, and owned no divinity but fortune. When he speaks of the death of that sultan, he indeed damns him, and that with reason ; but then, as if that were not enough, he precipitates him soul and body into hell, where he caused, says this fine historian, so abominable a stink, that the insupportable stench was a great addition to the torments of the damned. " Ar-  
" bitramur enim, says he, tam scelestum, tam fœtidum,  
" tam fœvum cadaver terram intra sua viscera minimè  
" continuisse, et in damnatorum perpetuum chaos de-  
" cisse ; cujus fœtor ipsum etiam infernam inficit, et  
" damnatorum supplicia graviora reddit.

THIS author's style is full as extraordinary as the romantic air which he gives to his narrations. He has no notion but of one kind ; his favourite figure is the direct style ; and, what is a little surprising, all the compliments that he bestows on Zizim are so many harangues ; we meet with " prince Zizim's speech to  
" the foldan of Egypt, to the prince of Caramania, to  
" the grand master" in every page of his book, with the answers of all these princes in the same plain direct style. Yet these are the places of his work where perhaps he has taken the most pains ; these pieces are stuffed with learned citations and common places, but



unluckily they are seldom proper for the subject, much less suit the character of the persons in whose mouth he puts them. In fine, before this prince's arrival at Rhodes, he carries him as far as Jerusalem and Mecca, which journies indeed he actually made; but as if he had stood behind him all the time, he recites verbatim the several prayers which the Turkish prince offered up either to God or to Mahomet, the false prophet of his law. I own these are no more than the faults of a bad orator, which may possibly be consistent with his veracity in the facts that he relates; but after all, the person that could allow himself to compose such frothy compliments, and such a number of harangues, might likewise take the liberty of composing Zizim's pass and magnificent entry into Rhodes, which he fancied would be a fine embellishment to his history.

JALIGNI, on the contrary, appears more simple in his narration; his work contains only annals of the most important matters that passed under the reign of Charles VIII. He was secretary to a prince, who then governed France during the minority of the king his brother-in-law, and who even, after his majority, kept a great share in the government for some time: and if Zizim had come to Rhodes, and afterwards into France, only upon the assurance of a pass, how could they possibly be ignorant of it in that kingdom? Would not that prince himself have demanded the benefit of the public faith? Whereas, being no better than a prisoner of war, those who took him might very well detain him, dispose of him, or take a ransom for him, without acting contrary to equity and the law of nations.

BESIDES Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, the terror of the Turks, the republic of Venice, and even the soldan of Egypt, all of them at that time enemies to Bajazet, having made great instances to the grand master to deliver up Zizim to them, in hopes that his bare appearing on the frontiers would give new life to his party, and might bring about some revolution in the empire; if this unfortunate prince had not been a  
prisoner

prisoner of the order, what pretence could the knights have had to keep him in prison contrary to the assurance of the pafs, of their own interests, and of those of all Christendom? Would not all their sovereigns have complained of such an infamous piece of injustice? Would there not have been some traces or other left of these complaints in the historians of the time? In fine, another proof that the knights thought they had a right to dispose of the person and liberty of the Turkish prince, and that they considered his ransom as part of their own effects, is, that pope Innocent VIII. having demanded him of the order with a design of putting him at the head of a league that was formed against the grand seignior, the grand master and supreme council of the order sent vice-chancellor Caoursin to Rome, with other embassadors, to treat with the pontiff about it; and the knights, after various negotiations, would not consent to deliver up the Turkish prince to him, but upon condition, that by way of equivalent, he should unite to their order those of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus, with all the estates and revenues belonging to them. Neither was the private interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty; and in which it was expressly stipulated, that as soon as Zizim should be arrived at Rome, the pope should send d'Aubusson a cardinal's hat. If Zizim had not been the prisoner of those knights, would it not have been a dishonour to them to exact such vast recompences for violating the faith they had plighted to that prince?

BUT this is to alledge the very thing contested as a proof, and is a begging of the question: all depends upon knowing which is most to be credited, Caoursin or Jaligni. The first allows that there was a pass, and even gives one to understand, and that plainly enough, that it had been violated. According to the other historian, Zizim was only a prisoner of war, who consequently had no pass sent him; which of the two historians are we to believe? In order to get rid of this uncertainty, and reconcile these authors in some measure, I fancied it would be best to divide my confidence,  
and

and give part of it to Caoursin, particularly with regard to the facts that passed at Rhodes, to which he was an eye witness, and reserve the other for Jaligni, and follow him in his account of that prince after his arrival in France. This expedient seemed to me at first reasonable enough, but when I came to apply it, I found my scruples springing up, and the same difficulties occurring over again.

FOR if the Turkish prince, as Caoursin asserts, and which indeed is likely enough, did not enter Rhodes till he had a pass, and might enjoy entire liberty in that place; if it be true, as he advances, that this prince went into France of his own accord, the better to avoid the snares that his brother might lay for him so long as he should continue in the east, and in hopes of obtaining powerful succours from Louis XI. to set him upon the throne of his fathers: Jaligni ought to have told us for what reason, and at what time and place he was arrested in France, whereas he does not mention the least syllable of it. If we believe Caoursin, Zizim enjoyed a full liberty at Rhodes: we find him likewise free at his leaving Rhodes, and at the time of his embarkation: and if we follow Jaligni, the prince was a prisoner all the time he was in that kingdom. The French historian, speaking of his abode in France, calls him not so often by his own name, as by that of *the prisoner*. This transition from a state of liberty, to his being confined in a tower, ought it not to be taken notice of by this writer? Why has he not told us whether the poor prince was arrested in the vessel of the order that carried him from Rhodes into France? or whether he waited till he was landed in some part of that kingdom? in fine, whether they did not put him in prison till after the tower built for that purpose was finished! Is it allowable in an event of so rare and singular a nature, to be either in the dark as to the principal circumstances of it, or to suppress them? The Rhodian, in my opinion, is more particular in this respect; and it is easy to be seen from his narration, that they made no open attempt upon Zizim's liberty, till orders

orders came from Rhodes to that purpose, pursuant to the treaty made between the grand seignior and the grand master. As the order, by that treaty, engaged itself, in consideration of a pension of forty-five thousand ducats of gold, to keep the Turkish prince in their power, they certainly thought it necessary to keep him in confinement, in order to prevent his escape. 'Twas in this treaty that they trafficked for the liberty of this unfortunate prince, and his imprisonment was the seal of the new alliance between the Turks and the Christians : but for fear of putting any bias upon the reader's judgment, we have thought proper to annex to this dissertation an extract of the two historians, by which he will be enabled to make a judgment whether there ever was a pass granted, and whether such safe conduct was violated by the grand master and the knights of Rhodes.

## TEXTE DE JALIGNI.

**L**E roy, dit Jaligni, étant encore à Paris ledit mois de Janvier, mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, il arriva per devers lui un ambassadeur de l'empereur des Turcs, qui conduisoit un ambassadeur du Roy de Naples. Par cet ambassadeur, le Turc écrivoit au Roy des lettres de créance : la cause pourquoi le Turc écrivoit, et envoyoit son ambassadeur, étoit pourcequ'en France étoit son frere aîné, à qui appartenoit toute la seigneurie, et y avoit été amené il y avoit déjà quatre ou cinq ans : car en l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et un, l'empereur des Turcs mourut, lequel délaissa à deux de ses enfans la plus grande seigneurie du monde, pourcequ'il possédoit deux empires, et onze royaumes, et tenoit sous son obéissance la Turquie, la Grece, et la plûpart de l'Asie. Après sa mort, pourceque son fils aîné étoit fort éloigné de Constantinople, où le Turc a coûtume de faire sa résidence, et qu'il étoit occupé en une guerre, son frere puîné durant cette absence, s'assura des gens d'armes qui étoient au tour de

son pere, et de plus s'empara de toutes les finances, et usurpa le titre de la seigneurie. L'ainé, d'autre part, sachant les nouvelles du décès de son pere, se mit en chemin par mer pour venir prendre possession de cet empire, comme seigneur naturel ; mais en venant, il apprit que son dit frere s'étoit saisi de tout ; et lui, étant encore sur mer, il rencontra des gallées en course, que son frere avoit envoyées pour le guetter et le prendre au passage ; et fut tellement pressé d'icelles gallées, qu'il fut contraint de se mettre en fuite, et se sauver, pourcequ'il étoit bien assuré de sa mort s'il étoit pris. Il fut donc tellement poursuivi qu'il lui convint se jeter à refuge dedans le port de Rhodes ; laquelle chose étant venue à la connoissance du grand maître et des chevaliers, incontinent ils le saisirent de sa personne, étant fort joyeux de l'aventure qui leur étoit advenue ; et espérant d'en bien faire leur profit, ils donnerent bon et sûr ordre pour la garde de sa personne. Aussi-tôt que le frere qui usurpoit la Seigneurie, sut comme son dit frere étoit ainsi échappé, il en fut très-déplaisant ; toutefois incontinent après, il envoya une grande et solennelle ambassade devers le grand maître de Rhodes, pour pratiquer, s'il seroit possible, de ravoir son frere, ou à tout le moins d'être assuré qu'il ne lui pût nuire à l'avenir. Enfin il fut conclu entre eux que ledit frere jouissant, donneroit par chacun an une bonne et grande pension au grand maître de Rhodes. Et en outre, qu'il fourniroit autre grande somme d'argent pour la dépense de son frere spolié, et pour sa garde : outre quoi alliance fut faite, et toute sûreté baillée à ceux de Rhodes de leurs terres et seigneuries. Or combien que le grand maître de Rhodes eût lors un avantageux parti avec le Turc, toutefois il fut en doute qu'à la longue la seigneurie de Rhodes n'en fût brouillée, et en danger, s'il détenoit continuellement son prisonnier à Rhodes, croyant bien que le frere jouissant seroit incessamment à l'aguet pour l'avoir, ou par amour, ou par trahison, ou de force. D'autre part, il redoutoit les enterprises des voisins, comme du Souldan, des Venitiens, du roy de Naples, et autres, et pensoit



pensoit que chacun d'eux employeroit ses cinq sens pour trouver moyen de l'avoir, et en faire chacun son profit; aussi étoit-il fort requis par le pape de le lui bailler, pour le profit et l'avantage du saint siege apostolique. Enfin pour éviter tous ces inconvéniens, il délibéra de le mettre en lieu sûr; et pourcequ'il étoit natif de France, de la comté de la Marche, et de la maison d'Aubusson, il résolut de l'envoyer en ce royaume, considerant que le roy étoit fort éloigné des seigneuries du Turc, et qu'il n'auroit guères d'intérêt sur le fait de cet empire Ottoman, à qui il demeurât des deux freres. Toutesfois avant que de l'envoyer en France, il envoya sçavoir du roy Louis onzième de ce nom, si son plaisir seroit de le vouloir bien souffrir en son royaume; laquelle chose le roy accorda volontiers. Après donc que ledit maître de Rhodes eût ainsi eu le congé et la permission du Roy, il prépara le voyage de son prisonnier, et l'envoya descendre au pays de Languedoc; de là il le fit mener en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du seigneur du Bocalami, qui étoit parent d'icelui grand maître; et là fut détenu ce prisonnier, qui avoit pour sa garde aucuns chevaliers de Rhodes, lesquels étoient pour la plûpart parens dudit grand maître. Il étoit fort bien entretenu de sa personne en toutes ses necessitez et besoins; aussi son frere empereur payoit bien sa dépenlé. Ce prisonnier avoit oui parler du roy Louis, et de la grandeur de son royaume, et de sa seigneurie, et aussi de ses faits; par quoi il désiroit fort de le voir et de parler à lui. Les chevaliers qui l'avoient en garde le firent sçavoir au Roy, lequel fit réponse, que pour la grande renommée que son pere avoit eue, qui en son tems étoit jusqu'alors le plus grand prince de la Loi de Mahomet, et lequel avoit le plus fait de belles conquêtes qu'aucun autre, il le verroit volontiers, et communiqueroit de très bon cœur avec lui; mais que bonnement il ne le pouvoit faire, attendu qu'il n'étoit pas de sa Loi; et ordonna de plus qu'on lui dit, que s'il vouloit embrasser la religion Chrétienne, il lui promettoit d'employer toute sa puissance afin de lui aider à recouvrer les seigneuries de

son empire ; et de plus, il lui donneroit de quoi entretenir son état : et si d'avanture il vouloit cependant demeurer en son royaume, qu'il lui donneroit des héritages et seigneuries, avec la jouissance desquelles il pourroit vivre comme un prince. Les chevaliers firent sçavoir tout cela à leur prisonnier ; mais pourquoi que ce fût il ne voulut délaïsser sa Loi, et demeura encore en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du susdit Bocalami, jusqu'audit mois de Janvier mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, qu'après plusieurs poursuites et instances que le pape, et le saint siege apostolique avoient faites envers le roy, afin d'avoir ce prisonnier, pour le grand profit et interest du saint siege ; et qu'à cette cause il y avoit en ambassade envoyée exprès devers le roy, laquelle y étoit encore. Le roy se montrant vrai fils de l'Eglise, et voulant en suivre l'amour que ses prédécesseurs avoient eu envers le saint siege, dont à cette cause ils ont acquis le titre de très-chrétiens rois de France ; il livra et remit ce prisonnier aux ambassadeurs du saint pere pour le mener à Rome : ce qui arriva un peu auparavant que l'ambassadeur du Turc arrivât à Paris, lequel ambassadeur offroit de la part de son maître au roy, de grands partis et avantageuses conditions, comme de bailler toutes les reliques de Dieu notre Sauveur, des apôtres, et des saints et saintes, que son pere avoit trouvées à Constantinople lorsqu'il fit la conquête de cette ville, et dans toutes les autres villes qu'il avoit conquises sur la chrétienté ; de plus, il offroit de faire tout son effort pour conquérir la terre sainte, et puis de la remettre ès mains du roy ; aussi offroit-il une grosse pension pour l'entretienement de son frere, pourvû que le roy le retînt dans son royaume. Lorsque ces grandes offres se firent, le prisonnier étoit encore dedans le royaume, et l'eût bien pû le roy recouvrir et s'en rendre le maître ; et même aucuns disoient que vû ces grandes offres, le roy les devoit accepter : mais il se voulut bien montrer vrai fils de l'Eglise, et ne voulut pas préférer l'avarice et l'interest à la libéralité, et à la loyauté, en disant que puis-

qu'il

qu'il l'avoit fait livrer aux gens du pape, et qu'il lui en avoit accordé la délivrance, il vouloit tenir sa parole, et qu'il seroit bien joyeux que le saint siege en fît son profit, et en pût tirer quelque avantage. Il fut donc mené à Avignon ; et de-là il fut mis sur mer, et conduit à Rome. D'ailleurs, le grand maître de Rhodes poursuivoit aussi de sa part qu'il fût mis ès mains du saint siege ; et par ce moyen il fut fait cardinal, et obtint de grands privilèges et biens pour tout l'ordre de saint Jean de Jerusalem. Le roy fit au reste très-bien entretenir et traiter l'ambassadeur du Turc, et celui du roy de Naples, qui le conduisoit, et les fit défrayer, et leur fit de beaux dons.

## TEXTE DE CAOURSIN.

*Zyzimy Rex legatos mittit Rhodum.*

**M**ittit<sup>a</sup> itaque rex Zyzimy Rhodum legatos : ad quos prius literas dederat. sed nuncium terrestre iter agentem : regis Bagyazit milites intercipiunt. Legati Cilicie littoribus rhodiam biremem casu repertam conscendunt : rhodumque navigant. Interea navigium apud ea littora stationem habens Zyzimy conducit. ut si casus exegerit : repente eo conscenso salutis quoquo modo consulat. Legati ubi rhodum appulerunt : jussu equitum magistri Petri d'Aubuffon senatu coacto in hanc loquuntur sententiam.

*Oratio legatorum in senatu Rhodiorum.*

PRECELLENTISSIME princeps et magister : prestantissimique equites. Nobilissimus adolescens ac sublimi loco natus Zyzimy rex : othumannides maximi regis nepos. splendidissimi imperatoris filius : ac potentissimi tyranni germanus. adversis rebus ad tempus cedens : cupit ad te sapientissimum principem et victoriosissimum

Y 3

riosissimum

<sup>a</sup> Cette relation a été imprimée à Ulme en 1496 ; on a suivi ici l'orthographe et la ponctuation de l'original.

riofissimum magistrum. vosque fortissimos athletas: confugere. quorum prudentia consilio atque ope: rebus afflictiis inderi possit. Quam propere mittendam classem esse petit: que ipsum excipiens Rhodum deuehat. fidemque publicam implorat: qua tutus in vestram ditionem pateat aditus. hoc loco referre non libet: que vestros quidem prestantissimos animos persuadeant: ut regium adolescenem: non reiciatis. Nobiles viri estis: et multa prediti prudentia. satis superque intelligitis: quanti ponderis existant postulata et quot vel quales fructus inde excerpti poterint. Scimas enim vos preclarissimos viros armis aſuetos: res magis quam verba impellere: quare prolixiori sermone suauissimus aures non obtundemus. Potentissimum regis natum: ad vos accedentem (licet profugum) ne floccipendatis. Indecorum enim esset aſillum regi claudere. quod vel homonciis: et pufilis semper patuit. Celebre quidem est vestrum (apud exterarum nationes) nomen: quod et caucalios montes transcendit et indos penetravit. Quin armis vim repellere non ignorat: et profugos fouere aſilo tutissimo non fastidit generosus vester animus. Littere in senatu recitate: diem postulant.

*Senatus consultum.*

LEGATIS curia exclusis: magister, patres quoque de re consultant et multa mente agitant. que modo suadent: ut regem Zyzimy excipiant. modo: ut reiciant impellunt. Tandem ex rationum controuersis (seu ex calculorum collisione ignea scintilla) una resultat sententia: decernuntque regem excipiendum alendum atque fouendum: quia ejusce eventus occasio christiane religioni profutura sit. Intromissis legatis: senatus consultum editur. actis gratiis: petunt. ut res quantotius parentur: ne mora discrimen afferat.

*Classis paratur: et Ciliciam nauigat ad Zyzimy deuehendum.*

ONERARIA igitur nauis triremes: nauigique parantur. prefectus insignis eques designatur: qui classe con-

conscensâ clara militum hierosolimorum comitatus ceterua in Ciliciam nauigat. vbi illic appulit : rex Zyzimy nauigium de quo supra mentionem fecimus : citato equorum cursu vrgentibus germani militibus iam concenderat. fama est cum a littore paululum elongaretur : perbreuem quidem epistolam Zyzimy conscripsisse & ad fratrem dedisse : quam sagitte inuoluit nexuitque : & litico arcu in terram contorsit. exceptam esse ferunt epistolam a fratris militibus qui regium iuuenem persequuti sunt : & fratri redditam : quam ubi germanus perlegit : parumper lacrimatus est. animoque consternatus diu siluit : & aditu prohibito patione se continuit. egre certo tulit. quod frater mahumettee legis cultor (quod permaximum crimen mahumetei ducunt) ad christianos confugerit. ad eos presertim qui othumannidum familie infensissimi fuere : & genitorem grauiori affecerunt ignominia. quodque fratrem christiano adherentem nomini. legi mahumettee grauissimum afferre posset dedecus. quorum se conscium profitetur : qui tanta atrocitate sit eum persequutus. Series epistole : fuit.

*Rex Zyzimy Rhodiorum classem conscendit.*

UBI nunciatum est : rhodios sui causa advantasse. firmatus animo : nauim conscendit. & hierosolimorum equitum fidei : sese credit. Nauis prefectus : Regulum othumannidem humanitate honore obsequioque profequitur. littora patrii soli linquens : & paternum auitumque regnum deserens rex. turbato animo aliquot siluit horas : mente postmodum recepta. navis prefectum : his alloquitur verbis :

*Zyzimy classis perfectum alloquitur.*

NEDUM ago tibi vir illustris gratias : verum habeo ingentes. cumulateque redderem si fors a sublimi loco me non deiecisset. Quod me destitutum profugum animo extorremque tanto zelo afficias. Sed ab ingenuis visceribus magnanimoque : non nisi illustria proficisci poterunt. generosi quidem sunt : qui te ad me



excipiendum miserunt. tu quoque ex coetu eorum nobilises et vir dignus. qui mandata exequi accurate pro tua innata prudentia & scis & studes. Non possum tamen non parum admirari : quod tanti affectus iudicium in me exhibeatur. qui ejus natus sum : qui sevicia crudelitate ac immanitate (dum spiritus alebat artus) rhodios persequutus est. in quo : & tuam & tui principis ac senatus rhodiorum nobilitatem predico. prudentiam admiror simul & magnanimitatem (que iniurarum obliuiscitur) extollo. Si res prospere succedent : tanti quidem in me officij memorem & gratum intelligent rhodii. Cui ait : classis capitaneus.

*Responsio capitanei.*

CLARISSIME princeps : hoc a natura illustrioribus animis datum est. vt soleant precellentes viros : honore afficere digno. tu qui summo loco natus es : quamvis profugus & extorris contemptui tamen non esse debes. Id quippe vilium hominum censetur : qui nonnisi bene fortunatos colere sciunt. At magnanimi viri quos virtus aut sanguinis prosapia illustrat : vel hostes armis positos reuerentur colunt atque observant. Te excipimus ut hospitem : non hostem. hospitis quidem iura : non hostis sequimur. Nec enim mirari licet : quo te affectato corde prosequimur. cuius genitor : seuo rhodio persequutus est odio. Pater tuus legis mahumetee sectator : quod sibi cordi est molitus. Nos vt hosti pro virili parte constanter arma obiecimus. licet caduca quedam terrena & vilia prostrat : que quantotius erecta sunt glorie tamen famam quam nulla obliterabit etas : rhodiorum nomini attulit. Posteritas namque omnis rhodiorum victoriam e celo demissam nullo tempore reticebit. Leonis profecto brutorum principis animalium mos est : prostratis blandiri seuaque animalia grauiori imbuere ira. Milites quoque christi : leonis mores imitati. qui ad eos amice confugiunt : humanitate excipiunt. qui sevicia vtuntur : strictos gladios fortiter objiciunt.

*Pompa*

*Pompa qua exceptus est a Rhodiis rex Zyzymy.*

INTEREA Regis aduentu nunciato : parantur que pompe deceant. struitur ad mare ligneus pons : qui descendentem excipiat regem : pontis enim longitudo in mare protensa decem fere passuum fuit. latitudo quatuor : quibus equo gradu plures incedere possent. attrebatum pannis auro argenteo serico lanaque contextis : pro gallorum belgarum more (qui huiusce artis inuectores & peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. via enim qua pedum vestigia incedentes premerent : thurcorum pictis tapetis sternitur. vici qua parte eundem fuit : mirto floribus suauem quidem odorem spirantibus resperfi ac varietate sunt distincti. Primores ac plebeia gens que ad spectaculum conuenerat : vias obsident. Matrone ac nupte innupteque puelle : ad fenestras sedent. Reliquum vulgus tecta conscendit : vt venientem conspiciant regem. Nauim ante portus hostium anchoris subnixam Rhodia triremis propinquans : regem excipiens ad pontem vehit. Premissi sunt prestantes senatorii ordinis equites : qui Zyzymy descendentem consalutent. Hos sequitur longus famulorum ordo : insignis magistri redimitorum gallicos cantus vibrantium. deinde iuuenes prime lanuginis milites hierosolimitani : lucentibus equis insidentes. Torque veste sericea & splendido ornatu : distincti incedunt. Magistrum post hos insignis vehit sonipes : spumancia frena mandens. Aureis fibulis phalerisque ornatus : qui hynnitum sepius edens. superbe graditur : vt ne quidem magistro quempiam adherere laciniori incessu permittat. Senatus quidem grauis : equis vectus subsequitur. Edem sancti Sebastiani foro sitam de industria magister non transit : illucque obuiam venit rex Zyzymy. superbo insidens equo : fidis comitatus profugis. Postquam magistrum rex conspexit : ter digito labellum compescuit. qui mos est barbarorum principum : cum mutua reuerencia sese afficiunt. Magister autem pro more principem reueretur. Reddita salutatione dextras iungunt. & per interpretem confabulantes : ad edes equitant paratas. Ubi ad palacia francorum equitum (magnifice ad hec ornata)

ta) ventum est eo dimisso magister suas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes sese agiliter excipit : ac duorum medius thurcorum honoris causa vlnas sustentantium scaldas conscendens penetralia ingreditur. barbaricoque sago abiecto : lectisternio pro thurcorum more flexis poplitibus sedit. Ea die artubus sale tabentibus : quies data est.

*Zyzimy ad Magistrum verba.*

POSTRIDIE eius diei : magistrum coram alloquitur rex his verbis. Prestantissime magister inclitissimeque princeps : germani seivicia me persequente. cumque fors eo me redegisset : vt aduersis cedere quam in fortunam conari salubrius visum esset. multa menti occurrunt : huc atque illuc animum conuertens ad quos confugerem non satis prospicio. Demum tu preclarissime athleta occurristi : subijtque mentem tui quidem nominis fama percelebris. que nedum christianos : verum exterorum fines & vsque ad indos penetrauit. Accedit ad hoc fidei integritas : animi generositas mentisque magnanimitas. qua tu : tuique commilitones pediti sunt. Preterea precellentis triumphi gloria : quam (obsidione qua genitor meus Rhodios oppugnauit) adepti estis illustre quidem facinus : othumannorum familiam (supra octingentos annos tropheis triumphis atque ouationibus celebratam) virtute vestra propulsa. ingenti itaque tue virtutis admiratione allectus : te tuorumque militum cetum. nedum dilexi verum amaui colui & magnifeci. Vestre quippe : virtutis tante sunt vires vt nedum sue gentis : verum exterarum nationum animos alliciant. Nec parum attulit mihi fiducie : quod tu christianorum principum fauorem gratiamque haud immerito complecteris. Et per te : tui quidem nominis splendor in orientem late diffunditur. Nulli certe mirum videri debet : si personam tue fidei crederemus. qui magnanimus & sapientissimus genitoris preteritas iniurias parui-penderes : & filium tyranni ad te confugientem. non contemneres : verum consilio auxilio atque presidio foueres. Sed tacitus forsitan cogitas : quo iure cum  
germano

germano de regno hic contendit qui minor est natu. Fateor fratrem prius in lucem prodisse : hac quoque ratione imperio exclusum iri contendo. Patre enim genitus est non rege : qui (nondum principatum adeptus) ipsum genuit. Possideat igitur : quorum pater (dum eum suscepit) potitur. Ego vero a patre rege imperialibus infulis ornato : genitus natus educatusque sum. Nec patrem vidi cognoui atque colui : nisi regem imperatorem ac principem rerum potitum. Quo fit : vt optimo iure quod pater (cum me genuit) possedit : mihi debeant nato. At mittamus hec. Potuit ne me regno paterno auitoque prorsus expellere : & regio iuueni dignam portionem denegare ? Regiam gazam : precellentemque supellectilem inuadere sibi ascribere ac diripere ? Commilitones (vt mihi infensi essent) donis corrumpere allicere atque mouere : & me ad interitum vsque vrgeri ? O fratris seu crudelitas ? O germani contumax tyrannis ? O sanguinis ceca cupiditas ? Pudet hec : de fratre queri. Sed quod non erubuit : me paterna hereditate spoliare : equum est me (iniuria spoliatum) coram his ad quos confugio haud verecunde conqueri. *Qui enim medici operam petit : dolorem & vulnus detegat necesse est.* Ad te confugi Rhodiorum felicissime princeps : volque amplector fortissimi milites. facebant igitur paterne contumelie : ad calamitatem (qua premor) mentem conuertere velis inclitissime athleta. qui hostium armis audes resistere : & principum calamitati scis subuenire. Percuciam quippe cum christianis perpetuum foedus : nec eos armis laceffere conabor : paternique imperij portione non indigna contentus : armis positis quiescam. Nec immemor beneficiorum (a te susceptorum) ero. Imploro tuum presidium. inuoco principum christiane religionis auxilium : vt & mihi & ipsis consulant germani seuiciam vindicantes. pro inimico amicum : pro hoste hospitem : pro infido fidum : R. P. christianorum vendicabunt. Rege silente : magister ita loquutus est.

*Responsio Magistri.*

VERBA tua illustrissime Rex : prudentia sunt plena. Quod me & rhodios equites tantopere laudaris : tue quidem

quidem modestie ascribimus. Si quid enim glorie fame aut dignitatis in nostro relucet cetu : deo gratiarum infusori attribuimus. Ex cuius providentie fonte : cuncta manant fluunt ac deriuantur. Nec te moueat : quod christiani & cruce signati sumus. Rhodiorum quippe ciuitas cunctarum gentium asilum refugium & portus fiddissimusest ad quam (patrum nostrorum memoria & tue gentis & aliarum non contemnendi principes) qui confugere : gratiam cum humanitate reportarunt. Nec enim decet generosos animos : cum de foedere agitur hostilium armorum reminisci. Si genitor fuit acerrimus Rhodiorum oppugnator : putauit sue legis decori id conducere. Egit vt hostis : nos autem vt hosti gladios obiecimus. Deus tandem clementissimus iustiori fauit parti : & victorie angelum rhodijs mittere dignatus est. Tu ut hospes amicusque accedis : iura quidem hospicij benivolencie ac dilectionis prebeamus decens est. bono ac erecto sis animo : pro virili parte rerum euentui consulere. quodque tibi & nomini christiano conducat : exequi non paruipendemus quantum & ingenioli : & fortunarum facultas suppeditarit. Romanus quidem pontifex : reges potentatusque catholici. Qui religionis christiane tenent gubernacula : potentia sapientia ac propensiore in R. P. christianorum voluntate perditum sunt. qui tui aduentus occasione frui scient : te non deseremus, sed nos huic cause : propicios comperies. Placuitque plurimum tui iuris summam intelligere : vt iuste cause inniti videamur. Grateque sunt oblationes : que non nisi ab animo grato & generosa mente (que omnem respuit ingratitude labein) proficiuntur. His dictis regeque salutato edes reuisit.

### *Consultationes Rhodiorum.*

TOTIS diebus frequens senatus cogitur : vbi sapientissima consultatione res agitantur. Placuit tandem principi ac rhodiorum senatui : in eam quoque sententiam cunctorum animi inclinantur ad Romanum pontificem imperatorem reges & principes catholicos : literas dari nunciosque mitti, qui regis Zyzymy ad rhodios confugi-



um nuncient: oportunitatemque a Deo oblatam significant. quo. R. P. christianorum: consuli possit. Optimumque visum est: ut profugus princeps sub tutela magistri & rhodiorum equitum ad occiduas migret provincias. Facto S. C. litere nuntijque expediuntur. Ac navis oneraria paratur que regulum deuehat. cujus conductores deputantur prestantes rhodiorum milites: qui kalendas septembris M cccc lxxxij. Navim concedentes portu feliciter soluunt. Ea quoque pompa & ornatu: quo Zyzymy urbem introiuit. Postquam dies duo & quadraginta moram traxisset: Rhodo discessit.

*Guillelmi Casursin Rhodiorum vicecancellarij de admissione regis yzymy in Gallias & diligenti custodia asseruatione: exhortatio.*

NULLUS est orthodoxe fidei tam imbecillis cultor: qui pro virili parte aggredi non debeat quod christiani nominis honori salutique conducatur. Etsi corporis vires non suppetunt: voluntas tamen merito adsit. in qua vera solidaque virtus locata est. Haud igitur absolum erit: si ab ignauo pusilloque ingenio viro Quedam dicuntur. que fortassis: sapientum illustria ingenia & potentum manus excitent. Hinc christi zelus diuini nominis amor: in ecclesiam catholicam affectus haud temere mouit. Hinc deflenda orientalis plage labe: immacularum animarum lapsus. scelerum atrocitas: promere impellit que ingenio debilitas; balbuciens lingua tremulaque manus edere possit. Arduum est enim quod aggredimur: egetque precellenti intellectu viro. qui eloquentia suasionem atque exhortationem prestet: & auditores facile moueat. Durum quippe est etate nostra (mundialibus curis implicitis) catholicis persuadere: ut que nostri maiores patresque ex incuria perdidere christiane religioni reintegrentur. Jampridem plerique viri doctrina & dignitate pollentes: operam pariter & industriam his in persuadendis perdidere. Loquutiores quoque habiti sunt: quo labores & impendia subire suadent. nec propterea desistere cepto decreui: si vel

mihi temeritas aut insania ascribatur. perspicaci quidem  
 sapientissimorum iudicio doctorumque severo examini  
 editionem submittens: dicendi initium aggrediar. in-  
 geniorum profunditas: quod ex proditis equum redo-  
 let libat fastidiatque quod inconcinnum absurdum atque  
 iniussum conceperit. Si animo destinauerim iacturas  
 clades strages & ignominias describere: quas christiano  
 nomini mahumetes thurcorum princeps (qui nuper e  
 vita excessit) crudeliter attulit. Nec vires nec tempus:  
 nec dicendi facultas certe suffecerit. Js quippe  
 tyrannus Nerone crudelior. Rege Assuero: potenti-  
 or. Ac Holopherne est proteruior. Imperia enim  
 duo: Regna non pauca. validissimaque ditiones: ma-  
 humetee legi subegit. Potentissimaque ac preclarissi-  
 mas vrbes: tributum subire compulit. In qua quidem  
 atrociori persecutione scelerum tam immensa colluies  
 nata est. Ut ea Nec mens excogitare Nec lingua pro-  
 mere Nec Calamus exarare poterit. Que terfo graui-  
 que stilo plerique doctissimi: toti orbi nota reddidere.  
 vt superfluum fuerit: nunc dicendi latissimum campum  
 ingredi. Presertim: quod in animo est deuotas men-  
 tes. atrocitate non afficere: nec obductum vulnus re-  
 fricare. verum pro ingenioli facultate: ab omnipotenti  
 deo oblatam oportunitatem. Imperialis Constantino-  
 politane vrbes sedem: vniuersamque greciam (que eu-  
 rope portio est) subigendi & in christianam potestatem  
 redigendi demonstrare intendimus. modo adsit: qui vo-  
 luntate sapientia & potestate fruatur. sine quorum foedere:  
 nullum perfectum proderit opus. Libet enim paulif-  
 per mente coniectari: que causa fuerit tantarum cladi-  
 um enormitas. Quique tam seuus immanis scelestus ac  
 prepotens vir: tam insignes victorias sit assequutus.  
 Nec id: qui tunc rerum gubernacula tenuerunt: ig-  
 nauie ascripserim: qnam permulti accusare nituntur.  
 Potissimum fuisse iudico: mahumetis illius mirandam  
 inauditamque obedientiam. Cui nec pusillo nec magno  
 in ditione sua degenti: refragari fas fuit. At treme-  
 bundi attonitque dicto parentes: vel interitus pericula  
 non formidarunt ut omni studio principi parerent: Nec  
 fuit qui de throno imperij cum eo contenderet. His  
 quippe

quippe turpiter occisis : aut veneno enectis, qui thronum conscendere conarentur : ditionis imperijque monarcha colitur. nec audet aliquis ceruicem erigere : sed pauidi ad tyranni pedes procumbunt. Hinc oritur insolentia : hinc potentia : hinc obedientia nascitur : hinc fines ampliandi cupido incessit. & dum longinqui priuatarum rerum studiosi) thurco vicini fidei tuitionem credunt : horrida sanies nos inficit. Est profecto othumannorum domus inter mahumeteos illustrissima : tyrannis semper referta christianis molesta & formidolosa. Atque postquam ysthmum asie minoris (sub heraclio principe : pipino rege apud gallias regnante) intrauit : grandes iacturas attulit & mahumeteum cultum auxit. Potuit enim parua manu extingui : cum in principatus exordio locata est. Sed paruipenderunt : qui enses ei obicere potuissent. Sicque torpentibus aninis : pedentim traiecto helesponto Europam adiit. in qua haud incelebres ditiones : suo adiecit imperio, ad postremum quoque etate nostra : imperialem patriarchalemque sedem sue fecit ditionis. Post cuius-expugnationem : vicinis ac insulis presertim rhodiis cruce signatis molestissima habita est. quos etiam deincere extinguere atque proterere : conata est. At diuina pietas christi veros athletas : a tyrannidis iugo protegit. Cujus repulse ignominia affectus : draco ille scelestissimus mortem obiit atque damnatam euomit animam. O immensa : dei clementia. O inscrutabilis : sapientia. O inuisita : potentia. que mira veteris legis renouans : inauditum edidit miraculum. potentissimum quidem ditissimum atrocissimumque christicolarum persecutorem : pusillo principatui & cruce signatorum cetui subicit. Quem quoque validissime vrbes triumphatorem conspexere. clara rhodus : victum pressum & tandem ignominia repulse affectum ridet. dignata quidem est diuina potestas etate nostra ostendere : quam vile quam imbecille quam eneruatum) sit thurcorum fetidum nomen. vt christianorum animos : pristinis iacturis attonitos erigeret consolaretur ac solidaret : deuotasque mentes auget. ad exercitus comparandos. Qui Bisantium & Europam-haud indignam situs & orbis portionem (mahumetea po-

lutione) liberent. Debit certe Rhodiorum insignis victoria (diuinis miraculis redimita) fideles animos mouere: ut vniverſo ſœdere iuncti in nephandum draconem vires inſtaurarent. At reiecto diuino ſuaſu tabeſcit humana poteſtas: nec audit mouentem mundi creatorem. Qui pulſans iterato: haud paulo poſt terremotibus in Aſia & Rhodo editis. crudelem tyrannum Rhodijs minitantem: Jam iamque imminentem. vt exoſam ſibi urbem peſſundet. Repentina etenim morte occidi permittit. Hinc oritur in aſia europaquoque thurcorum tumultus: potentum ſimultates germanorum nepotumque tyranni diſſidia: imperij thronum appetentium. Germanique Bagyazit & Zyzymy: mutuis cladibus ſeſe conficiunt. Queres maxime chriſtianam potentiam excitare potuit. vt vindictam de tyrannica domo ſumeret: & ab Europa tyranni iugum excuteret. Dormit etiam latina potentia: nec pulſanti deo creatori aditus patuit. Communeque bonum: priuato affectui algore regens occidua fortitudo: poſtponit. O quam dura eſt preſens etas: O quam tarda. O quam lenta: minori certo de cauſa noſtri maiores illuſtria aggreſſi ſunt facinora. & inſignem triumphum: quandoque de barbaris fidei hoſtibus reportarunt. Erat quippe in eis chriſti ſanguis feruentior: qui precordia commouit impulit atque roborauit. Non enim miſericors deus cordis ferrea duricia commotus: illuſtriori occasione chriſticolarum mentes hortari ſtatuit. Qua permittitur fraternum diſſidium diuturnius preſtare: ne aut vi aut dolo aut toxico interiret. Noui quidem thurci: qui nunc biſancijs imperat. frater Rex Zyzymy: (omni preſidio deſtitutus) ad Rhodios confugit: ab his quoque qui patri inſenſiſſimi fuere. & qui potentiam eius retruſerunt: tutamen preſertim implorans. Preſtat enim profugo clariffimus Rhodiorum Magiſter vitam: quem a furore gladij fraterni eripit fouet nutritque ſuis opibus. Ut ſuperſtes frater terrori anxietati atque tremori fratri ſit imperitanti. Agendis quoque prudenter conſulens principem namque Zyzymy in occidentem miſit: ne fratri propinquus imperitanti vim dolos & inſidias ejus ſubiret. felix quippe profugium: quod apertam oportunitatem

tunitatem (Res aggrediendi preclaras) affert. Non est enim qui ignoret: quantas clades & ruinas. ciuium discordia. affinium dissidium fraternumque odium: imperiis ac regnis Reipublice attulerit. Sacre quidem gentiliumque litere: huius labis referte sunt exemplis. Nec enim nostra etas: horum haud expers censetur. Non certe aliter Romanorum R. P. (olim potentissima) interijt. Nec secus Athenarum ciuitas aratrum passa est. & Grecorum imperium christum colens: non multos exactos annos hoc affectum malo prorsus occidit. Ait enim: sapiens quidam. *Concordia parue res crescunt. Discordia: maxime dilabuntur.* Saluator quoque noster summa veritas: id explicans ait. Omne regnum in se diuisum: desolabitur. Hinc orta est (strenuissimi thurcorum ducis Achmat Basie ydronti expugnatoris) nex repentina: cuius tanta fuit insolentia procacitas & audacia. Ut non nisi assiduo cogitatu: ytaliam attingere cupiuerit. Eoquidem superstite: numquam erant vicini quieturi. ingentesque clades: minabatur sese illaturum. Erat profecto animo audacissimus manu promptus valido corpore armorumque peritus: qui numquam quiescere assueuerat. Hunc quidem terrore fraterni profugij: Nouus thurcus impulsus dolo necari iussit. Hinc quoque commilitonum satellitumque noui thurci lateri adherentium: conspiratio tumultusque nascitur. Qui sui principis somnolentiam fastidientes: Regis Zyzymy desiderio ducuntur. Hinc opum profusio editur: vt sibi animos nouus thurcus alliciat. Hinc assidua: in Europe portione (que sibi paret) atque asia trepidatio. tantaque inquietudine ac terrore thurcus afficitur: vt iamiam germanum imminere adesse & aggredi sese putet. Nec vigilijs nec somno: aliud cogitat aliud voluit aliudque videt quam Zyzymy Regem. Hinc illud insigne inauditumque monstrum natum est: ut thurcum non puduerit. quadraginta milia nummum auri Rhodiorum magistro triumphatori Petro Daubuffon mittere. pacto inito: vt germanus attentius (ne sibi molestie terrorique sit) asseruetur. Princeps quidem potentissimus terrore fraterno impulsus: Rhodiorum magistro tributum conditione sese reddit ob-



noxium. O dei inscrutabilis: providentia. O innarrabilis: iustitia. O ineffabilis: bonitas. crudelissimi quidem tyranni opulentissimus potentissimus superbissimus natus: Rhodiorum principi cruce signato aureorum pactorum vectigal soluit apud quem germanus vitam fouet: quem tanto amore nephandus genitor prosequutus est. formidolosus quippe Bagyazit terrore percussus statim fœdus cum vicinis percutere non distulit. Rhodiosque illustriori fœdere insignit: equis quidem conditionibus pactis. Nec audet trepidus Bagyazit: exercitus in christianos parare classem instruere enseque obicere. ne germanus adsit: latinorum manu succinctus. O quam preciosum profugium: O quam illustre exilium. O quam insigne regis Zyzymy confugium quod tantam attulit latinis commoditatem quietem & honorem. Ex quibus certo facile quis viderit (mentis tamen caligine prius abducta) quanta sit (ab omnipotenti creatore) oblata oportunitas Constantinopolim & Greciam recuperandi: latinorumque ditioni redintegrandi. Si modo pronior voluntas. potentiam & sapientiam sibi copularit. vtinam adessent illi: qui olim tanto animi ardore barbaros pessundare cogitarunt. quique nulla porrecta oportunitate graui vero difficultate: magna sunt aggressi: assequerentur certe nunc quod optarunt. Sic Ludouicus sanctus Francorum rex: sic perillustres alij principes qui sepius graui incommoditate: ab illustrioribus bellis sunt retracti. Ausim affirmare. Si parua classe Zyzymy vectus adsit. & non numerosus terrestris exercitus (qui danubio traiectu) seruiam intret: thurcorum potentia europa discedet. Si enim minoris asie fines: profugus rex Zyzymy tetigerit. Repente Bagyazit qui nunc imperat (helesponto transmissis) europam terrestribus christianorum copijs patentem deseret: vt germano se obiciat. Ita haud difficulter: europa mahumetea secta liberatur. Sunt enim hec haud obscura: qui orientem: & thurci fines accolunt ejusque mores noscunt. Sed qui longo sitis tractu a nobis distant: nugas fabulasque commentari nos putant. Quicquid quoque dicimus: questus gratia dictum arbitrantur. Sunt quippe auro fulciti:

sub

sub deauratis tectis latentes delicatisque cibis nutriti: quithurcorum horrida non gnorunt arma. Rerum enim affluentia: non sinit hec prospicere Non desunt quoque inuidi quidam: mordaci dente hec deprauantes & quod mirabilius deteriusque existit: pacta pecunia cum thurco initoque consilio. Regem Zyzymy: studiosa attentione toxico enecare conantur, vt subla: a a deo oportunitateque data: nouus thurcus in regni solio firmetur. Cogitetque stabilis & intrepidus: permagnas vires in christianos exercere. Quas germano superstite manuque Rhodiorum asseruato: sopitas esse necesse est. O scelus: inauditum. O atrox: iniquitas. O detestanda: inuidia. horum qui humani hostis inuitatione suggestionequed yaboli: christianorum rempublicam turbare subuertere ac eneruare stident cupiuntque ac expetunt. Nec aduertunt sese primum interituros: & exterminium perpeffuros. Si Rabidus canis (fratre sublato) insolescat: animum refocillet vires resumat mentemque recipiat. Obcecata quidem mens turrata superbia: alterius gloriam videre nequit. veniat in mentem: exterminium strages iacturaque. Quam priscis illis temporibus: Bothi Uvandali Huni. strenuissimi quidem barbari. latino nomini attulerunt. Quod profecto principum tenebrose illius etatis: ignauia inuidia dissidioque contigit. Reuoluant hortor hystoriarum celebres libros: claraque monumenta & quarerum qualitate versamur: compertum habebunt atque conspicient: quantam deus sit elargitus gratiam quam pertinaci animo non noscunt & audire fastidiunt & queque (in hanc sententiam) deuota mente prolata: in reprobum interpretantur sensum. Has igitur insidias: prudentissimus Rhodiorum magister subtili ingenio ab emulis excogitatas sentiens. Arbitratus quoque principem Zyzymy tutius apud gallias defendi custodiri atque protegi. Quibus certe preest Rex christianissimus: qui catholicam fidem gratia & presidio (maiorum exemplo) prosequitur. vbi & summa sinceraque viget religio: fidesquoque relucet orthodoxa: vbi monstra non gignuntur: ubi carent insidijs ac vbi toxici tabes ignoratur.

ratur. His causis suafus in franciam Zyzymy Regem mittit. vt robustissimis (cruce signatis) comitibus succinctus: opido hierosolimorum in amplissimo francorum Regno sito asseruetur. Sed non defuit commentum: quod principem Zyzymy regno interdiceret. nec ei pateret aditus: constitutione regia (vti accepimus) refragante. Que Mahumeteos Judeos alienosque (ab fide catholica) viros regno excludit. Heu grauem Sortem: Res vero quidem equa Iusta memoratque digna. Devoto catholicoque regis christianissimi pectori: vt indigna vt absurda & vt iniqua proponitur nec clarissimi facinoris circumstantie qualitates atque modi: sincere sunt explicati. Quis enim velit (presertim hierosolimorum ordo: qui precipuum erectorem protectorem auctorem francorum regem colit veneratur obseruat) immaculatum integerrimumque regnum obfcenis moribus inficere? Quis cupit: regie constitutioni aduersari? Quis desiderat: rem atrocem committere? Nullus profecto sane mentis: id excogitarit. Non erit quippe in gallijs: Zyzymy sempiterna mora. Sed ad tempus: quo rebus christianorum consuli possit. non erit cum gallis viris integerrimis & omni immundicie labe puris: Zyzymy commercium. Non erit quidem cum incolis assiduitas: non erit cum habitatoribus familiaritas quandoquidem in secessu concludetur: castelli muris cohibebitur paucis comitatus satellitibus. Aderuntquippe eius custodie milites rhodij: qui constantes eorum prauitatem contemnunt & rident. Non debet quidem Gallia hunc rennuere expellere atque contemnere: cuius asseruatione tantum decus tantum comodum & tantum vtile emanare potest. Nec dubitamus pijssimum regem ac sapientissimos doctissimosque ejus regni viros: haud aliter sentire. Si modo huius principis statum intellexerint. Maior quippe comoditas christianis affertur Zyzymy fouendo protegendo & asseruando: quam inclitissimo regno arcendo propellendo nec non & excludendo. Nec enim regis constitutio: nec conditoris intentio infringitur. vbi tam clarum facinus tam grande emolumentum tanque insigne monimentum: ex admissione

in regnum oritur. Si autem aditus in franciam Zyzy-  
my denegatur: exultabunt insidiatores toxicorum por-  
titores ficarij nephandique satellites. qui dissimulato ha-  
bitu iussu thurci: nephandorumque virorum sue facti-  
onis passim vagipalantur. vt Zyzymy: vel gladio ne-  
cent. uel rapiant vel veneno interimant. Excipe ex-  
cipe nobilissima gallia & rex pijssime virum illustrem:  
nobilissima mahumeteorum familia natum. Qui tanta  
comoda: christiane religioni est allaturus. Qui ger-  
manum magnum thurcum: christicolarum finibus ar-  
cet. Qui fratrem bifanciorum imperatorem: tuoquidem  
regnicole splendidissimo Rhodiorum magistro submissum  
reddit. Qui passionis domini nostri ihesu christi moni-  
menta: reliquiaque in Constantinopolitana subuersione  
raptas. & a thurco expugnatore ex industria custodi-  
tas heredique nato dimissas: daturum elargiturumque  
se magistro pollicetur. Qui tantorum scandalorum:  
extinctio censetur. Qui quietem christiano nonini  
prebet vide ne eum repellas: qui repulsus scandalo &  
iacature futurus sit. Si aditum prohibeas: adsunt fa-  
melici ac lupi rapaces qui regium iuuenem deuorent  
lacerent atque opprimant. quo sublato Bagyazit thur-  
corum rex cornua erigit: Rhodios persequetur. Italie  
imminebit: hungarolque inuadet. Et qui modo timi-  
dus stupidus ac tremebundus pauet iacet atque latet?  
repente erumpet insaniaque insolescet. etiam certe ani-  
mum augebit: sublatusquippe tremor terror ac formi-  
do erit. Ex quibus tot graua tot horrida tot enormia  
subsequentur: que narrare nemo quidem poterit. Ta-  
ceo vrbium subuersiones: & iuuenum fidei abnegatio-  
nem. phanorum pollutiones: virginumque prostitutio-  
nes. Quorum preterite clades: testimonium perhi-  
bent haud incertum. Caue toto orbe dignissima gal-  
lia: triumphis ac tropheis priscorum gloria clarissima.  
Ne tua laudata constitutio: tantorum malorum causa  
fit. Non fuit profecto legislatoris intentio bonum lau-  
dabile ac preclarum edicto excludere: quinimo pessi-  
mis viris ac sceleribus regnum purgare. At ubi tantum  
eninet bonum: in thurci scilicet ad tempus excepti-  
one lex quidem merito atque regia constitutio cedere  
debet.

debet. Que seruata: grande quidem scandalum christiano nomini sit allatura. damnant certe iura diuina pariter & humana iura luxuriam inconcessosque concubitus: prostibula tamen permittuntur. ne maius sequatur malum: omnia equidem turbentur libidinibus. Moyses quoque libellum repudij permittit: vt homicidium vitetur. duellum quoque conceditur: si ex eo publicum sequatur comodum. Tollerantur plerumque nonnulla quamuis non equa: ne grauius ingruat malum. Qui profecto rei publice proficitur: licitum est minora permittere mala ne maiora contingant. At dicentes facienda non sunt mala: vt eueniant bona. fateor quidem: si de bonis & malis spiritalibus intelligas suppositum. At si de temporalibus fiat comparatio: minora sequi certe mala ratio suadet. Rarus quippe & fenici conferendus qui minimum spiritale bonum eligit: vt maximo temporali incomodo afficiatur. Nec prauum simpliciter dixerim: Zyzymy excipere regnoque admittere. qui tanta diligentia asseruabitur: ne iniquum afferat exemplar. Exceptio namque hec & legis infractio: non quidem malum moris ac spiritale censetur. nam nec iuri diuino nec iuri communi refragatur. Sed regie constitutioni: edictoque prouinciali repugnat. Quare prouinciale malum potius dici poterit. Nec enim omnes christicole a suis ditionibus: Iudeos & ab fide alienos excludunt. Respondere profecto conor debilius quam necessum sit: his qui exceptioni regiam constitutionem obiciunt. Sed non aduertunt: que (ipsam obseruando) contingant scandala. Ordini preferunt Hierosolimorum: qui Rhodijs imperat. & Francorum regij dyadematis presidio: ad hanc nostram etatem defensi protectique sunt. Gravissimum quidem scelus est scandalum: ex quo sepe numero nephanda: sequuntur si non cauetur modestia. Doctor quidem gentium Paulus apostolus Thymoteum circumcidit: ne conuersis iudeis scandalo sit. Quedam quoque legis mosaice iam sopite cherimonialia sequutus traditur ad tempus: vt scandalum vitaret. Scandali namque tabes: enormitatum fomes est. Sed forsitan quis dicet: fides publica Zyzymy data arcte eius custodie repugnat.

minime



minime quidem: fides namque data Zyzimy regem rhodiorum magistro audientem futurum pollicetur. Consilioque eius potiturum: nec priuatos appetitus sequuturum. Exceptus enim non est rex Zyzimy: vt christiane religioni aut rhodiorum statui obsit officiat damnunq; afferat. Ipsum certe profugum a naufragio a mortis discrimine a germani sanguinolentisque manibus: precellentissimus magister eripit seruat atque defendit. dissonum quippe & a ratione prorsus alienum si quos fautores & vite tutores sentit cladem afferat. Terendum quidem tempus & rebus maturius consulendum: donec etas quietior tranquillior ac feraentior reddatur: Et qui dissident virtute: fruantur optata. Nulla siquidem ex eius custodia oritur pecuniaria utilitas: quamuis ampla sit pensio. prodigum est ac profusum id hominum genus: multoque cibo insignique supellectili vtitur. multasque impensas eius custodia affert: in educandis qui sue asseruationi incumbunt. sui etiam causa legationes ad thurcum & eius ad nos sepius mittuntur: que amplos sumptus faciunt. Honor quidem comodum utilitas etiam fidei ac reipublice christianorum: ad seruandum iuuenem nos compellit. donec qui cuncta prouidet ex eius alta specula christianorum tepidas mentes inflammet: vt expeditio in fidei hostem instauretur. Si christicole oblatam spernent occasionem: ingratitude certe nephandam non feret Deus. luentque penas quandoque: qui conatus qui sanctum propositum: quique res propicias iniquo disturbant ingenio. Si interierit: aut manus hospitalarium rex Zyzimy (quod Deus auertat) effugerit: tunc liquido patebit: quanto nunc fruimur bono. Quod pauci quidem gnoscunt: plurimi ignorant. perplures certe: vt iniquum facinus opprimunt damnant & fastidiunt. Docte ac fidelis lector: tuo qui perspicaci ingenio de paucis plura coniectare poteris. & pro intellectus acumine diiudicabis: si equum sit regie constitutioni inherere ac Zyzimy repellere. vel constitutionem rectius interpretando flectere: & Zyzimy admittere & in regnum introducere. Propositis quidem duobus: que mali speciem induere videntur secundem sapientis sen-

tentiam. minus malum reiecto maiori est eligendum. Si quid acrius quam decuit dixerim. aut incencinum quidpiam edidi vel absurdum connexui. parce precor qui lectitas imbecilli ingenio: quod pondus tanti negocij sufferre & explicare non possit. Cedo tibi excellenti ingenio doctori: qui potiora acutiora & prudentiora excogitabis. que devotas mentes: non ambigo in nostram alliciant sententiam. valeat felix: quicumque perlegerit. Datum Rhodi. xiiij. kal. octobris anno incarnationis christi. M.cccc.lxxxiiij.

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- Belbeis*, anciently Pelusium, taken from Sannar sultan of Egypt, by Siracon the general of Noradin, i. 113. the sovereignty of it promised to the hospitallers by Amaury, 117. is besieged, 119. taken and sacked, 120. the king restores it to the hospitallers, *ibid.* they are recalled from it, 122.
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THE  
HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF

St JOHN of JERUSALEM

BY

The Knights of Rhodes

AND

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA

BY

J. H. M. DE LAUNAY

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