

CHAPTER III.

1099 THE tumults of war had ceased, for it was now in October of 1099,¹ and (the victorious crusaders being come back from Ascalon some weeks), Jerusalem resumed a share of the silence and melancholy usual to it ever since Christ's death.² Many detachments had gone homeward, and who will not follow?³ But the choicest of that choice army still delayed, and both officers and soldiers seemed to dread the day they were to separate from whom they loved and revered so much. Godfrey's first care in that precarious state, was to make the most

¹ P. Antonio Paoli: *Dell'Origine dell'Ordine di S. Gio. Geros., &c.*, 4to, Roma, 1781, p. 445.

² Michaud: *Corres. d'Orient*, vol. iv. p. 245.—“La cité la plus lugubre du monde,” *Id.* 289.

³ Pez: *Chronicon Austriacum*, 547.—*Bib. des Croisades*, iii. 195.

of it, by gaining a little elbow room all round,¹ or the pressure would have crushed his little realm at once.

All Palestine is represented in a deplorable condition at the epoch of the crusades;² not perhaps quite as bad as in our own days, yet very bad, and totally different from what it had been under the Jews or even Romans; as if a mighty curse lay on that whole country, cut up everywhere into small bits, belonging to various people, speaking different languages, and with multitudinous customs, laws, dresses, religions; of innumerable sects of Christianity, Islamism, Paganism, besides a large minority of Samaritans, Israelites, Canaanites, and Hebrews from remotest lands, ancient nation that had once been its real proprietors. The Latins soon gave up, as of no value, what had once seemed to them wealthy estates. The lands all appeared to belong to anybody and nobody. In a house but a year and a day, and it is your own legal property. Stay away as long, and you have lost all right over it.³ The Jerusalem kingdom itself only comprised the city, and about twenty

¹ Michaud: *Hist. des Croisades*, sixieme ed. vol. ii. p. 2, Paris, 1841.

² Arab. Chron. 2.—Bib. Crois. 41.

³ Michaud: *Hist.*, vol. ii. 3.

towns and villages in its vicinity. And these intersected by others that had Mahometan sovereigns or lords. From one castle hung the cross, from its next, the crescent. How was Godfrey to widen his domains? Yet it was absolutely necessary. He had thought of an expedition into Galilee, to possess himself of Tiberias, and some places hard by Jordan.¹

But it required money, and his treasury was empty. If that had caused him some sleepless nights, no wonder. Yet he had been greatly rejoiced that very morning by the unexpected return of his young friend, whom he had thought slain at Assur; and on him he knew he could build, and on Tancred he had begun, with good reason; nor arms alone his hope, but also fair means. So he is to receive a deputation of Moslem Emirs within an hour, and a treaty or alliance may succeed. So there, in the court-way of his residence: "Bid them come in!" "But, Majesty, where is your ——?" and an officer would have hurried for a seat. "This will do," said Godfrey; and if he had acted on a deep-laid plan of captivating the Moslem, he could not have done better, when he seized a bundle of straw, and sat down on it. It is

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. ii. 3.

this mixture of grandeur and simplicity that always produces most effect on the minds of men. Yet was it done by him naturally, unconscious of the effect it had on those Easterns, particularly when he replied to their observation that he was sitting very near the earth, "One may well sit *on* the earth, since we shall so soon be *under* it."¹ So much humility and so much glory! It filled them with admiration; and they, who indeed were rather spies than deputies, going away, one said to the other, "He is indeed a great man, and must be the person assuredly destined to conquer the whole East, and govern the nations!"² Which things agreed with the opinions already in his favour among the Turks; so that they wrote: "For honour and uprightness, Godfrey is eminent above all the Christians—brave as they are, with all their defects, and candid. Solicit his friendship; for if you obtain it, you will have that of the whole Christian body."³

This contrast of grandeur and modesty has always surprised mankind, and is the most commanding spectacle in history. And had he to live long, he would have succeeded in establishing a regular

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. vi. 15.

² Id. Id. ii. 5.

³ Albert Aquenis: Chron.—Bib. Crois. i. 57.

government in that discordant multitude of Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Arabs, renegades from every religion, and adventurers from every land.¹ But an audience of still more importance; the chief princes and leaders, who came from a general assembly of all the crusaders, to announce what he and they knew, but avoided speaking of, that at the close of winter they must take leave, but that they would accompany him to receive his brother Baldwin, shortly expected from Edessa, on a visit. And Godfrey rose, and affectionately embraced every one of them, and individually thanked, and presented each with some small keepsake,² much more pleased at their promise to stay during winter, than shaken at their departure, which he expected. Brilliant sight! with their sashes of red or white, and surcoats, and their lofty silver helmets. But one wanting, enters singly after them; he characterised as the generous and brave, where all were of signal generosity and bravery; he who had been considered rich, when he possessed but his sword and his fame—but who now had worldly treasures in abundance, six waggon loads of gold, and silver, and jewels, which it required two days to transport

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. ii. 7.

² P. A. Paoli: 476.—Foulcher de Chartres: Chron.

from the mosque to his quarters,¹ and of which the Arab chronicles give a list, and may well call immense riches; since they included seventy large gold lamps, and one of silver of forty hundred-weight, and other magnificent articles, that had been increasing through the piety of Mahometans ever since A.D. 638.² A law of the crusade gave the whole to him whose banner was first raised on the building, and of this fact there never had been any question, or could be. They were all his personal undivided property; as every crusader avowed, without a moment's hesitation, or sigh of envy.³ "Sir Tancred," said Godfrey, "I thank you," and leading him to his bundle of straw, made him sit down by his side. "You know," faltered Tancred, "I have long chosen you for more than my sovereign, by your permission, and that as long as you remain, I will; so I live. But now I wish to declare it publicly, in our Norman fashion, and am come prepared!" And on sign of assent, he called in two, and rose and knelt down before Godfrey, and between both his, placing both his own hands, said, "I call you, gentlemen, to witness that I too swear fealty to him as my man; and as my

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 348.—P. A. Paoli: 82.

² Bib. Crois., vol. vi. 12.—Ibn. Agonzi.—Mines de l'Orient.

³ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 248.

first tribute, make him a free gift of the half of all that by my sword has been lately won at Omar's from the Saracens." "Which I accept," said Godfrey, and lifting his right hand, described a large sign of the cross from forehead to breast, and then leant both his hands on Tancred's shoulders, and kissed him on both cheeks. "Now, my vassal, rise and retire."¹

When Baldwin and his brother met, after so long a separation, it was to their mutual delight, and Godfrey feasted him sumptuously the whole winter. That old and most melancholy of cities must have been astounded at such entertainments. And thus to the Prince of Tarentum's cousin, his squire on service, while buckling on his master's coat of arms, and cross, and broad white sash, at his lodgings in some part of that narrow street that winds south from the square of the Holy Sepulchre down towards the Temple: "Recollect, Sir, it is summer, still, the 10th of October,² which these fellows desecrate with their barbarous *regeb*,³ and his Majesty, my Lord, is early; particularly with his fine weather. And if he fixed so late an hour as eight this morning, it must be for the noble sick warrior that is with him." So Tancred

¹ Michaud: Hist., vol. i. 248.

² P. A. Paoli: 485. ³ Arab. Chron., 209.

hastened straight to Gerard's room, and had scarcely time to say "How do you do, now, Count d'Avesne?" to him who lay on his litter, and smiling affectionately, though pale, replied "Better; but we'll never play at mall again, for I am hamstrung in both legs and arms." In the East they play it on horseback. The celebrated warrior, Nouredin, was the finest rider and best player at mall, of his time.¹ But Godfrey entering, "Sir Tancred, I sent for you not to speak or debate, but to witness what my mature reflection has resolved on, and also that of my honoured young friend, who will listen, and if ever I explain his purpose wrong, correct me. It was from my knowledge of his self-devoted intention, I sent him then as hostage, and therefore that was truly the commencement of what was made public only this day. So let the 12th of August, 1099, be a holy memorial to all ages, of the founder of all to which I here consent."²

"We are Normans, all three. So it is not necessary to prove those sacred oral doctrines which have come down to us from our remotest ancestors, and which have only become holier from Christianity. For me, I have already begun a compilation

¹ Arab. Chron., 161.

² P. A. Paoli: 199.

of laws, which I hope will be a benefit to this kingdom; and mean to base them on Norman freedom, and recommend them as well as ever I can to posterity by depositing the writing in what is a general object of veneration to all Christians—the Holy Sepulchre. But much finer is the way our friend has taken, by inscribing the same great truths not on paper or parchment, or even brass or marble, but on the immortal minds of generations of men—and uniting them into one civilised body; of not a nation or race, but of all the nations and races of our human kind. Whenever that comes to be imitated, it will be but imitation; but the first idea is wholly his own, and infinitely grand. To be of utility to men (under God, whose instrument he is) has been indeed his primitive scope; but I do not know that he could ever have effected it in any other way than this he has chosen; which links so appositely with these times and will with recenter too. Could any but sovereigns and Normans have possibly executed it?

“ To create a corps of volunteers of the bravest warriors for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and this kingdom—a permanent crusade—and exercise hospitality on its widest scale towards the pilgrims of all ranks and nations—are the measures proposed, and assuredly there is sublimity in the thought.

To maintain with a few, what it has required a crusade of all Europe to conquer; and day and night, in sanguinary regions and at such a distance, lodge as they are accustomed, and feed all classes, from the emperor to the peasant; and likewise attend to them when sick, and provide them with all necessaries of physic and physicians and surgeons, and all gratis, is no small undertaking. If the duties of hospitality are three—to defend the guest going and coming—to feed and lodge him when well—to try to cure him if sick; to traverse so many disturbed lands and to receive them all so that each shall be treated as far as possible according to his rank—with no vain attempt at equality, but each pretty nearly as used to—requires armies and treasures—although the third alone, an infirmary, might perhaps cost little. The rule then that my friend has determined on, is this:—

1st. Hospitality for all pilgrims and crusaders including defence of the Holy Sepulchre and of this new kingdom.¹

2nd. A military organisation in three classes:² clergy,³ knights, servants at arms.⁴

¹ P. A. Paoli: 199. ² Id.: 202.

³ *Pro forma*, strictly limited to their spiritual duties as not of this world, but a higher. *In ragione di dignita*. P. A. Paoli: 200.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 331.

- 3rd. Knights to have all the proofs required of a *miles*—*nullus fit miles nisi filius militis*.¹
- 4th. The not regularly professed in the order, may yet be aggregated to it.^{2 3}
- 5th. Females also.⁴
- 6th. None professed can have any property of their own; but only can expect to be clothed and fed plainly and frugally;⁵ and freely dedicate their lives.
- 7th. Therefore three vows—celibacy, obedience, and individual poverty.
- 8th. Celibacy cuts off from most of those domestic ties which are impediments to self-devotedness. Obedience the most implicit; particularly in battle, where, without an express command, they on no pretext whatsoever can retire; but death must be expected with heroic fortitude. Their being individually poor, means that they renounce the rights of property,

¹ Hallam: Middle Ages.

² Almost all the Norman Princes were of this class.

³ Ever since, as old Raimond. Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xxii., or a Bohemond, Num. xcvi., Appendix, xliii.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 353.—Chron. Vitzburgense. Whether by vows as in 1134 at Verona, or in the world, as the King of France's daughter and sister. Appendix, Num. xlii.

⁵ P. A. Paoli: 221 and passim. Bread and water are the words to this day. Reception, Vertot, vi. 21.

so that the all of each belongs to the common treasury.

9th. Their dress is that they at present wear—the cross white, now, from the founder being a Norman.

10th. Each future head is to be selected by the order from amongst themselves; and he is to have a council to which he must submit; and on important matters convene a general assembly of the order, where he may have a double vote; and then the majority decide beyond appeal.

“Now to the whole of this I entirely subscribe, in both my Norman and royal quality, and depute you, Sir Tancred, to make it generally known; and as a mark that in this I wish to take the lead, here are two deeds of donation,¹ one in Palestine,² and one in Europe,³ in respect of its European origin

¹ P. A. Paoli: 26.—Seb. Paoli: Codice Diplomatico, vol. i. Num. ii.; Appendix, Num. x.—Quick then; for London, Schwerrin, Sicily are near.

² St. Abraham near Bethlehem. Michaud: Hist., vol. ii. 5. Michaud: Orient. vol. v. 202. Hessilia was the more proper name, as we learn from Godfrey's own brother Baldwin I. “Donum quod frater meus fecit hospitali, videlicet de quodam Casale, quod vocatur Hessilia.” Seb. Paoli: i. 445.

³ The Monale is a river in Sicily. *Monboir* is for Montboisè. *Abryele* is a *l'abri*; in Italian, *al riparo*. Paoli: Osservazioni, lxxii.—Albert d'Aix: Chron. vii.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. i., anno 1099.

and its destination to these parts. And I hope that similar, or rather far more magnificent donations, may shortly follow from my Norman brethren, and from others also; for vast sums are necessary to so vast an undertaking—urgent and simultaneous. I will announce it to Baldwin; but a favourable omen and a merciful Providence is this delay and meeting of so many of the Norman and other princes of the crusade, which permits your speaking to them at once in person. And my desire is, that their donations, though quick, be not exactly here; for it would grieve me any should attribute them rather to love for me, than to the incontestible merits of the institution itself. Not only the antedate 1100, but also the months for a year from the taking.” Yet, as this is the first gift to the order, it will be fair to give a union of the three copies; two in Italian, and one in old French—all three in the appendix, in substance the same, but each with many errors of the pen, or otherwise.

“In name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Godfrey de Bullion, by the grace of God Duke of Lorraine, make it known to all present and future, that for the remission of my sins, having adorned my heart and shoulders with the sign of the cross of the Saviour crucified for us, I at length reached the spot where our most high Lord, Jesus Christ,

trod for the last time; and, after I had visited the Holy Sepulchre and all those holy places, with the devotion of a full heart, finally I came where once stood a church of the Holy Hospital, founded in honour of God and his blessed mother, and St. John the Baptist; and seeing so many operations suggested by the grace of the Holy Ghost that it is impossible to count them, and more charity toward the sick and indigent of the faithful than human tongue can express, I promised to offer something to God also, and so now, to acquit my promise to the Omnipotent with whole effusion of spirit, give to the said house of the Hospital, and all the brethren within it, an habitation built on the Monale called Wood Mount, in the Cold Mountain (in Sicily), and of the Castle of S. Abraham (near Bethlehem), and I make this my donation in the year 1100, less than a year from the taking of Jerusalem; and I have done this for the benefit of the souls of my father and mother, and relations, and all the Christians, living and dead. And affix my seal to the same, in presence of these trusty witnesses, Arnold of Vismala, and many others."

There are many mistakes in the deed, as come down to us, and as it could not have been written by Godfrey. The Xenodochium of the order and the Church of St. John were two distinct things. Near the church

says the Papal deed, "juxta ecclesiam,"¹ and that the ruins of some former hospital or church might have been found and seen there by Godfrey, and on this was built the beautiful new one, seen there a very few years later by the Vizburgensian;² but what Godfrey saw could not be new. The Turks had thrown down, or converted into stables, all the hospitals of the Christians and churches, except the Holy Sepulchre for pilgrims, and the Temple turned into a mosque.³ Circumstantiality is a dangerous thing; and he that hazards it, may lose his credit as an historian—leaving himself open to the accusation of dealing rather in fancies than realities, because he could not possibly be present. But this would put an extinguisher on all history, since

¹ Appendix, Num. v. In many ancient writings the date is in the context, the most certain date; for it is not liable to errors. Here we have two facts, of which as to the years they occurred in, all good historians agree. These in the Appendix are all very old *copies*, so not in their places in the Cod. Dipl., where none but original and legal. But if these be all with incorrections, yet do they not corroborate the substance? The date most erroneous in numbers is remedied by the context *of within a year from the taking of Jerusalem*. That Godfrey made some such donation is legally proved by Baldwin's deed in the Cod. Dipl., and if none of these three are that donation verbatim, yet their being the same in substance is a very strong probability. Appendix, Num. xix., xx., xxi.

² Vizburgensis: Chron.—Appendix xv.—P. A. Paoli: Osservazioni, lxix.

³ P. A. Paoli: 82.

seldom has any historian seen much of what he relates. Nor if he did, is eyesight the first class of evidence; for how easily may the eyes be deceived! But indeed the first class of historic evidence, surer than any eyesight (for your eyes may be a law to you who see, but not to him who has to trust to your word), is that of charters and law documents, and wills, and deeds of gift, and such like. The declaration of an eye-witness is to reader or hearers only a secondary sort of evidence. It is like the former without their witnesses, and therefore needing some additional testimony of context or circumstances. A formal document has its full proof in itself. It is not one man, but several. The reader has no excuse to expect, nor the writer to give. The proof would suffice any upright judges in the world; but not so circumstantiality—this is to be taken at its worth in every instance. Yet is it not a pity to neglect any of the few circumstances that have escaped the stream of time? Rather let them be given freely, though with some personal risk to the writer, occasionally adding, from what he sees, the present condition of the places in question, when his statements aspire to no more value than those of any other traveller. As to their being beneath the dignity of history, smile at it. Whoever (by whatever means) contrives to give us a true

picture of the times, suggests probable motives, and is exact as to facts—he is the historian.

The care of the sick and wounded made females necessary from the very first. Except this error as to date, the rest of the current story may be quite true; that of the Hospitalleresses, the very first was a Roman lady of the name of Agnes.¹ Godfrey was right; none but Norman sovereigns could have insured success. Who were the Normans then at Jerusalem, and who, exactly as Godfrey wished, made donations of land to the order, as soon as ever they left that city? The Norman was the great party of that day, and it became a party question. Its earliest protectors were, with few exceptions, Normans; its founder, and the King of Jerusalem, Normans; and the Baldwins Bohemond, Tancred, Roger of Antioch, Raimond of Joppa. Its first establishments in Europe were in England and Sicily, where both the sovereigns were Normans. Tancred gave it large possessions about Bethlehem, and his cousin, at Bari, Taranto, and Otranto. In Flanders, Hainaut, Pannonia, what wonder, where dwelt Gerard's own nearest relatives? It was like wild fire, and at the same time quite natural.² That the Mahometans should

¹ P. A. Paoli: 349.

² Id.: 456.

soon send tremendous forces to win it back, was clear from the grief with which Bagdad heard of Jerusalem's fall. Their poet had adjured them¹ by everything they held most sacred: "Blood mingles with our tears. O children of Islam, many are the battles you have to sustain, in which your heads shall roll at your feet! What blood has been spilt! How many of your women left but their hands to cover their beauty? Your Syrian brothers have but the back of their camels, or the vultures' entrails! So frightful are the strokes of the lance, and the shocks of swords, that at the very noise the head of the infant whitens with fear. Methinks he who sleeps in his grave at Medina, lifts himself to cry out, 'O sons of Hashem! What! my people not fly to save religion shaken to its foundation? To fear death now is dishonour; and is not dishonour a mortal wound? The Arabian chiefs, the warriors of Persia, submit to such degradation?'"

It is nowise but simple, then, that an immense army of Saracens assembled forthwith to march

¹ Alivardi. It was Ramadan. So general the grief that crowds filled the mosques imploring the Divine clemency, and were so troubled *that they forgot the fast*; which is perhaps a solitary instance in the whole history of Mahometanism of such awful trouble. Arab. Chron., 13.

against the Latins. But what is really astonishing is, that an heroic handful should overthrow such great forces. But what men were at their head! Their five thousand won the day, and saved Jerusalem, yet at the price of Bohemond,¹ carried off prisoner by the retreating Turks, *who called him the minor god of the Christians.*² Islam annals assure us that seven French counts tried to deliver him, but they perished.³

His adventures are infinitely curious; and in his old age he went through the Courts of Europe recounting them. Any one of them would be too romantic for any history but this; and even in this, its substance is all that can be given. The Prince of Tarentum and three of his followers were confined in a castle in Mesopotamia, whose malek had a beautiful, virtuous, and wealthy daughter, who, prepared by all she had heard, fell in love with the Franks, and a variety of religious discussions led to her conversion, without her father being aware of it. After a courtship of two years (says the chronicler—but it is permitted to suspect the accuracy of his chronology—perhaps it is the copier's fault who should have written months), the sultan and his power marching against the malek, besieged him,

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 10.—Arab. Chron., 15.

² Bib. Crois., i. 314.

³ Arab. Chron., 16.

and she in this frightful predicament directed herself to the Franks. "Admirable Lady," answered Bohemond, "allow us but weapons, and you shall see what can be effected by the sword and courage of Franks!" She then made them swear to defend her father's possessions; and after victory to resume their irons as before:—"O my friends," said she, "if that irritate my father, you will protect her who loves you with all her heart!" And on her giving them their liberty, they armed and rushing out at once with the Norman war cry, "*God's aid!*" the besiegers, struck with a panic terror, fled. Only a single combat took place between Bohemond and the sultan's son, who at length fell. Still the malek, when he learned he owed his safety to Christians, flew into a rage and called her a *wicked minx* in the midst of all his officers; but Bohemond and his Normans rushing in with naked sword raised in the very act to strike, dropped them at a sign from her, and stood, stockstill as waiting her order. After a pause she said, "For me, beloved father, I am going to become a Christian; for their law is honourable and holy;" and retiring with the Christians she said to them, "I shall always continue your sister and tender friend!" But after various days, the old malek by degrees learned to take Bohemond into his good graces,

with, as it were, parental affection; so much so that he ventured to address the new convert thus after her baptism : “ Noble young lady, who did prefer our creed and us its followers to your own and kindred, even while yet a pagan, choose of yourself freely, we beseech you, from the warriors now before you! Any of us will think him honoured by your choice of him as your husband. But, in conscience before all, listen to me, my sweet friend; and let me counsel you to reflect well, before you ratify your father’s selection of me. He indeed has given you to me; but I advise you to choose better. I have led a life of labour from my boyhood up; and have suffered much, and fear I have yet much to suffer. I have to defend myself both from the emperor and the infidels. Besides which I made a vow, while in irons, to go to St. Leonard’s in Aquitaine, as soon as I should be set free. So how could we promise ourselves time for the delights of Hymen, since I am obliged so soon to expose myself to the risks of the seas and direct my steps to a distant country? These considerations, my dearest mistress, cannot but engage you to choose another for indissoluble partner. Behold Roger, son of Prince Richard, my cousin; he is younger and with greater talents, more handsome than I am, and my equal in power and riches; I wish you to marry

him." And in fact (adds the chronicler) Roger espoused her; and they led a life of cloudless felicity.¹

It is nearly certain that Tancred must have had some of Gerard's recent knights, and part, at least of his eighty Norman horse, both in his Galilean expedition, and that battle near Aleppo; but how many of them were slain there, no record remains to tell. Nor if any of them were companions of Godfrey's last feats southward, in which he caught a fever from bad air, or, as the Moslems affirm,² in consequence of a wound received near Acre "the light of the world" fell sick, was lifted from his horse at Joppa, and thence was carried in a litter to Jerusalem; where he lingered in dreadful pain for five weeks, and expired on the 17th of July, A.D., 1100.³ 1100
Whether he ever swayed the sceptre, is doubtful, nor is it any matter; he had the prerogative, and deserved it. Baldwin had gone home to his own dominions of Edessa (now Orfa); but on hearing of his brother's death, and his own election, ceded Edessa to his cousin Baldwin de

¹ Albericus Vitalis, Angl.—Bibl. Crois., i. 315.

² Arab. Chron., 17.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 11.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 345.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1100.

Bourg, and with most praiseworthy ambition, vindicated his royal inheritance—his other brother having gone to Europe—and set off for Jerusalem on a most difficult march, with an escort of seven hundred horse, and some infantry; the more requisite, that dissensions disquieted the Holy City, from the undue pretensions of the Patriarch, who seems to have been somewhat of a demagogue; yet extremely wrong—for it was not, who should reign in Jerusalem, but who would defend it with his life! Nor is it clear whether any of Gerard's order formed the deputation of knights sent to receive Baldwin. But he was one of the great Normans, and followed close on Godfrey, as a donor to the order. If to be King of Jerusalem, then, was a thing to be coveted, it was at the post of peerless honour, that is of the highest danger—and not for anything else. It was rather a duty, than acquisition. For the Kings of Jerusalem were neither powerful nor rich; and Baldwin in Orfa had been both.¹ But he was eminently a soldier, and willingly gave the preference to glory. And so well was that felt at the time, that the Duke of Normandy never got any credit for refusing the Jerusalem throne, which, upon his refusal, the

¹ Bongars: Guibert.—Bib. Crois., i. 133.—Michaud: Hist., vi. 68.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1101.

crusaders had voted to Godfrey. But Normandy was blamed¹ as wanting heart, and that though courageous in usual things, and even distinguished at Ascalon and Nice in several battles, he had not courage enough to accept that loftiest of all earthly positions, exposed to perils and toils as supereminent. And it was attributed to the Divine wrath, and a just judgment of God on the dastard who preferred his dukedom and the crown of England, to which he was next heir, that he was never after successful in anything; but lost his birth-right, and died in a dungeon. It is an injustice to Baldwin to receive the *gaudens de hereditate* in any other sense. His heritage was indeed magnanimity alone.² They say that his whole reign was one continuous fight, for that he was less of a politician than Godfrey.³ So, after a week in his metropolis, he advanced on Ascalon, and in a battle between Jaffa and Ramla, overthrew the Egyptian army under Saad-eddaulè, to whom the astrologers had predicted death from a fall of his horse; so when Emir of Beyroot, where the streets are slippery and stony, he had the stones gathered and carried away. But it was labour in vain; for, in escaping

¹ Michaud: Hist., i. 351.

² Id.: Id., ii. 14.

³ Vertot: Hist. de Malte, i. 67.—Bosio, &c.

from Ramla, he fell with his horse and was killed.¹

The victorious Baldwin then marched south-east towards Hebron and the Dead Sea, to terrify the Saracens, who had recently annoyed Christian pilgrims, whereupon the former hid in caverns they had to be smoked out of, not dissimilar from the inroads the French have been lately constrained to in Algeria. On the south of the great asphaltic lake, they took a town, and penetrated to the Arabian mountains, where they found snow, and the whole army were obliged to bivouac in holes in the rock, the entire country abounding in such hiding-places, with no other food than dates, and such wild animals as they could kill, and the pure water from occasional excellent springs and fountains.² And they visited with respect a monastery called St. Aaron, on the spot where Moses and Aaron spoke with God, and tarried for three days in a beautiful valley clad with palms, and full of all kinds of fruit, and the very place where Moses had made a source bubble up from the flanks of an arid rock, and where the chronicler declares he watered his mule, and Baldwin his cavalry, after which he turned towards Jerusalem, passing by

¹ Arab. Chron., 17. ² Michaud: Hist., ii., 17.

where were buried the ancestry of Israel, and was anointed and crowned king at Bethlehem by the Patriarch; not following Godfrey's example in this quite, yet surely in part, since he was crowned at Bethlehem, not exactly in the city, where his Saviour was crowned with thorns.¹ Even so, what Baldwin took at Bethlehem was like no mortal crown, but in some degree resembled Christ's, and a pious action, full of danger, misery, and self-sacrifice.² The spot where his coronation took place was in a most neglected state years ago, and worse now.³ Baldwin the First's next act was to hold a court and council of all the grandees at Jerusalem, in Solomon's palace,⁴ as well as putting into effect his brother's compilation, the assize of Jerusalem, by a solemn establishment of the bench of judicature. Any difficulties were quickly overcome by the cital of Godfrey, whose very name had a sanctified authority inappealable. Again, in 1101, upon a military advance beyond Jordan, an act of sweet and noble charity merited the oath of a Mussulman never to forget the generosity of Baldwin.

¹ Hallam: Middle Ages, i., 26. Note 1.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 18.

³ Id.: Corr. d'Orient, iv. 215.

⁴ Id.: Hist., ii. 19.

Assur capitulated next, and Cesarea fell by assault with frightful carnage; in all which enormities the Genoese took a conspicuous part, as their own
1101 historian testifies, who was there present;¹
and there the great emerald was taken which in our own days turned out to be a bit of glass, as all could see, when it was broken by accident.² A second and greater victory was gained over the Egyptians; Baldwin the First, on his courser named Gazelle, from its swiftness, leaving no safety but to such Moslems as had horses of wondrous rapidity. In new battle, Count Harpin having volunteered some prudent counsels: "Harpin," replied the monarch, "if you are afraid, go back to Bourges." Yet the Christian army was for the most part slaughtered, and, if Baldwin was saved, he owed it to the generous gratitude of the Turk he had been kind to the year before. Old Raymond of St. Gilles had taken Tortosa and Gibel, and Acre also yielded to the Christians, but after the most cruel breach of faith in the Genoese allies; till at length, by Baldwin's personal interposition, those of the Mahometans that were yet unmurdered were permitted to retire, and Acre became inhabited by Christians.

¹ Caffaro: book 1.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 24.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1131.

In 1104, Bohemond, Tancred, Baldwin de 1104
Bourg, at that time Count of Edessa, and his
first cousin, Joscelin de Courtenai, Lord of Turbes-
sel, laid siege to Carrhes, beyond the Euphrates, that
city of Abraham's father, and of Crassus, and a
rescue of Turcomans coming, the Christians fled,
and Bohemond and Tancred followed them with
difficulty, and Joscelin and Baldwin de Bourg
were made prisoners, and remained in captivity for
five years. So the Mahometans resuming courage,
besieged Edessa several times, and threatened both
Turbessel and Antioch, and ravaged the whole
country.¹

Bohemond, leaving his capital, stole off to
Europe to seek succours; and married the daughter
of the King of France, and ended his stormy days
by coming to die at Tarentum; though others say
at Antioch, on the last of February, 1105.² The
indefatigable and aged Count of Tripoli, about 1106,
was killed by a fall from the roof of the castle of
Monte Pellegrino, to-day that of the citadel of
Tripoli.³ His son came with a fleet in 1108, and died
in 1109.⁴

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 25.

² Oderic Vitalis.—Bib. Crois., i. 318.

³ Michaud: Histoire, ii. 41.—Cod. Dip. Geros., i. 405,407.—
Arab. Chron., 22.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 41.

In 1112, Tancred died at Antioch. “It
1112 will, by Heaven, be a very vile generation when
the high name of Tancred ceases to be in honour,”
Godfrey used to say. To boast of one’s own bravery
was in the purest spirit of Paganism; but only
Christianity could inspire the heroic magnanimity
of Tancred, when he bade his squire swear never to
relate his feats to any one. Sublimier than chiefs
of Homer or Virgil is he above even the love of
praise. It surpasses the heroic age. Yet is this
reference to another world quite in unison with our
religion.¹ Many of the gallant Normans who had
been the earliest protectors of the order, were now
gone; yet its high-minded founder still lived—
almost young indeed in years, but a broken-down,
woful cripple, and with ruined health. He had
once hoped to be cured, and what he had said as a
melancholy threat to Tancred, turned out to be too
true.

He that morning fancied he exaggerated, but did
not. So in truth a decrepit, and, as it were, aged
man. But he had the consolation to see his order
growing up to notice, and acquiring every day
well-merited fame and power, more than realising
all his warmest dreams of glory. The Norman

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 46.—Cod. Dip. Geros., i. 405; vi. 12.

feats at Jerusalem may be all fairly ascribed to Gerard and his order; and rather, indeed, that it existed as a Latin or Christian city at all. The same may be said of his imitators, the Templars and Teutonics; but as yet they did not exist, or if the individuals existed, it was but as French or German Hospitallers, or their followers. It was in the spirit of those times that the local spiritual authority assented, till recourse to Rome. But, however Norman influence abbreviated that process, and hastened the Papal answers, it required a longer life than was allowed to poor Godfrey. One basis to both the assize, order, and the conduct of several of the crusade, who, returning to Europe, as the Duke of Brittany, the Count¹ of Flanders (more particularly, perhaps, in France, but also in England², whence Henry the First's charter, and in Germany Lothaire's³), these lords coming home from the first crusade, affranchised, chartered, or otherwise softened the institutions of feudalism.

All those three currents of benevolence derived from the same pure source, the principles of northern freedom, which, wherever it originated, was brought south by the Goths from Scandinavia.

¹ Michaud: Hist., i., 398.

² Hallam: Middle Ages, ii. 36. Note (2).

³ Id. Id. i. 323. Note (1).

Assize, order, and charters had the same holy basis. The assize was a modification to Oriental ways of thinking, and the Greek; the order to its peculiar circumstances. But in both were preserved a representative body, the trial by jury, and many other seeds of true liberty, that with astonishment men now see their own glorious constitutional government was certainly in the meditation of both Godfrey and Gerard, who selected the perhaps only secure manner by which such a country, and at such a period, could preserve the treasure—not made indeed for that wild discordant multitude whom liberty could only set mad, nor for a state of permanent civil war, or hostility of any sort, but for happier ages, permitted to expect.¹ A writer not to be suspected of partiality to the crusades, regards the code as from the well-springs of freedom.

Yet Gibbon could only judge by the heavy tome compiled two hundred and sixty-six years later, and which affords food for blame and derision, and no doubt much trash and iniquitous customs were then foisted into what pretended to be a copy of the original deposited by Godfrey, which could scarcely but be brief; to be compiled, legalised,

¹ Ibelin, Count of Jaffa copied (as he says) the Assizes of Godfrey. But this was not “the Code so precious and so portable.” Dec. and Fall, xi. p. 94, and Notes.

and consigned within a few months, since Godfrey's whole reign was limited to a year. But that the laws of Godfrey were in the general estimation of the Norman is proved by that other Baldwin, who becoming Emperor of Constantinople in 1204, "adopted the *Assizes de Jerusalem* as best adapted to a French colony in the East."¹ In the course of these first twelve years of the order, how much was effected! A chronicler, who visited Jerusalem within a few years after the first crusade, found it had its church newly built, and a splendid mansion for above two thousand men.² Godfrey himself had founded an hospital in Jerusalem for the poor;³ so that in that respect there would have been no need of the order's (*and that must be specified*), for by a casualty Godfrey's was dedicated to St. John, which led to mistakes; but it stood in quite another part of the city, and had nothing to do with the order's, which was exclusively for crusaders, who then went by the name of *poor* or *Christ's poor*, without any reference to wealth. In comparison of *Him* are we not all poor? This large mansion, or *Xenodochia*, lay exactly opposite the Holy Sepulchre, alongside of its own church; both of which buildings, church and man-

¹ Dec. and Fall, xi. 246.

² P. A. Paoli: 62.

³ Id.: 117.

sion, were so majestic and fine, that it was represented by some critics as a most indecent rivalry with that in honour of Christ.¹

But that sneer was of posterior times. The chronicler, who came soon after the first crusade, extols the grandeur and beauty and noble hospitality. Where there were two thousand guests, and at such a time, there must often have been sick or wounded, and these were of course removed into the infirmary belonging to the house, and for none but pilgrims or crusaders. That the knights had to sustain the principal military duties in Jerusalem, and all through Palestine, from the very beginning, is quite certain; nor had they then any other of the military orders to assist them; nor in those first twelve years were there any other knights mentioned than the Hospitallers of St. John, that is, St. John the Baptist; for as to the almsgiver, it is all a humbug, nor the least worth discussion; indeed, only for the respectable publication that recently repeated the nonsense, it should not be mentioned here in the least.

That such could be accomplished only by a union of enterprising sovereigns, requires no debate. But not only sovereigns, but that these were

¹ P. A. Paoli: 373.

almost immediately reinforced by a group of private individuals, is likewise true; so that a multitude signalized themselves in the same way. Of the few deeds extant still, and gathered together by an Italian gentleman, that by Godfrey is followed close by Brisset and Roberts in London; and others in Sicily, the south of France, and the north of Prussia, and Hungary, and Germany. This rapidity would be altogether incredible, had Gerard not been a Norman prince.¹ Flanders and Hainaut were then included in Normandy, as they had been in the old Roman Neustria; although soon to be otherwise. In later crusades, as many colours as nations; every nation had its own. But in the first crusade, the French wore the red cross, and all other Latins the white or Norman, even the Flemings; and these, who took the green cross in every succeeding crusade, and no few Germans, then, as well as many others, were erected into a division which was called the Norman party, who, by that means, could balance France itself, and formed a full half of the crusading warriors. Geographical distinctions being then little attended to as transitory, but the ties of blood and alliances were stabler. Not merely Neustria, but all in every royal house in Europe

¹ P. A. Paoli : 456-7.

who could boast of a single drop of Norman blood, were Normans. The Counts of Flanders, Hainaut, and Bouillon, are styled Normans, and were bound by a direct treaty to keep William the Norman on the English throne. Hainaut, turned by the Germans into Egenau, and by the Latins and Italians into Anonia, or Eno, makes the sovereigns of Anonia be Anauci, and by corruption Amauci; and the same person is indiscriminately named Count of Anonia, or Hainaut, or Avesne, or Amauci, or Dell Monte.¹ So Gerard's proposal was like a circular (with Godfrey's consent as his near relative and sovereign), not only to all the Normans, but to all Europe; and indeed, more, all Christians, for that they should all benefit by what he had projected. All crusaders and pilgrims, each according to his station, and earthly circumstances; a king or emperor, like a king or emperor; a knight, a nobleman, like such; an inferior, like an inferior, each as he had been accustomed to, or a little better, all fed and lodged in the houses and halls of the order, and when sick, in its infirmaries; all protected and escorted both in coming and going. To treat all alike, would be to maltreat all.

¹ P. A. Paoli: 460, 472.

According to the best habits of each, and education and manners, and place in society, and charitable feeling on the whole; such is the cheer to be expected in the order's houses, and no vain attempt at what is impossible—equality. Their corps must therefore include many nations and languages, and different degrees of gentle birth; with a rule binding the members in the sight of God and man—honour and religion, obedience the promptest, and superhuman valour. No minor considerations, but the universally received rites of Christianity; not theologians, but soldiers; qualified, so they take the rule's oath, though rule and oath may be modified with time. Gothic freedom generalized far beyond the most exalted sentiments of patriotism. Feelings of home suffocated, nor wife nor child must weaken or distract those who are to be always exposed to such frightful dangers, and bound to escort feeble wanderers through so many hostile countries, beset with infidels, robbers, and murderers. Brave man is he, who endured for moments what must be habitual with them; permanent to death. Their hearts must so frequently be harder than iron. "I know," said Gerard to his aspirants, "that there are many valiant people now, who act as honour and their creed prescribe. Yet nothing will satisfy me, or come up to the

scope of this project, except a greater generosity and valour than the world has ever yet seen, even in our own marvellous Normans. That sublime daring and existing out of ourselves, which has visited other heroes for a brief space; must in you have a perpetual residence. Reflect profoundly well then before you enter what demands such singular self-devotedness. You may be very brave, without being brave enough for us. Such supernatural excitement of mind and body must soon wear out life. That wear and tear will suffice, without any other wound. It is living ages in a minute. Yet even Pagans have thought it a fine thing to die young. And Turks, and Turcomans, and clouds of most ferocious Saracens at hand, you must be prepared to die. If you wish any chance of life, join other crusades and armies, with whom you may gain great honour, and eventually return to Europe and enjoy it there for life." And to Godfrey he had said, "Of extreme hardihood, and well mounted and armed, and of fanatical audacity are these Turks; as reckless of life as Saracens ever were, and proud of being worthy to be slaughtered in the service of Mahomet, and for the glory of Islam; and these you are to face with a minority of numbers as perfectly miraculous as ten to a hundred thousand. Divided, impoverished,

helpless, as this kingdom is, none can protect it; but only possibly a corps of the transcending spirit proposed, a selection of the most valiant of all Christendom. And it must begin with those who, it is allowed, are pre-eminent above all others at present in existence, our own Normans." Was it not natural that Tancred, to whom knighthood seemed far superior to any monarchy, should have enthusiastically undertaken what he was ordered? And that the Norman chiefs heard him with applause? And other Normans all over Christendom hurried with donations, as soon as they received the circular?

Lands and tenements in Europe had been so cheapened and reduced nearly to worthlessness by the emigration of the first crusade, and in Palestine by the fluctuation of all property during so many wars, and principally the Saracenic, that so mighty a foundation was practicable and timely. It required all that patronage. It was as natural an effect of the first crusade, as the crusade of the disorderly state of Europe. Urgency brought that necessary simultaneousness, quite characteristic of the institution in all its parts, from the founder's mind, into complete action. A chronicler, while Godfrey was alive, saw their church building, and the knights mounting their horses for battle, and

crowds of pilgrims in their Xenodochia, and sick in their temporary infirmary.¹ It is enough to know what they did, to know they had the means of doing it. Now, French historians tell us it required one of the richest estates in France to purchase a battle horse and equip one single knight.² What but a league of Norman sovereigns could have compassed it? A mind like Gerard's always finds a propitious time and fitting instrument. But had he not been a Norman prince, himself, could he have persuaded them to league? He knew how to use them, and was worthy of them. That is all—and everything. "My order must not be mere men," he said, "but superior to men, and proper companions for that S. George and S. Demetrius against whom those green demons — or angels, as the Saracens pretend — come down on green horses to join Islam in fight."³ He must be guilty of an anachronism who thinks there was a Latin human being, or hospital or monastery, in Jerusalem, when taken at the first crusade. A little earlier or later, but not then, Godfrey built the church called Latina, and gave

¹ The chronicler wrote in his old age 1150, what he had seen in his youth, a great many years before. P. A. Paoli : 67

² Michaud : Hist., i. 83.

³ Arab. Chron., 41.

it to the Benedictines; far from finding it there;¹ just as the Wurtzburgh Chronicler says, who writes what he saw many a year previous to William of Tyre. Then not by negligence is the Latina omitted in the Benedictine texts of that period, but really because it did not then exist.

If this remark be considered superfluous, yet it may be necessary towards an error of long standing. That the ancient period of the order was never written by contemporaries, is to be deplored, perhaps; but it does not follow that we are to exult for Tyre's writing a fable. Better nothing than learn what is false. The mystery of ignorance, as to its creation, would be more dignified than what could not be true. It would have had its heroic age. No harm for that. Such an origin as the country of Socrates, or immortal Rome. Or are you of those who believe that, body and all, Romulus went up after preparing with a fratricide? Rare capacity of swallow! Its head hidden in ambiguity like the Nile or Pyramids. But that can no longer be the case now. Off with the fables, and plain truth in their place. Legal documents have only to be accurately examined and strung together. But, unfortunately, instead of avowing ignorance, and letting the world wait

¹ P. A. Paoli: 89.

until now, there was a fable ready made, in complete contradiction to any narrative that could be formed from documentary evidence. So Pantaleone, Bosio, Vertot, and all the historians following them, found it more convenient to uphold and disseminate that fable concerning a Nineveh of which it was supposed all records were irreparably lost.

And now behold they are come to light, and the whole scaffolding is wrong, and must be overturned to get at the truth. It nettles to be obliged to do any such work. Double labour, both fable and narrative; the former more wearisome to remove, than to weave the latter. Disheartening to have to set out with what may lead to cruel, perhaps flippant ridicule. It may disgust my reader, but it is necessary to overturn the common basis of a whole progeny, some of them esteemed, and deserving of esteem, though in this particular they are in error. Then the entire of what William of Tyre says respecting the origin of the order, is totally erroneous; that is, of its having changed its institution under its second chief. The documents come down to us disprove it. They all are absolutely irreconcilable with any great change; but show that the rule was from the very commencement pretty much what has come down to our own times, modified a little occasionally,

according to the times, but only a little. If that be conceded now, it will become as evident to the reader, as it is to the writer, upon glancing over the documents that shall be given in the appendix. Tyre is a good authority for the third crusade, where he was present, but not for the first. In this, France's excuse for him is, that he had too high a mind to submit to the trammels of truth,¹ and that experience must confess that on some subjects he is less intelligible and trustworthy than other chroniclers.² Why, with your eyes open, continue your mistake?

But before perusing the documents, recollect that words vary as to their signification in different centuries, and that in that of the crusades *pilgrim* was not a transitory thing, but a real and highly honourable title, that remained during life, like that of Haggi among Mahometans even now; that the cross of the crusaders was worn suspended from the neck in the third crusade, but that at the beginning of the first crusade was as the order wears it;³ that the poor, Christ's poor, are not what they at present signify, but meant crusaders, brethren in arms, or wives and children of

¹ La verité lui parait un fardeau penible. Michaud: Hist., vi. 359.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 7, Note. ³ P. A. Paoli: 99.

knights, or such like, who came with proper certificates bearing the cross; all classes of Christians, yet but few of the lower, from the length of the journey; and most of the middling and noble, and some of the very highest.¹ Nothing was more timely or simpler than the order.² Hospitality included the military defence of Jerusalem. Beautiful idea, and that argued a most holy and bright mind. Universal favour and gratitude. No surprise; the chronicler cited by Paoli saw with his own eyes what others only wrote of from hearsay, forty years (or more) later. Pope Innocent Second in 1130, says the Hospitallers had been used *long* to keep cavalry (paid by themselves) to defend the Christians both in going and coming, and to protect the Holy Sepulchre and Palestine itself, and therefore he calls on all people to contribute as much as they can to so useful an institution, either by entering it, or by being affiliated to it. That was written nine years from Gerard's death, but as it speaks of *long* before, it must refer to the order in its founder's lifetime. Quite the reverse then of what is pretended. But those knights were rather for action than pen, and had a great deal too much to do to write, or attend to

¹ P. A. Paoli: 91, 100, 101.

² Id. 102.

writers, and those who wrote their annals, knew nothing about them. Baron Giordan Brisset's donation in London, as early as 1100, that in Messina in 1101, and a few others, are given now at this review of the order, twelve years after its formation.¹ But most of the documents to be cited a little later refer to these years also. Only I defer gathering them, till their respective dates. The order was born under Pasqual Second, and his bull we have. Also two documents of Calixtus Second, and of Honorius Second.² Neither the prudence of Bosio, nor what is called the inspiration of Vertot, are requisite to account for a change in the order, since change in the order there was none.³

The King of Arragon calling them to defend Spain in 1131, quite agrees with their being veteran warriors for thirty-two years before,⁴ but not five or six years; warriors designated as the *Santa Milizia* under Baldwin I.⁵ The Templars had not been yet established in Baldwin I.'s time.⁶ Other castles to churchmen; but great fortresses were only given to those who could defend them, and that taken by Baldwin I., in 1101, was to the Hos-

¹ P. A. Paoli: 112 and 375.—Appendix, Num. i., ii., iii.

² P. A. Paoli: 119.—Ap., No. v. ³ P. A. Paoli: 120.

⁴ Id. 127. ⁵ Id. 134.

⁶ Id. 134.

pitallers.¹ Joppa had been given to Gerard himself.² But most of the chief places in Palestine were given to the Hospitallers, from their creation in 1099 to 1105.³ Bow, and in honour for the fidelity of an historian, prove the truth.⁴ Yes! But give time! Later, a Grand Master of the Temple protests that his order's scope was different from that of the Hospitallers; since theirs was founded for hospitality and the military profession, whereas his was for the military profession alone.⁵ Edward IV. and the English tribunals held the two institutions identically the same; or rather the nearest of relatives, the first being as the father, and the Temple as the eldest son. Who could St. Bernard have thought of, since when he spoke, there was no other military than Gerard's in the world, deserving to be called heroes and martyrs? Could nine men (as the future Templars were but then) have performed such wonders, and already gained so high a reputation?⁶ For military alone would be but to imitate one (indeed the first) of the three great duties of hospitality—care of the sick was but the third.⁷ Brompton goes nearer to the fact.

¹ P. A. Paoli: 136.

³ Id. 138.

⁵ Id. 144 and 145.

⁷ Id. 168.

² Id. 137.

⁴ Id. 141.

⁶ Id. 147.

As Godfrey did not choose to be called King, he calls himself Advocate, or Protector (*Præpositus*), in his letter to the Pope.¹ As Bohemond was *Præpositus* of Antioch, and Baldwin of Edessa; so was Gerard *Præpositus* of the Hospitallers. It was then confessedly a royal title, and equivalent to a recognition of sovereignty.² In after ages it became insignificant; but at that time it was as said. The Pope—at that time a high authority—knew what he wrote. He likewise calls Gerard's successor *Præpositus* at first, but afterwards changes to Grand Master. The first was undoubtedly in consideration of Gerard's royal birth, and the latter the fixed name that was to be legal for the future.

“Servant of Christ's Poor” means, then, Protector of Crusaders and of Christian Pilgrims.³ The Papal deeds are always very exact in giving titles; not so individuals.⁴ *Venerable* was then an epithet that, as to laymen, was only given to princes and lords of the greatest consideration, including the King of France, to whom it belonged exclusively, according to Mabillon.⁵ Roger, son of Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and afterwards of Antioch, in writing a letter to Gerard, gives him precisely the

¹ P. A. Paoli: 183.

² Id. 184.

³ Id. 186.

⁴ Id. 185.

⁵ Id. 187 and 188.

same title he gave to his own father. How full of charity those first Hospitallers were! for there is a description come down to our day of what was an *old custom* in 1185, and would not be an old custom without sixty or seventy years' standing; which brings us back to Gerard's time—what care of crusaders' children, male or female, and abandoned infants, and of alms to the imprisoned, and that they should be clad as soon as liberated, and of marriage portions to poor girls, and of food and clothing to all who asked it three times a-week, without limit as to number; that thirty-five necessitous people shall participate in the table of the knights every day, and be given clothes first; that there shall be workmen, and a tailor's room for the indigent to have their raiment mended every day, and a thousand coats to be distributed to them on certain occasions; and many similar most generous benefactions.¹ These are taken from a fragment of what is manifestly a comment on the rule, and an explanation of it.²

Short-sighted politicians indeed are those who see nothing in the crusade but folly. The Christian cause was that of freedom, and led not alone to the Holy Sepulchre, but likewise to the doctrines of

¹ P. A. Paoli: 202.

² Id. 205.

learned and polished antiquity. Not only desire of fanatical pilgrimage, but also war against dangerous and far more fanatical invaders.¹ In 1112, there was a donation from Seville; and if a Moor was there then, yet Alphonso VI., King of Castille, was in alliance with him, and married his daughter;² and Alphonso had been in Jerusalem in 1099, and met his stepson, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles.³ A house was in Cesarea in 1109;⁴ and in Joppa, Accaron, Rama, St. George's by King Baldwin in 1110.⁵ In 1112 in Pisa. The Pisans were a great people by sea then, and their archbishop was the first Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem; but the earliest unanswerable document come down to us is in 1113, which Papal bull confirms the donation in Pisa of the year before.⁶ In 1112 in St. Gilles. More is likely; but to be so, and to prove it, are very different things. All we can now affirm is, that we have certain proof it was erected before 1113; since, in the bull of that date, this too of St. Gilles is confirmed by name.⁷ In the same 1112, at Asti in Piedmont.⁸ In Bari, Otranto, and

¹ Michaud: Hist. Crois.—Chateaubriant: Itin.

² P. A. Paoli: 396. ³ P.A.Paoli:397. Cod.Dip.,Ger.i.406.

⁴ Id. 399. ⁵ Id. 391.

⁶ Id. 392.

⁷ Id. 393. Vaisette's Hist. of Languedoc, ii. 16.

⁸ Id. 394.

Taranto, the same.¹ In 1111, there are several donations by Antioch proprietors, during the guardianship of Tancred, and also under Bohemond II., just out of minority.²

In 1107, Villedieu, in Normandy, one of the greatest establishments in the order, by Henry I., King of England; for Duchesne, Martinez, and the encyclopædias are certainly wrong by eighty years. Villedieu signifies Teopoli, which was the original name given it at Antioch.³ But Villedieu was not a single manor, but a whole magnificent tract of country, with several parishes and a large population.⁴ The pilgrims had built a fortress on a hill near Tripoli, in 1103, for Raymond of St. Gilles, or Count of Toulouse, who was soon to become Lord of Tripoli; and to commemorate its being built by them all, he gave it the name of *Pilgrim Mount*, and in 1105 left it to the Hospitallers, and in 1106 he had the fall which killed him.⁵ "He fell from the roof down into a fire that we, the besiegers, had lit," say the Mahometans; "and after languishing for ten days died, and the corpse of that aged count (whom God curse) was carried to Jerusalem to be

¹ P. A. Paolio: 394.

² Id. 386.

³ Id. 387.—Bernardus Thesaurarius Chron., 188.

⁴ Id. 387.—Hist. Norman, 308, Dono, &c.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. i., Num. xi.

buried.”¹ All which is proved by the document come down to us; “Not only Pilgrim Mount itself, with its guest-house for crusaders, but all that belongs to it, and its villa, as my father gave it, and what was given it by my grandfather, Sir Raymond, with all the trees of every kind that are under it, and the waters, the pastures, mills, gardens, &c., &c.”² This *Chateau des Pelerins* is the citadel of the present Tripoli or Tarabolos, says Poujoulat in 1831.³ Of Godfrey’s,⁴ and also of Brisset’s, and that of 1101 in Messina already. The size of their residence in Jerusalem was necessary, and their wealth, what a city to defend! what charity! But it was the charity of all Christendom! Baldwin confirmed what Godfrey had done; thence more clearly Gerard’s wide scope. In twelve years from the creation, what vast yet requisite acquisitions! for if the rent-roll was great, how great the expenses! how copious the proofs! Yet it is only a small part of them that could come down to us. A glance at the diplomatic compilation! In 1099, the founder chose where to build in Jerusalem; and very possibly a church may once have stood on the

¹ Arab. Chron., 22. ² P. A. Paoli: 383.

³ Michaud: Orient., vi. 386.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 374.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. ii., Num. xii.—Appendix, Num. xix., xx., xxi.

same spot, but that is not proved. The chronicler had seen it new many years before he wrote. He wrote in 1150 what he had seen forty years earlier, then in 1110. That is all that is certain. For aught we know, he erected his from the foundations.¹ Also in 1100, in the north of Europe; and the deed is preserved in the Brandenburgh Collection; and by Ludwig in his work on MS. and Giorgisch.² The lake was called Swerin, and the country, before the town was built, and erected into a county for the sovereigns general Gunzel; as was the case in 1163,³ under Henry the Lion. Godfrey had known Gunzel on his march to Constantinople. Respecting the Messina deed, already spoken of, p. 119, the son's confirming his father's donation is given; but that father died in 1106, so that the donation at latest must have been in some day of that year;⁴ and that large and early establishment in Messina was necessary, from its being the port to sail for Palestine.⁵ Several receiverships and a grand priory were there even from the first; the less surprising from the sovereign's being a Norman,

¹ P. A. Paoli: 372.

² Id. . 376.—Appendix, Num. i.

³ Com. Geography: i. 22, fol. London, 1709.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 379.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 237. Num. cxii.

and the Normans were known all over the world as the order's natural protectors.¹

Its house at Altenmunster has the testimony of Falkenstein, who attributes it to Henry first Count Stephanig in the burgravite of Ratisbon,² and since that prince died in the East in 1101, it is in the same way necessary to give that date at latest to his donation.³ The facts are likewise in the Bavarian annalist,⁴ and also in Gewold.⁵ That the Baldwins, Guiscard, Bohemond, Tancred, and the Normans in general, had got some smattering of Greek, Syrian, and perhaps Arabic, may be likely; and it accounts for various words, as *turcopolier*.⁶ Of *Turcopili* we read in old chronicles they were light cavalry, but on other occasions they had *cuirasses*. There were a corps of them kept by the Emperor of Constantinople. Right or not, it is said they were so called from being born of a Greek female by a Turk. *Milites* meant knights or heavy horse; and *turcopili* light, whether foot or horse. But Vertot, like Paoli, seems to think that all that is not cavalry must be infantry; yet cavalry on foot had been tried with success at

¹ P. A. Paoli: 380. ² Antiq. Nondg. ii., 368.

³ Id.: 381.

⁴ John Aventine: Ad. Ann. fol. 654.

⁵ De Septemviratu: 89. ⁶ P. A. Paoli: 346.

Antioch, and had taken Jerusalem; and Hawkwood showed later that his dismounted cuirassiers were an impenetrable phalanx.¹ No reason then but we may think *turcopili* to be both cavalry and infantry, light and heavy, so mercenaries and not knights.² In truth if servants-at-arms and *milites* mean heavy, and *milizia a cavallo* light cavalry, and *milizia soldata* infantry; then must *turcopili* mean something else—why not both?³ As ancient as the order were the servants-at-arms. Whoever knows anything of these times, knows that a knight could not do without them. They were the squires who rode by their master always. Each knight of the Hospitallers had *two*, and the grand master *three*. They formed an intrinsic part of the order; squires expected to become knights; but these rarely or never left their class. Nor were they like lay-brothers, who share not at all in the principal scope of a monastic fraternity, nor vote. But the servants-at-arms were not like menial servants, for the knights had menial servants too; but rather like under officers; for they principally served in the first scope of the order—its military duties—and in battle they were dressed precisely like the knights. On all occasions these admitted them to

¹ Sismondi : Hist. des Rep. Ital.

² P. A. Paoli : 348. ³ P. A. Paoli : 345.

their table conversation and familiarity. They were in society on a kind of footing with them. They also voted for the election of the grand master.¹ Yet did they form an inferior class, and hardly rose higher, and were satisfied with it. They had sworn to it. It was with their eyes open. This also was an invention of Gerard's, and built on a profound knowledge of mankind, and a far finer matter than people think. To make a class strictly embodied and tied down to the rule by vows, as much as the knights themselves (so just as much obliged by honour, conscience and probity), yet of acknowledged inferiority; and taking an active part in the legislature and loftiest duties of the profession, and even in the voting for the chief of their superiors, was a grand idea; and in Gerard was original; but has been imitated. No base service but military service, the very leading aim of the whole. Therefore the class of the servants-at-arms were always just as much to be depended on as the knights, and they were never discontented.² The aggregated (devotional, or honorary, or females) without exactly forming a part of the order, were closely linked to it from the beginning by Gerard himself.³

¹ P. A. Paoli: 331. ² Id.: 330. ³ Id.: 333, 336, 340.

The first crusade, that changed the whole face of society, operated first on tactics; and began the great military revolution that led to gunpowder.¹

There were churches and established houses of the order in England, Sicily,² and Palestine before 1112, and at Arles in France in 1105, and many other places. *Fra* has often changed meaning. There was a time when it meant *Knight*, and that time was Gerard's; so he applied it to his companions.³ And in English it must not be translated Sir. Baldwin is *Fra*, Robert Duke of Normandy is *Fra*. "We are all brethren and equals by the rights of brotherhood," says Bohemond, and calls Godfrey, "Prince and regulator of all his brethren." Another Robert who was an Hospitaller in England in 1100, and was mere Sir, is called in Italian *Fra*; which shows how soon that word was, as it were, appropriated by the order.⁴ The Templars followed the same use, though they had no clerical class, but reformed it away, as well the two other great duties of hospitality, and only kept the first, or military.⁵ As to the form of Gerard's cross, there is much idle learning, and the common, is probably the true; that like many other things, it has a

¹ P. A. Paoli : 337.

² Id. : 398.

³ Id. : 247.

⁴ Id. : 260.

⁵ Id. : 262.

secondary as well as its principal meaning; and besides being a general Christian sign, the crusaders' cross was made a little different to denote that particular body of Christians; and that for the same purpose Gerard modified still more that of the crusaders, to apply it as a distinctive mark for those of the permanent crusade—his own order.¹ The tunic, birro, and mantle had, all three, the sign. Under them, what you pleased, shirt, flannel, or even cuirass, but those three were the crusader's dress. The tunic might be either over or under the cuirass, and was girt round tight, and reached to just below the knee.² The birro was a short narrow stripe of cloth, with a hole to receive the head, and then falling on the breast and half way down the back, having the cross both behind and before; nor worn under, but over everything; and at all times this was the most essential article and never laid by; leaving the elbows quite free and answering for a coat of arms.³ The mantle might be worn on the shoulder, or drawn round or not at all, according to the weather. This mantle is represented still by that worn by the knights at their profession, and is black with the white cross.⁴ As to the purse and broad girdle, they were worn

¹ P. A. Paoli: 228.

² Id.: 223.

³ Id.: 225.

⁴ Id.: 229.

but by the chief of the order. So of the first grand master that abdicated (in 1170) we read "he laid down his girdle and the seals and the purse."¹

The birro was at one time the most distinguishing part of the crusader's dress: "dressed in a birro, that is the dress of a traveller to Jerusalem," says a chronicle of the first crusade.² Many lament the loss of the early papers; but have never taken the pains to consult what exist, with the intention of giving the names of whatever of the ancient knights were yet discoverable; but here are a few, thanks to the two Paolis. The learned Bosio spends not a word about the founder's companions, and was led into this mistake by the person he sent to inspect the Vatican MS., as often happens to those who judge by others', not their own eyes.³ Vertot would perhaps have tried. But where was he to obtain the information? He did what was in his power for France by publishing the list in Provence. Neither are the three, instanced by him as the founder's companions, to be held so; for it would be to make Sir Raymond de Puys one hundred and twenty-six years old—so great an age that it requires to be proved, not supposed, being extraordinary; still worse Gaston. Conon was a

¹ P. A. Paoli : 230. ² Id. : 226.

³ Id. : 208.

married man; nor is there any document proving that either he or Dudon were of the first brethren of the order. Out of the earlier of Paoli's two rolls "both of them from authentic deeds," let those be culled that extend not beyond these twelve years. Sir Lambert, who was with Gerard when he was tortured in 1099; Sir Robert Brisset, in 1100; Sir Roger Pagano, in 1112; Sir Bertrand, Prior at Pilgrim's Mount, in 1105; Sir Gubald, through whom the house in Messina was founded in 1101; Sir Peter Mallet, at the first crusade, and of one of the most conspicuous Norman families. His elder brother Robert was one of the magnates of the Conqueror, and fought against Harold, and saw him buried, and had two fiefs in England. Sir Gerard *Sub-deacon*, Sir William Almerico, Sir Rodolph, all three in a donation dated Beyrout 1133.¹

Now, amongst all his troubles and labours, had not Gerard a great compensation in this review? His ails increasing every day, and carried about in a kind of chair, his spirit as clear as ever, he could not but exult internally at the wonderful progress of his wise and splendid project. All of military or knightly that he could now do was to inspect the

¹ Cod. Dipl. Gerosolimitano: vol. i. Num. xiv. 15.

departure of his troops and receive the victorious survivors. This was his daily duty, and it rejoiced him.

Togdekin, the Atabec or Moslem Governor of Damascus, having in those violent dissensions in Syria, partaken in various cruel treasons, murders, and robberies, so that the Assassins (or Battenians, as some call them) slew the noted robber Kalaf, a Mahometan, and the Damascan menacing Kalaf's enemies, became himself exposed to the Old Man's emissaries;¹ wherefore it is said that the unworthy Togdekin began to do everything he could, to insinuate himself into the Mountaineer's good graces. So violent and most unnatural struggles ensued, in one of which King Baldwin, with the late old Raymond's son Bertrand, took Tripoli and Beyrout, and attacked Sidon;² which last town paid a sum of money to Baldwin, and he raised the siege and returned to Jerusalem. Joscelin, Lord of Tel-bacher on the Euphrates, had declared war against Aleppo about 1110 (according to Kemaleddin) with a variety of success; but upon the whole, the Franks were evidently the gainers, and even forced the Moslems to retire from the siege of Edessa; besides, thoes of Sidon resolved to remove to Damascus,

¹ Ibn Mayassar : 21.—Cod. Arab.

² Arab. Chron., 24.

and left their native place to Baldwin.¹ Another Mahometan prince had to purchase peace with twenty thousand pieces of gold and ten horses. The Mahometan Prince of Aleppo engaged to become tributary to the Frank Prince of Antioch, at ten thousand pieces of gold a-year; and after Tancred's death,² the money continued to be paid to a child. Baldwin in 1112, besieged Tyre; and without taking it, advanced against Damascus, and into the Haraoun, and wrapping all in fire and blood, retreated towards Jerusalem, upon 1113 Togdekin's application for succour to Mousul. And on its arrival, a great battle ensued, in which Ibngiouzi says the Franks lost two thousand men, and that King Baldwin escaped with difficulty, and without his sword. The fact appears to be, that the Franks only removed to a good position; and that the Mahometans, by disease, the heats, famine, and severe fighting, were kept off for twenty-six days, and on a reinforcement coming from Antioch, were completely routed near Tiberias.³ Passing through Damascus, the Moussul leader was murdered in the mosque there by the Assassins, "but I say," writes Abulfeda, "that it was the traitor of an Atabec sent the murderer. And I was

¹ Arab. Chron. : 27.

² Id. : . 31.

³ Id. : 32.

told by my father that King Baldwin wrote to Togdekin the moment he heard of the bloody deed: "*They who deprive themselves of their protector, and even upon a festival day, and in the very temple of their God, merit well that God should exterminate them from the face of the earth.*"¹ The Mahometan also who ruled at Aleppo was a great supporter of the Assassins or Battenians at that time. And after his death in 1115, his odious son drove the emirs into a conspiracy that smothered him in his bed. Add to all which horrors an earthquake that injured Aleppo, Antioch, Haraoun, and several cities in Syria.² The sultan then sent Borsaki
1117 from Moussul, to attack the Franks in Palestine, which was not pleasing to all the Syrian Mahometans, who feared that under this pretext the sultan wanted to seize the whole country.

So both Moslems and Christians joined against Borsaki, who passed the Euphrates without doing much, the Moslems restraining the ardour of the Franks, lest these should become the masters of Syria, if Borsaki were defeated. The end was that he and his army ran away beyond the Euphrates. All was confusion³ and frightful im-

¹ Arab. Chron. 33.

² Id.: 37.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 49.

morality. Baldwin the First, who had never ceased from taking a pre-eminent share in all the battles round him, and in military expeditions of every sort, now was to set out on his last. From east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, and traversing the Arabian Desert and Petrea, he advanced into what is indeed the third Arabia, or Arabia Felix, and even penetrated to the Red Sea and the Nile. What time it took up, or if it was in one continuous march, being uncertain; but in the spring of 1118, he was in Egypt, and falling suddenly sick, an old wound opened; the Christians wheeled, 1118 and bearing him on a litter made of their tent poles, undertook to cross the desert near El Arish, a small town situated close to the Mediterranean, having upon three sides those vast solitudes, a mighty wilderness, where he felt himself dying and thus addressed the companions of his victories,¹ the six hundred knights, who stood in profound grief round him: "Why are you weeping so? Recollect I am but a man, whom many others can replace; do not permit sorrow to weaken you, like women, but remember you have to return to Jerusalem with arms in your hands, and to be ready to fight for the inheritance of the Lord Jesus, as we have sworn.

¹ Albert Aquensis: Chron., 81.—B. Poujoulat: vol. ii. 497.

Fellow soldiers, I ask you but for one more proof of your affection; I conjure you not to leave my remains in the land of the infidel;" and, perceiving some demur, as if he asked a thing impossible from the natural corruption, particularly in that hot country, he added: "As soon as I have given my last sigh, rip up my body with a knife, and taking out my intestines, fill it with salt, and all the aromatic drugs you can get; and wrapping it up in carpets, and putting it into a leathern case, you can carry it to the foot of Mount Calvary, and there inter it with the rites of the Christian Church, alongside of my brother Godfrey's grave." Then calling one of his household, he addressed him in these identical words, only in Norman French—"You see, my dear serf Edon, I am going to die; if you have loved me in life, continue to do so after my death, and execute exactly what I bid you; open my body, and rub it well with salt and aromatics, both within and without, no sparing of the salt; and fill my eyes with it, my nostrils, my ears, my mouth; then join my other servants and my dear associates, in transporting me to the Holy City; it will be to fulfil my last wishes, and a proof of your fidelity to me to the end." Then he spoke of the succession of the Jerusalem throne, advising them to choose his brother Eustace of

Boulogne, or his cousin Baldwin de Bourg, Count of Edessa; and finally, the Christian hero received the last sacraments, that of confession and the eucharist, and expired. His mournful brethren-in-arms then set about accomplishing his ultimate desires, his intestines were buried, and a heap of stones raised over them to mark the spot, which grave or cenotaph is to be seen to this day not far from El Arish.¹

Then the Frank warriors set out on their long and doleful march across the desert, marching day and night to conceal Baldwin's death, and their own affliction; and crossing in silence the mountain of Judea, and the country of Hebron, they reached Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; on which day,² by an ancient custom, all the Christians, with the patriarch at their head, used to go in procession to the Mountain of Olives; and they were in the act of descending from it, carrying palm branches, and singing canticles to celebrate the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, when they met in the Valley of Jehosaphat, the train of Baldwin's companions, bearing his coffin, which stopped their hymns all at once, and struck first with a grievous silence, suc-

¹ That is, Abufeda's time, 1330.—Arab. Chron., 38.

² Easter Sunday was that year on the 2nd of April. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 355, Note c.

ceeded by a burst of groans, sighs and lamentations. The mortal remains of Baldwin entered by the Golden Gate, followed by the procession. Latins, Syrians, Greeks, all weeping, and even the Saracens themselves wept,¹ says Baldwin's chaplain. At the same moment Baldwin de Bourg, who, quite unconscious of what had happened, was coming in at the Damascus Gate, to pass the Easter at Jerusalem, alarmed by the plaintive cries, joined the mourners, and wailed for his lord and relative, and accompanied the funeral to Calvary, where the defunct king was laid in a tomb of white Parian marble, with the greatest pomp, alongside of Godfrey's mausoleum. Until within these late years, when it is reported that some malevolent bigotry of the Greeks induced them to wall up those two ancient monuments, every pilgrim visited with reverence the two royal brothers' tombs. Seen by Chateaubriant, Michaud found them no more. As for Mahometans (with their usual brevity), they only say: "He died before reaching El Arish, coming from Egypt. From him that part of the desert is called *the Baldwin Sands*. People think he is buried there; but it is an error; there only his entrails lie; but his body was buried at Jerusalem."²

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 55.

² Arab. Chron., 38.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. i., anno 1118.